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THE

FATHERS

OF THE

ENGLISH CHURCH;

OR,

A Selection

FROM THE

WRITINGS OF THE REFORMERS

AND

EARLY PROTESTANT DIVINES,

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

VOL. VII.

CONTAINING

VARIOUS TRACTS AND EXTRACTS

FROM THE WORKS OF

JOHN JEWELL,

WITH

A MEMORIAL OF HIS LIFE.

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TO

HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY

GEORGE III.

OF THE UNITED KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

KING,

DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. &c.

TO THE MOST REVEREND

THE ARCHBISHOPS;

THE RIGHT REVEREND

THE BISHOPS;

AND THE REVEREND

THE CLERGY,

OF THE UNITED CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND IRELAND;

THIS WORK,

INTENDED AS A MONUMENT

TO THE HONOUR OF

THOSE HOLY MARTYRS, VENERABLE CONFESSORS,

AND EARLY PROTESTANT DIVINES,

TO WHOM, UNDER GOD,

THE REFORMED CHURCH OF CHRIST IN THESE REALMS

OWES ITS

RISE, PROGRESS,

AND SUBSEQUENT ESTABLISHMENT,

IS,

WITH GREAT RESPECT,

DEDICATED,

AND SUBMITTED TO THEIR PATRONAGE,

BY

THE EDITORS.

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TO THE PUBLIC.

THE present volume of this work contains a very complete selection from the writings of that bright ornament of the Reformation and the Church of England, John Jewell, Bishop of Salisbury.

With the exception of the justly celebrated "Apology," a very small portion of his works are known to readers in general. The Conductors believe, that, in laying the present selection before the public, they are rendering an important service to religion and the church.

Small as this volume may appear, compared with the folio edition of his works, it will be found to contain nearly the whole of what may be deemed valuable and interesting to preserve for general use. Most of his tracts are entire.

Bishop Jewell's controversial tracts exhibit a mass of learning and a display of genius and argument, which seldom have been equalled, and never exceeded. But the intricacies of popish polemical divinity would afford little gratification to the majority of readers. From those tracts, therefore, such passages only have been selected as are connected with the great doctrinal and practical truths of Christianity; and these will be found peculiarly valuable as illustrative

of that prelate's sentiments on many points of the first importance.

The Conductors of this work have much satisfaction in finding that many eminent divines consider the publication of the Fathers of the English Church as highly seasonable at the present period. Taken in connexion with some controversies which are now agitated, there does not exist a body of doctrinal and practical theology, to which an appeal can be made, more venerable as to authority, or useful as to matter, than that which is contained in this selection from the writings of our English Reformers.

As such the Conductors once more commit this compilation to the due attention and patronage of serious and enlightened Christians, in reliance on the blessing of God to give effect to so important an undertaking.

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THE LIFE

OF

THAT WORTHY PRELATE,

AND

FAITHFUL SERVANT OF GOD,

JOHN JEWELL,

SOMETIME BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

If rare and admirable qualities of our ancestors do deserve a thankful acknowledgment of posterity, then most deservedly ought the singular natural endowments and supernatural graces of this reverend prelate to live and flourish in perpetual memory; by whom as an especial means the sincere religion we now profess received much vigour and strength after her long suppression in the time of superstition. For although it hath been the singular felicity of the church of England, above some others, that in it this sacred order of bishops hath brought forth some famous martyrs, many most worthy doctors and pastors, as instruments to purge and refine the gold of the sanctuary, yet such a jewel in all respects, such nature with such grace, so heavenly learning in so heavenly a life, such eminent gifts in such eminent place, so fruitfully distilling their wholesome and sweetest influence to the refreshing and cherishing of the church of God, have not been frequently found in these later times.

2. Surely the price and happiness of Aurelius Augustinus his labours and works, the industrious vigilance of Gregory, the heavenly gifts of Theodosius,

the divine spirit of Ambrose, the golden mouth of Chrysostom, the sweet vein of Lactantius, the shining style of Fulgentius, are very conspicuous in their names; so that, if any where, Chrysostom's observation is most true, viz. "there lies a great treasure in names;" so here grace in John, and eminent perfection in Jewell.

3. His names he took from his father, John Jewell, a gentleman of good sort aad place. His mother's name was Bellamie, composed of beauty and love, which name he caused to be engraven in his signet, and had it always imprinted in his heart. Of these two, living peaceably and lovingly in the yoke of holy matrimony fifty years together, beloved of all for their virtuous and religious disposition, was John Jewell born, May 24, anno 1552, in Buden, in the parish of Berinber, in the county of Devon, a fertile soil of many good wits, and two most eminent, and yet fresh in our memory, to wit, Dr. Reynolds and Master Hooker: whom therefore I could not justly pass over in silence, because they were not only born in the same shire, but also brought up in the same university, and incorporate in the same college, so that their country can exact only a third and least part of their commendations; the other two greater must be attributed to the famous university and noble foundation, whereof they proved the greatest ornaments; for such wits, like some kind of sciences and fruits, owe more to the stock wherein they are engraft, than unto the ground or root which bare them.

4. I willingly pass in silence those years which harmless simplicity doth best commend, in the which, by the wise care of his parents, and skill of his tutors, the ground colours of those excellent virtues were first laid, which were ever after fresh and lively in him.

His singular promptness of wit and industry, ac-

companied with ingenuity and modesty, begat an exceeding love of him in his master Bowin; and this his master's love did reciprocally reflect upon him, that afterwards, being bishop, he forgat him not, but most highly esteemed and bountifully rewarded all Bowins for his master's sake: from whom he was sent at the age of thirteen to Oxford, and first committed to Master Burrey, of Merton college, a man meanly learned, and (as those times were) somewhat tainted with popery.

But because he had a post-master before (Divine Providence so disposing), by him he was commended to Master Parkhurst, who, wanting one, most willingly received him into his tuition, and the place which he had in his gift; and being desirous, together with all other wholesome learning, to season his tender years with pure religion, took occasion often before him to dispute with Master Burrey about controverted points; and intending to confer the translations of Coverdale and Tindal, gave him Tindal's translation to read, himself overlooking Coverdale's.

In the which collation of translations Jewell oft smiled, which Master Parkhurst observing, and marvelling that in those years he could note barbarisms in the vulgar translations, brake into these words: "Surely, Paul's Cross will one day ring of this boy;" prophesying, as it were, of that noble sermon of his at Paul's Cross, which gave such a blow to the superstitions of the popish mass, or rather, to the whole mass of popish superstition, that all the defenders of them have ever since staggered.

5. Now the blossoms of poetry and eloquence began in great abundance to appear in the spring of his age, unto the great delight of his hearers, who thereby conceived a singular hope of his admirable learning in the maturity of his studies; when he was out of Merton college transplanted into Corpus

Christi, and placed at the first in the senior logic form, wherein he so profited, that he took degree before the senior.

6. Not long after (the height of his virtues growing above envy) he was chosen out of all, by all, before many masters and bachelors his seniors, to read the Humanity Lecture, which he read with such diligence and facility, that many came from divers other colleges to behold Rhetoric so richly set forth, with her own costly apparel and furniture, by the dexterity of his wit and learning.

Among others, first fame, and then love, drew Master Parkhurst to hear him, who was much delighted with the beams of his own learning, which now did more clearly reflect upon himself from a diamond of his own pointing and brightening; and therefore, after the lecture ended, he saluted Jewell with this distichon:

Olim discipulus mihi, chare Juelle, fuisti;
Nunc ero discipulus, te renuente, tuus.

7. Neither may we marvel why there should be such a public confluence to so private a lecture, if we consider the young reader, so rarely accomplished, with all kind of human learning often interlaced. For being but bachelor, he sifted much of the flower of St. Augustine with divine aphorisms, and so industriously withal, that for the greatest part of the day he hid himself in his study, and so much recalled his senses from all external objects, that, Chrysippus like, he needed a Melissa to put him in mind of his meat.

His only recreations from study were studious, being spent either in instructing his scholars, or disputing with others, or ruminating those things which he before had received into his soul's stomach (as

man's memory is called by St. Augustine), that he might thereby the better digest them.

8. As for his life and conversation in this slippery age, wherein many fall and most do slide, let an adversary of his religion, Master Moren, Dean of the college, speak, because an adversary's testimony in commendation is equivalent to a general consent. "I should love thee, Jewell," saith he, "if thou wert not a Zuinglian. In thy faith I hold thee an heretic, but surely in thy life thou art an angel. Thou art very good and honest, but a Lutheran;" as if he should have said with the ancient Painims, "Bonus vir C. Sejus, sed malus tantum quod Christianus;" whom Tertullian justly reproveth, "Laudant quæ sciunt, vituperant quæ ignorant, cum sit justius occulta de manifestis præjudicare, quam manifesta de occultis prædamnare." Master Moren should rather have acknowledged in so evangelical a life an evangelical truth.

9. By this which hath been already related, we may see how he grew in learning, and religion, and fame, in the reign of King Henry the Eighth (in the end whereof he proceeded master of arts); but he flourished much more in the happy reign of King Edward the Sixth. This blessed prince, whom we may truly call (as Suetonius doth the Emperor Titus) "Amorem et delitias humani generis," "the love and darling of mankind," and phœnix of the world, in true zeal towards the house of God, sent for the chiefest builders, and most renowned carvers and workmen, from all parts of the Christian reformed world, to repair, adorn, and beautify the church of God in England.

10. Among others, Peter Martyr, as a spiritual Bezeliel, was by His Majesty appointed professor of divinity in Oxford, "ut verbi divini gemmas exculperet, fideliter coaptaret, adornaret sapienter, ad-

jiceret gratiam, splendorem, venustatem," to point, fit, and polish such pearls. Whose excellent skill herein, and rich shop-full of all choice and precious knowledge, as all admired, so especially Jewell, who repaired unto this cunning jeweller, and (seeking to be perfected by him), observed his art, copied out his sermons and lectures, was his notary in that tumultuary disputation in the divinity school, with Chedsey, Tresham, Morgan, and others, about the real presence, and in time became most intimate with him.

11. While that these halcyon days of peace lasted, he read a public lecture in the hall, and privately unto his scholars. He preached at Sunning-well, whither (though a cold had caught him at Witney in a lower chamber, where the college removed in the time of the plague in Oxford) he went on foot at least once a fortnight. He was famous for an oration in English, pronounced in Corpus Christi college, in praise of the founder, and two sermons in Latin *ad clerum*. He ever loved eloquence; but "non effœminatam, sed virilem;" that is, that which sheweth it life, not so much in the fresh and lively colours of the blood, in the rhetorical figures and cadences, as in the sprightly and sinewish motions of arguments. Prudentibus viris non placent phalerata, sed fortia.

12. What more quick, pithy, pure, material, and fraught with all variety of choice, both new and ancient learning, can any require, than was his controversy with Mr. Harding, his Apology, his sermons? Take for a scantling a speech which he made before his departure from the college, full of spirit and life of true eloquence.

"I have," saith he, "often heretofore upon divers occasions, if not with so good success as I wished, yet with most ardent affection and desire of your

good, spoken unto you out of this place; but now, through the iniquity of times, things are brought to this pass, that I am to speak only this at the last, that I must speak no more unto you. I have incurred (I see) some men's implacable hatred, but how deservedly God knows, and let them look unto it. This I am sure of, they, who would not have me stay here, if it were in their power, would suffer me live no where. I yield to the times; and if they take any delight in my misery, I hinder them not of it; and what Aristides prayed before he went into banishment, that I pray of Almighty God, that no man may once think of me when I am gone; and can they desire any more?" Here it seems he could refrain no longer, but opened sluice to affection. "Pardon me, good Sirs," said he, "if it do grieve me to leave the place where I have been brought up, where I have lived hitherto, where I have been in some place and reckoning. But why do I stick to kill my heart with one word? Alas! that I must speak it, as with grief I must: Valeant studia; valeant hæc tecta; valeat sedes cultissima literarum; valeat jucundissimus conspectus vestri; valete juvenes, valete socii, valete fratres, valete oculi mei, valete omnes. Valete." Thus he burst out of his speech, and his hearers burst out into tears.

13. Now hath he taken his last farewell of his lecture, fellowship, and college, and being cut off from the body wherein he lived, begins to wither; and canst thou then but bleed with grief, O noble body? Thou wast as a precious enamelled ring on the finger of Christ's spouse; now that thou hast thrown away thy diamond, who will much esteem the ring? But yet the patriarchs of that society, moved with envy, did sell Joseph. Notwithstanding, this is but the beginning of his woful epitasis, and these things may seem sufferable in comparison of the tragical

events ensuing first, when looking every hour to be delivered up to the cruel butcher Bonner, and to be slaughtered at his shambles, he went on foot in a snowy winter's night towards London, and was in the way found by Bernher, Latimer's servant, starved with cold, and faint with weariness, lying on the ground panting and labouring for life, or rather for death; and afterwards being fled from his native soil, he wandered beyond the sea, disappointed of all friends and means to procure him so much as a lodging.

14. But the calamities of his threefold banishment came not so thick one upon the other, but that there was a breathing-place between them, in which some memorable occurrences are not to be overpassed. After his expulsion, lamentable and very disgraceful in the manner, but happy and glorious in the cause, he stayed himself a while at Broadgate's Hall, where fame of his learning drew many scholars unto him. The President also, and whole society whence he was expelled, in a short space out of their frantic fit, began to feel pain for the loss of so principal a member, so necessary for conveyance of life and blood to the inferior parts, which now became faint and feeble in itself.

15. Neither was their unjust ejection of him punished only with loss, but with disgrace also, when M. Welchey, Dean of the college (who had a hand, or rather a shoulder in thrusting out Jewell), bragged of their wisdom and devotion before D. Brooks, B. of Gloucester, and D. Wright, Archdeacon of Oxford, that their college alone, among all the universities, had kept their church treasure and ornaments entire, closely laid up in their vestry. "Ye have so done indeed," saith D. Wright, "but you have wilfully lost one ornament and great treasure, far more precious than any of them;" meaning Jewell, whom most ignominiously and injuriously they had cast out of

their college. Here I cannot forget that speech (which they should have remembered) of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi, who, when a matron of Campania, her noble guest, laid out before her peerless pearls, and all her costly attire and furniture; held her in talk till her sons came home, and then pointing to them, "Hæc sunt, inquit, ornamenta mea."—"See here my jewels," saith she; "these are my only treasure."

16. Thus the college his stepmother ought to have esteemed, and the university, as a natural mother, did worthily value him, gracing him in what she could, and choosing him, in this shipwreck of his estate, to be her orator. In whose name he curiously penned a gratulatory letter to Queen Mary, consisting of exclamations of grief for the late funeral of King Edward, and acclamations of joy for her happy coronation, expressing in it the countenance of the Roman senators in the beginning of Tiberius' reign, exquisitely tempered and composed to keep out joy and sadness, which both strove at the same time to display their colours in it, the one for dead Augustus, the other for reigning Tiberius.

By this letter of the university, it is evident Mr. Jewell and others conceived good hopes that Queen Mary would not altogether change the religion, as many of her nobles avouched at Oxford, and herself (as it was said) promised to the gentlemen of Norfolk and Suffolk, who rescued her in her greatest danger. This her promise, and her nobles' protestations, stayed Jewell so long in Oxford, till the inquisition caught him, urging upon him subscription, under pain of proscription and horrible tortures.

17. Here Jewell, brought into such straits, having no other counsellors in this heavy encounter than horror without, and frailty within, saying to them, "Do you desire to see my hand, and will you

try how well I can write ?" took the pen, and unwillingly and hastily wrote his name, whereby he seemed to approve some articles of Popery. Howbeit, this subscribing, as it much obscured the glory of his persecutions, so it nothing procured his safety, because his familiar conversing with Peter Martyr was evidence enough against him ; and D. Martial, Dean of Christ's Church, had certainly caught him in a snare laid for him, had he not, by the special providence of God, gone that very night, when he was sought for, a wrong way to London, and so escaped their hands (as we read of St. Augustine, that by the error of his guide leading him out of the way, he avoided the Circumcellian Donatists, who laid wait to kill him) in the usual way. Yet as now, by going out of the way, he found the safest way, so before, by taking the safest way in the judgment of fleshly wisdom, he went very far out of the way, and his faith and fame was more stained with this foul dissimulation than was the virgin paper with the ink he wrote with.

18. I would most willingly have laid my finger upon this foul scar, but the truth of love must not prejudice love of truth ; and I verily think, the wisdom of God, who draweth good out of man's evil, so ordered this matter ; for among the fathers, St. Augustine was most famous for many his works, but especially two, to wit, his Retractations (which are the confessions of his errors), and Confessions (which are retractations of his life), where we find this modest and religious admonition to the readers of those his books : " He who, after thy calling, O Lord (saith he), hath followed thy voice, and avoided these enormous crimes which he readeth me here confessing, let him not laugh at me, seeing it was the only preservative of the same Physician's grace that kept me from these dangerous diseases, which now it hath cured in me : in whom the spirit is

strong, the flesh is weak; and where the flesh falleth through weakness, the spirit is ready to raise it up again."

19. The church of God hath had many a Castus and Æmilius foiled in the first combat, yet conquerors in the second. "Et fortiores ignibus facti sunt, qui ante ignibus cesserunt, et unde superati sunt inde superarunt;" that is, overcame the violence of fire, by fear whereof they had been overcome. St. Peter recovers the field, with a threefold promise of love, which he had lost by a threefold denial of fear. Pope Marcellinus washed out his stain of idolatry with tears of repentance and blood of martyrdom. The Christian soldiers under Julian the Apostate expiated the burning incense, which their hands had offered up unto idols, by offering their whole bodies to be burnt for the wickedness of their hands. Cranmer purged the polluted hand that had subscribed, with fire, before he was made an holocaust. Origen and Jewell repealed their public subscription by public confession and contrition. Origen being requested to preach at Jerusalem, and choosing for his text those words in the 50th Psalm, "But unto the ungodly, saith God, Why dost thou preach my laws, and takest my covenant in thy mouth?" had no sooner read them, but he sat down and shut the book, and commented upon them only with sighs and tears.

20. Jewell also, almost as soon as he came to Frankfort, made an excellent sermon, and in the end of it openly confessed his fall in these words: "It was my abject and cowardly mind and faint heart, that made my weak hand to commit this wickedness;" which when he had brought forth with a gale of sighs from the bottom of the anguish of his soul, and had made humble supplications for pardon, first to Almighty God, whom he had offended, and afterwards to his church, which he had scandalized, no man was found

in that great congregation who was not pricked with compunction, and wounded with compassion, or who embraced him not ever after that sermon, as a most dear brother, nay, as an angel of God. So far was this saint of God from accounting sophistry any part of the science of salvation, or justifying any equivocating shifts, which are daily hatched in the school of antichrist.

21. But I leave these Priscillianists, who belie the truth; nay, which is worse, make truth itself a liar, that they may make lying a doctrine of truth, and come to Jewell's holy conversation with Robert Horne, afterwards Bishop of Winchester, D. Sands, Bishop of London, Sir Francis Knowles, Privy Counsellor, and afterwards Treasurer, and his eldest son, and divers other noble confessors at Frankfort. From hence he was often invited by many kind letters of Peter Martyr to Argentine, where he met with J. Poynet, late Bishop of Winchester, Edmund Grindall, Archbishop of York, Sir Edwin Sands, J. Cheeke, Anthony Cooke, and divers other knights and gentlemen, who had forsaken their native soil, the seat of their estate, the place of their honour, the bosoms of their dearest friends and kindred, for the testimony of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

All these were partakers of the spiritual food which Peter Martyr set before them out of the book of Judges; but Jewell he invited also to his common table, and used his help in the edition of those commentaries; and when he was sent for by the senate of the Tigurines, to succeed Pelican in the Hebrew lecture and exposition of holy Scripture, he took Jewell with him, accompanied also with many other English exiles, who were maintained by the charitable devotion of the Londoners, till Stephen Gardner, having notice of it, by casting in prison and impo-

verishing their benefactors, stopped the current of their bounty.

22. Yet (that we may learn to cast the burden of our cares upon divine Providence, which in greatest wants is not wanting to his), in this their extremity they were bountifully relieved by Christopher Prince of Wittenberg, who invited many of them unto him, and the Tigurine senators, who, at the proposal of Bullinger, opened the treasury of their liberality unto the rest. Neither these only, but also Calvin, Zuinglius, Melancthon, Pelican, Lavater, Gesner, and all the greatest ornaments of religion and learning in all the reformed churches, were very kind and courteous to the English exiles, sending them daily most comfortable letters, and omitting no duty of love or humanity towards them all the time of their banishment, the greatest part whereof Jewell spent in the house and company of Peter Martyr, bettering him, and being bettered by him, and employing all the spare time from his more necessary studies, in seeking to appease, by word of mouth and epistle, the contentions among his brethren, arising from difference of opinion concerning ceremonies and church discipline, which they brought not with them from England, but, like scattered seed, they received from the nature of the place and soil where they were dispersed.

These small jarring strings, which have so much troubled the sweet harmony of our church, he then sought, by all means, to put in tune, exhorting them, as brethren, to lay aside all strife and emulation, especially about such small matters; lest thereby they should greatly offend the minds of all good men; which thing, he said, they ought to have a principal care of; and if he heard any more grievously than others groaning under the burden of his affliction, and seeking to cast it off, he persuaded him to pa-

tience, admonishing him that he ought not to leap from the smoke into the fire; that we all ought to bear a part of Christ's cross, by whomsoever it be imposed; that now, when our brethren suffer extreme tortures in England, we must not look to live deliciously in banishment; shutting up all with that sweet close often repeated by him, "*Hæc non durabunt ætatem.*"—"Bear a while, these things will not endure an age."

23. Neither did they. For Queen Mary's religion (as her child with whom she long travailed) came to nothing, and proved in the end but a wind which breathed out its last breath with hers. The blessed spouse Christ could no longer endure to hear his beloved calling for food in her starved, or sighing for home in her banished, or groaning for ease in her burdened, or mourning for liberty in her imprisoned, or crying for pity in her tortured, mangled, scourged, scorched, and burnt members; when he beheld her black and blue with buffets and stripes, and not so much sick of love as even dead for his love, he, after a short trial of her constancy, cheers her up again, embraceth her with the arms of compassion, kisseth her with the kisses of his lips, who is the word of truth; sends his anointed, Lady Elizabeth, to be a tender nursing mother of this his spouse; her mother delivers her out of prison; to set this free, crowns her; to advance this, blesseth her with peace and plenty all her days; to nourish this starved, to revive this languished, to supple this wounded, to loose this fettered, and to bind up this broken one, and to restore not so much preachers to the Gospel, as Gospel to the preachers and hearers of it, whom, after their bloody trial, he crowned with gladness, for the which, we, his people, and sheep of his pasture, will give him thanks for ever, and will be always

shewing forth his praise from generation to generation.

24. We are now come to the happy catastrophe in the state not only of Jewell, but also of the church and commonweal. All the learned preachers, which were set in Geneva, Frankfort, Argentine, and other reformed cities, as so many nursery-gardens for England, were now transported into their own garden, *et Jewellus iterum gemmat.* Jewell appears as the first and fairest primrose in this late spring of the church; for very shortly after his safe return, he was sent for to a disputation held at Westminster; the tenets were these: 1. That it is repugnant to the word of God, and custom of the primitive church, that church service and liturgy should be performed in an unknown tongue. 2. That every church hath power to alter rites and ceremonies for her better edification. 3. That the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass for quick and dead hath no warrant in the word of God. Will ye know the end? The Papists, like Verres in Tully, *non quid responderent, sed quemadmodum non responderent laborabant.* They shrink from the conditions of disputation agreed upon, and (as the Donatists in Augustine's time) when all men solicitously expected what would be done at such an assembly, are very instant that nothing be done; so by their tergiversation, the disputation was broken off, and all things referred to the ordering and determination of the Parliament; where, by the singular consent of all states assembled, and royal approbation, it was appointed and enacted, that popish tyranny being banished out of the realm, and idolatry out of the church, the true honour and worship due to Almighty God, lawful power to the Prince, holy use of the Scriptures, and prayers in the mother-tongue to the people, should be restored and established.

25. These things thus concluded by Parliament, the Queen's Majesty (seeking by all means to bring her kingdoms to the obedience of the Gospel) decreed a general survey of the whole land, and visitation of all the churches within her dominion, to root out profane superstition, and plant true religion, in which Jewell was appointed for the western circuit, and so it fell out very fitly, that he presented the first-born of these his labours in the ministry, after his return, in Devonshire, and parts adjacent, there first breaking the bread of life, where first he received the breath of life, and travailing, as it were, in childbirth there, till Christ were formed in them.

After which visitation, he was consecrated Bishop of Salisbury, with much reluctancy, often repeating the sentence of the blessed Apostle, "He who desireth a bishopric, desireth a work." And surely, if ever to any, then unto him his bishopric was a continual work of ruling and governing, not only by the pastoral staff of his jurisdiction in his consistory, but also in the court of men's consciences, by the golden sceptre of God's word preached.

The memory of his assiduity in preaching, carefulness in providing pastors, resoluteness in reforming abuses, bounty in relieving the poor, wisdom in composing litigious strifes, equity in judging spiritual causes, faithfulness in keeping, and sincerity in bestowing church goods, is as an ointment poured out, and blown abroad through the diocese of Sarum, by the breath of every man's commendation.

26. When a courtier went about to let a prebend given to him, to another lay person, acquainting Bishop Jewell with the conditions between them, and some lawyers' opinions about it; "What," saith he, "your lawyers may answer, I know not; but, for my part, to my power, I will take care that my church shall sustain no loss while I live."

And, lest by the negligence or corruptions of officials, great abuses might grow even in the reformation of abuses, (for it is not always an idle interrogation, *Quis custodes custodiet ipsos?)* he sat often himself with his chancellor, and was president in his consistory; where though he were a strict executer of ecclesiastical laws, yet, no doubt, he tempered severity with that lenity, which he exhorted the Bishop of Norwich, D. Parkhurst, unto, in a letter unto him: "Let your chancellor," saith he, "be harder, but you easier; let him wound, but do you heal; let him lance, do you plaster. Wise clemency will do more good than rigid severity; one man may move more with an engine, than six with the force of their hands."

27. It is almost incredible, that any oppressed with such variety of business, either necessarily imposed upon him by his calling, or voluntarily undertaken by himself for the good of others, in so short time of his bishopric, should read so much, write so exactly, preach so often at the court, at Paul's Cross, and in all parts of his diocese.

Which over-heavy burden of ruling and instructing every particular church therein, when his friends admonished him to lighten by substitutes and coadjutors, he replied, "Unlearned men can do me no good, and to the learned I can do no good. I have no benefices in my gift to maintain and nourish them. Capon, my predecessor, hath devoured all;" for this Capon, unhappily understanding those words of St. Paul, as one is said to have read them *(Qui desiderat episcopatum bonum, opes desiderat)*, made havoc of all the good livings in his diocese; and as Varus is said by Valerius to have entered poor into the rich province of Syria, but at his departure to have left it poor, himself being enriched by it; so he made a profitable kind of exchange, taking away all the

wealth he found, and leaving to the bishopric the poverty he brought with him.

Yet was he not so covetous of gain as Bishop Jewell of time; not so greedy to cram himself, as this Bishop to feed his flock, and to distribute and dispense unto God's people the riches of his heavenly wisdom; which (contrary to the nature of the other) are kept by giving, lost by keeping, diminished by sparing, increased by spending.

28. His extraordinary diligence is easily seen in his paraphrastical interpretations of the Epistles and Gospels throughout the whole year; his divers treatises of the sacraments and exhortations to the readers; his continuate expositions of the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and Ten Commandments; the Epistle to the Galatians; the First of Peter; and of both the Epistles unto the Thessalonians; scarce any year in all the time of his bishopric passed, which was not made noble and illustrious for some famous work set out in it by him. The year 1560 began with his noble challenge at Paul's Cross, and ended with his confutation of D. Cole.

His Apology, begun in the year 1561, and perfected in the year 1562, was made so much of, not only by the Tigurines, but of all Protestants, that it was translated almost into all tongues, that it might be in all men's mouths. The council of Trent, held about this time, saw it, and censured it, and appointed one Frenchman, and another Italian, to answer it; but they are now not to answer the Apology, but to apologize for their politic not answering it.

29. The years 1564, 1565, were renowned with his and Mr. Harding's contentions about the former named challenge, of whom the same is fitly affirmed which was spoken of Jugurtha and Marius; they learned in the same that which in contrary camps

they practised. In which time also he was solemnly created Doctor, and bare the part of a moderator in those famous acts, concluding with a divine speech of our then, and now more truly to be called, Urania, Elizabeth.

His Apology fell in the years 1566, 1567, after which time divers famous books were dedicated unto him by Peter Martyr, Bullinger, Lavater, Simler, and others; divers other excellent works he had intended, but death prevented the birth of them. We may grieve at our own loss, we may not envy the more glorious part of his society with the saints in heaven.

And although he was taken from us, ἐν ακμῃ ψυχῆς, in the perfection of his best faculties, yet seeing that it is truly said, *Vita est vigilia*, that our living here is nothing but the keeping of the vigils of our sabbath-day in heaven, we may truly say this scene was long, and in Seneca's sense, *Diu vixit licet non diu fuit*, he lived long in the short scantling of his life.

At meals, a chapter being first read, he recreated himself with scholastical wars between young scholars, whom he maintained at his table. The conquerors and their masters also he rewarded bountifully. In these pædomachy and witty frays he took a special delight. After meals, his doors and ears were open to all suits and causes; and at these times, for the most part, he dispatched all those businesses which either his place or other's importunity forced upon him, making gain of the residue of this time for his study.

About the hour of nine at night he called all his servants to an account, how they had spent the day, and after prayers admonished them accordingly. From this examination to his study (how long, it is uncertain, oft-times after midnight), and so to bed;

wherein, after some part of an author read to him by the gentleman of his bedchamber, commending himself to the protection of his Saviour, he took his rest.

30. Two things yet remaining, not more commendable than admirable, which I cannot let pass without wrong to history itself, his memory of things past, and presage of things to come. His memory, raised by art to the highest pitch of human possibility, for he could repeat faithfully any thing he had penned, as he had penned it, after once reading; and therefore usually at the ringing of the bell began to commit his sermons to heart; and by art was made so firm in keeping things committed unto it, that he was wont to say, that if he were to make a speech premeditated, before a thousand auditors shouting or fighting all the while, yet he could say all that he had provided to speak.

And so quick also was he in receiving, that when the Bishop of Norwich proposed unto him many barbarous and hard names out of a calendar, and Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester, forty strange words, Welsh, Irish, and many other outlandish terms, he, after once or twice reading at the most, and short meditating, repeated them all by heart, backward and forward.

Nay, which is yet more strange, when the Lord Bacon, Keeper of the Broad Seal, before the Bishop of Norwich and others, at his table, read only unto him the last clause of ten lines in Erasmus' Paraphrase, confused and dismembered of set purpose, he, sitting silent for a while, and covering his face with his hand, on the sudden rehearsed all those broken parcels of sentences, the right way and the contrary, without any stay or stumbling.

He professed to teach others this skill, and taught his master, M. Parkhurst, beyond the sea, inso-

much, that, spending but one hour in the day in it, in a very short time he learned all the Gospels backward and forward, by the benefit of this artificial memory, setting his places and images in clue.

32. And as his memory was excellent, so was his divination memorable. I omit that speech of his before mentioned, in the highest float of papal tyranny in England, and lowest ebb of his misery beyond the seas—*Hæc non durabunt ætatem*—which fell out most true. And I dispute not whether the soul of herself doth *prominere in morte*, that is, as the prison of the body, more broken by the violence of disease, doth see farther out, which heathen historians make to seem not improbable, but (which I rather believe) God himself gives his saints sometime warning, to put their house in order before they are to leave it, either by visions in the night, as he forewarned Cyprian and Bradford of their martyrdom, the one by fire, the other by the sword; or else by supernatural illumination, as it seems he assured B. Ridley, who, crossing the Thames, when on a sudden, at the rising of a tempest, all were astonished, looking for nothing but to be drowned, "Take heart," saith he, " for this boat carrieth a Bishop that must be burnt, and not drowned."

This much is certain, that, long before his sickness, he foretold the approaching, and in his sickness the precise day of his death. In the year 1570, in his letters to the Bishop of Norwich, after he had certified him of the death of D. Alley, Bishop of Exeter, he added these words, " And I must follow him, the lean bishop the fat;" and in another letter these: " I would to God we might meet and talk together; but now it is too late, it makes not much matter; I hope we shall see one the other in heaven. Flux, flux, that is, in the German tongue,

Quick, quick, make haste; if you make any delay, I shall prevent you."

And the same year that he died, February 3, he postcribed another letter thus: "There is a rumour of the calling a parliament, which if it be true, then perhaps we shall embrace one the other before death; my death, I say, not yours; for you shall yet in this life sing, ὁ Θεος ισχυρος ἀθάνατος, the strong and immortal God." Thus being forewarned to leave this hold of his body, and forewarning others of it, he did not, after the custom of most men, seek by all means, as it were, violently to keep possession beyond the day, and by all kind of natural aliments and medicate potions to surfeit the senses, and stop all the passages of the soul; no, but by fasting, labour, and watching, he opened them wider, that he might be the readier to entertain death, God's harbinger, and to meet his Saviour.

33. The supernatural motions of God's Spirit within him in the end became, as it were, natural, *in fine velociores*; and the last endeavours of grace in him were most vehement; for after his return from a conference at London, he began a new and more severe visitation through his whole diocese than ever before, correcting the vices of the clergy and laity more sharply, enjoining them in some places tasks of holy tracts to be learned by heart, conferring orders more circumspectly, and preaching oftener.

By which restless labour and watchful cares he brought his feeble body so low, that as he rode to preach at Lacock, in Wiltshire, a gentleman friendly admonished him to return home for his health and strength's sake, saying, that such straining his body in riding and preaching, being so exceedingly weak and ill affected, might bring him in danger of his life, assuring him, that it was better the people should want one sermon, than be altogether deprived of such

a preacher. To whom he replied, " It becometh best a bishop to die preaching in the pulpit;" alluding peradventure to the apophthegm of Vespasian, *Oportet imperatorem stantem mori*, and seriously thinking upon the comfortable euloge of his Master, " Happy art thou, my servant, if, when I come, I find thee so doing." Wherefore, that he might not deceive the people's expectation, he ascended the pulpit; and now nothing but spirit (his flesh being pined away and exhausted), reads his text out of the fifth to the Galatians, " Walk in the Spirit;" and with much pains makes an end of it.

34. Presently after his sermon, his disease growing more upon him, forced him to take his bed, and to think of his dissolution, now not far off. In the beginning of his extreme fits, he made his will, considering therein his brother J. Jewell and his friends with some kind remembrances, but bestowing the rest more liberally upon his servants, scholars, and the poor of Sarum. The Saturday following, nature with all her forces (being able no longer to hold fight with the disease) shrinking and failing, he calleth all his household about him, and, after an exposition of the Lord's prayer, *Cantator cygnus funeris ipse sui*, thus beginneth his sweet song:

" I see I am now to go the way of all flesh, and I feel the arrows of death already fastened in my body; wherefore I am desirous, in few words, while yet my most merciful God vouchsafeth me the use of my tongue, to speak unto you all. It was my prayer always unto Almighty God, since I had any understanding, that I might honour his name with the sacrifice of my flesh, and confirm his truth with the oblation of this my body unto death in the defence thereof; which, seeing he hath not granted me in this, yet I somewhat rejoice and solace myself, that it is worn away and exhausted in the labours of my holy calling.

For while I visit the people of God, God my God hath visited me. With Mr. Harding, who provoked me first, I have contended, in my writings, not to detract from his credit and estimation, nor to patronize any error to my knowledge, nor to gain the vain applause of the world, but, according to my poor ability, to do my best services to God and his church. My last sermon at Paul's Cross, and conference about the ceremonies and state of our church, were not to please any man living, nor to grieve any of my brethren, who are of a contrary opinion, but only to this end, that neither part might prejudice the other, and that the love of God might be shed in the hearts of all the brethren, through the Spirit that is given us. And I beseech Almighty God, of his infinite mercy, to convert or confound the head of all these evils, and ringleader of all rebellions, disorders, and schism, the Bishop of Rome, who, wheresoever he setteth foot, soweth seeds of strife and contention. I beseech him also long to preserve the Queen's Majesty, to direct and protect her council, to maintain and increase godly pastors, and to grant to his whole church unity and godly peace. Also, I beseech you all that are about me, and all other whom I ever offended, to forgive me. And now that my hour is at hand, and all my moisture dried up, I most earnestly desire of you all this last duty of love, to pray for me, and help me with the ardency of your affection, when you perceive me, through the infirmity of my flesh, to languish and wax cold in my prayers. Hitherto I have taught you and many others; now the time is come wherein I may, and desire to be taught and strengthened by every one of you."

35. Having thus spoken, and something more to the like purpose, with much pain and interruption he desired them to sing the 71st Psalm (which begins thus: "In thee, O Lord, I put my trust, let me

never be confounded"), himself joining, as well as he could, with them; and when they recited those words, "Thou art my hope, O Lord God, my trust even from my youth," he added, "Thou only wast my whole hope;" and as they went forward saying, "Cast me not off in time of age, forsake me not when my strength faileth me; yea even to mine old age, and gray head, forsake me not, O God;" he made this application to himself: "He is an old man; he is truly gray-headed, and his strength faileth him, who lieth on his death-bed." To which he added other thick and short prayers, as it were pulses, so moved by the power of God's spirit, saying, "Lord, take from me my spirit; Lord, now let thy servant depart in peace. Break off all delays; suffer thy servant to come unto thee; command him to be with thee; Lord, receive my spirit."

36. Here, when one of those that stood by prayed with tears, that (if it might stand with God's good pleasure) he would restore him to former health, Jewell, overhearing him, turned his eyes, as it were offended, and spake to him in the words of St. Ambrose: "I have not lived so, that I am ashamed to live longer, neither do I fear to die, because we have a merciful Lord. A crown of righteousness is laid up for me; Christ is my righteousness. Father, let thy will be done; thy will, I say, and not my will, which is imperfect and depraved. O Lord, confound me not. This is my to-day; this day quickly let me come unto thee; this day let me see the Lord Jesus."

With these words the door was shut by the base sound of the grinding, and the daughters of singing were abased, the silver cord lengthened no more; the golden ewer was cracked, and the pitcher broken at the well; yet the keepers, though with much trembling, stood erect, and they that looked out of the windows, though dark, yet were fixed towards

heaven, till after a few fervent inward prayers of devotion, and sighs of longing desire, the soul returned to God that gave it. M. Ridley, the steward of his house, shut his eyes in the year of our Lord 1571, Sept. 22, about three of the clock in the afternoon, ann. æt. almost 50.

37. Such was the life and death of Bishop Jewell, a most worthy trumpet of Christ's glorious Gospel. What now remains, but that we mournfully complain, in the words of St. Jerome, concerning the death of Fabiola, "*Pretiocissimum de locis sanctis monile perdidimus.*"—"The spouse of Christ hath lost a most precious jewel." Or rather, because he shined so bright in divine virtues, both in his life and death, we are to rejoice for his happy translation. This Jewell is not lost, which Christ hath taken from off the ring of his spouse, which is his church, and set it in a crown of purest gold upon her head, which is himself the Saviour of his elect, where he shineth in glory for evermore. Lord, adorn and enrich continually thy church with such jewels; deck her cheeks with rows of such rubies, and her neck with chains; make her borders of gold, with studs of silver. Amen.

THE

APOLOGY

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND:

WRITTEN BY THE VERY LEARNED AND REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,

JOHN JEWELL,

BISHOP OF SARISBURY.

CHAP. I.

Of the true Religion professed in the Church of England; with a short Account of the Opposition the Truth and true Religion have met with in all Ages.

It is an old complaint, derived down to us from the very times of the patriarchs and prophets, and confirmed by the evidence of all histories, and the testimonies of all ages, that *Truth* is a stranger upon earth, and doth too easily find enemies and defamers, because she is not known; and although this may seem perhaps incredible to those who have not attentively reflected on it, because mankind, by the instinct of nature, without any teacher, doth spontaneously breathe after *Truth*, and Christ himself our Saviour, whilst he conversed with man, chose to be called The Truth, as if that name did aptly express all the power and force of his divine nature; yet we, who are acquainted with the holy Scriptures, and have read and considered what hath happened to pious men in almost all ages, what befel the prophets, the apostles, the holy martyrs, and Christ himself; with what slanders, curses, and injuries they were vexed whilst they lived, only for the sake of *Truth*; we (I say) see by this that it is no new thing, but usual, and the custom of all ages.

Indeed it would appear much more wonderful and incredible, if the father of lies, the devil, that enemy of all truth, should now of a sudden change his mind, and entertain any other hopes of oppressing the *Truth* than by lies; or should now begin to establish his kingdom by other arts than those he hath hitherto employed. For in all ages we shall scarce find any period of time in which religion increased,

established itself, or was reformed; but that at the same time truth and innocence were most unworthily and most injuriously treated by men; for the devil knows very well, that if *Truth* doth flourish in safety, his affairs can neither be safe nor prosperous.

2. For, to speak nothing of the ancient patriarchs and prophets, no part of whose lives (as I said) was free from reproaches and slanders; we know that of old there were some who averred and publicly told the world, that the ancient Jews, who we doubt not worshipped the only true God, performed their religious rites to a swine or an ass, and that all that religion was a mere sacrilege, and a contempt of all deities. We know that the Son of God, our Saviour Jesus Christ, whilst he taught the truth, was reputed an impostor, an enchanter, a Samaritan, a Beelzebub, a deluder of the people, a wine-bibber, and a glutton. Who knows, not what was said of St. Paul, that powerful preacher and assertor of Truth: sometimes he was a seditious man, and listed soldiers, and designed a rebellion; and at other times, that he was an heretic, a madman; that, out of a contentious and perverse disposition, he was a blasphemer against the law of God, and a despiser of the customs of the fathers?

Who knows not, that so soon as ever St. Stephen had admitted the Truth, and suffered it to take possession of his soul, and thereupon (as he ought) began freely and stoutly to preach and own it, he was immediately called in question for his life, as one that had spoken blasphemy against the law, against Moses, against the temple and God? or knows not that the holy Scriptures have been accused of vanity and folly, upon pretence that they contained things contrary and repugnant one to another, and that all the apostles of Jesus Christ disagreed amongst themselves, and that St. Paul differed from all the rest?

And that I may not trouble you with all the instances of this nature, which are upon record (for they are infinite), who knows not what slanders were of old raised against our forefathers, who first embraced and professed the name of Christ; that they conspired amongst themselves against the government, and, for that purpose, met very early, whilst it was yet dark; that they murdered male infants, gorged themselves with man's flesh, and in a barbarous manner drank human blood, and, at last, putting out the candles, perpetrated incests and adulteries; and that brothers lay with their sisters, and sons with their mothers, without any reverence to their bloods and families, without difference or modesty; that they were impious, destitute of all religion, atheists, the enemies of all mankind, and unworthy of the light or life?

3. These things were spoken against the Jews, the people of God, against Christ Jesus, against St. Paul, St. Stephen, and against all those who in the first ages embraced the truth of the Gospel, and were called *Christians*, a name then hated by the many. And although none of these things were true, yet the devil thought it sufficient to his purpose if they were believed true; that so the Christians might incur the public hatred, and be pursued by all to ruin and destruction.

And thus kings and princes being deceived, slew all the Prophets of God to a man; they condemned Isaiah to the saw, Jeremiah to be stoned, Daniel to the lions, Amos to the iron bar, Paul to the sword, and Christ to the cross, and all Christians to prisons, to racks, to crosses, to rocks and precipices, to wild beasts and fires, and burnt whole piles of their living bodies for nocturnal lights, and by way of sport and recreation; and never esteemed them better than the most vile filth of the earth, the offscourings and scorn

of the world: thus the first authors and professors of the Truth were ever treated.

4. Wherefore all we who have now undertaken the profession of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, ought to bear it with the less disturbance of mind, if in the same cause we are treated after the same manner; and as heretofore our fathers, so we in this age are persecuted also with reproaches, slanders, and lies, only because we teach and profess the Truth.

5. They roar out in all places, 1. That we are heretics, that we have forsaken the true faith, and broken the union of the church with new opinions and impious doctrines. 2. That we fetch from hell, and revive the old and long since condemned heresies, and sow the seeds of new sects and unheard-of broils; that we are already divided into contrary factions and opinions, and we would never yet in any manner agree amongst ourselves. 3. That we are wicked men, and, like the giants of old, have entered into a rebellion against God himself, and live without the least regard to the Deity, and without any religious worship. 4. That we despise all good actions; that we do not use any virtuous discipline; that we regard neither laws, nor good manners, nor right, nor justice, nor equity, nor order; that we let loose the rein, and suffer all sorts of villainies, and even provoke the people to all the licentiousness and luxury that is possible. 5. That our business and great design is the subverting monarchies and kingdoms, that all states may be reduced under the dominion of the ignorant multitude and the indiscreet populace. 6. That we have made a tumultuous defection from the Catholic church, and have shaken the peace of the world, and disturbed the quiet of the church, by a detestable schism: and that, as heretofore Dathan and Abiram rose up against Moses and Aaron; so we, without any just cause, have revolted from the

Pope of Rome. 7. That we despise the authority of the primitive fathers and ancient councils; that we have imprudently and insolently abrogated the ancient ceremonies, which have been approved for many ages by our fathers and grandfathers, who had better manners, and lived in better times; and that by our own private authority, without the consent of a holy and general council, we have introduced new rites into the church; and that we have not done this for the sake of religion, but purely out of a contentious humour; that they, on the contrary, have changed nothing, but have retained all things as they were delivered to them by the apostles, approved by the most ancient fathers, and have been kept ever since through all the intermediate ages to this day.

6. And, lest all this might seem to be only a calumny, and that managed by secret whispers only, with design to excite an envy against us, the Popes of Rome have suborned eloquent and not unlearned men to undertake the defence of this desperate cause, and to represent it to the world in books and long discourses, in the best colours it was possible to give it, to the intent, that, being elegantly and copiously pleaded, unskilful men might suspect there was something more than ordinary in it; for indeed they saw that their cause was every where in a declining condition; their arts were now seen through, and so were the less esteemed; their fortresses were every day undermined, and their case stood in need of a powerful patronage and defence. But then as to those things, which they have charged us with, some of them are manifestly false, and condemned by the consciences of them that object them against us; others, though in the bottom they are false too, yet they have the show and similitude of truth, so that an incautious and an unthinking

reader may (especially if he be surprised by any of their laboured and elegant discourses) be easily circumvented and deceived; and others of the things thus charged upon us, are such as we ought to acknowledge and profess, and not decline the owning them, as if they were crimes, but defend them, as things that were well and rationally done. For, to speak in a word, they slander whatever we do, even those actions of ours, which themselves cannot deny to be rightly and well done, and maliciously deprave and pervert all our words and actions, as if it were not possible *we* should do or speak any thing as we ought. They ought indeed to treat us with more simplicity and candour, if they designed truth; but, on the other hand, they do not oppose us with truth, nor in a Christian way or manner, but with lies in a close and crafty way, and abuse the blindness and ignorance of the rabble, and the want of learning in princes, to the inflaming their hatred against us, and the oppression of the truth. This is indeed the power of darkness, and the folly of men, who trust more to the stupidity and benighted minds of the unpolished multitude than in the light of truth; or, as St. Jerome expresseth it, *This is to contradict with shut eyes the truth when it is most perspicuous.* But we bless the great and holy God, our cause is such, that though they never so much desire to defame it, yet they can fix no reproach upon it, which they may not with as much reason and justice employ against the holy fathers, the prophets, the apostles, against St. Peter, St. Paul, and even against Christ himself.

7. But now, if they are so ambitious of the honour of being thought polite and eloquent slanderers, it does so much the less befit us to be mute and careless in the defence of our most excellent cause; for it is certainly the part only of dissolute men, who can securely and wickedly shut their eyes when the Divine Majesty is injured, to be wholly

unconcerned; what is (though falsely and unjustly) said of them and their cause, especially when it is of that nature, that the glory of God, and the affairs of religion, are at the same time violated; for although other, and those often very great, injuries may be borne and dissembled by a modest Christian, *yet he* (saith Ruffinus) *who shall patiently put up with the name of an heretic, does not deserve to be called a Christian.* Permit us then to do that which all laws, and the very voice of nature, command us; that which Christ himself did when he was in a like case assaulted with reproaches; that is, suffer us to repel their defamations, and with modesty and truth to defend our cause and innocence; for Christ himself, when the Pharisees charged him with conjuration, as if he had entered a combination with impure spirits, and by their assistance wrought many wonders, replied (John, viii. 49), *I have not a devil, but I honour my Father, and ye do dishonour me*; and St. Paul, when he was undervalued by Festus, the Proconsul, as a madman, answered (Acts, xxvi. 25), *I am not mad, most noble Festus, but speak forth the words of truth and soberness.* And the primitive Christians, when they were traduced to the people as murderers, adulterers, incestuous persons, and disturbers of the government, and saw that the excellence of their religion might be called in question; especially if they held their peace, and by their silence seemed to confess the truth of these accusations, and so the course of the Gospel might be hindered, they thereupon made public orations, wrote supplicant books, and discoursed before emperors and princes, in the public defence of themselves and the church.

8. But we perhaps may seem not to need any defence; so many thousands of our brethren in the last twenty years having borne testimony to the truth,

amidst the most exquisite tortures; and princes, in endeavouring to put a stop to the progress of the Gospel, and to that purpose using several methods, having yet in the end been able to effect nothing; and the whole world now beginning to open their eyes, and to see the light; and therefore it may seem (as I said), that enough hath been spoken, and that our case is sufficiently defended, the thing speaking for itself; for if the popes themselves would, or, indeed, if they could, consider with themselves the beginning and progress of our religion; how, theirs without any resistance, without any human force, hath fallen; and in the interim, ours hath increased, and by degrees been propagated into all countries, and hath been entertained in the courts of kings and the palaces of princes, even while it was opposed from the beginning, by emperors, by kings, by popes, and almost by all others; these things (I say) are clear indications that God himself fights for us, and doth from heaven deride and scorn their projects and endeavours, and that the power of *truth* is so great, that no human force, nor the very gates of hell, shall ever be able to prevail against it; for so many free cities, so many princes, cannot be supposed mad, as at this day have fallen from the see of Rome, and chosen rather to join themselves to the Gospel.

9. For although popes have not as yet, at any time, been at leisure to think attentively and seriously of these things; or although other thoughts may now hinder and distract them, or they may think these things light, and beneath the dignity of the popedom; is our cause therefore to be thought ever the worse? or if, perhaps, they will pretend not to see what indeed they do see, and that they choose rather to oppose the truth, even then when they are convinced of it, are we therefore presently

to be reputed heretics, because we cannot comply with their wills? If Pope Pius IV. had been such a person as his name speaks him, and as he so much desires to be thought; nay, indeed, if he had but been so good a man, as to have esteemed us as his brethren, or as *men*, certainly he would diligently have considered our reasons, and what could have been alleged for and against us, and not with so rash and blindfold a precipitancy have condemned without hearing our cause, or allowing the liberty of a defence, so considerable a part of the world, so many learned, so many religious men, so many commonwealths, so many kings, and so many princes, as he has sentenced in his bull, concerning his late pretended council.

10. But now, because we are so publicly in this unjust manner noted by him, lest by our silence we should seem to confess the crimes charged upon us, and the rather, because we could in no manner be heard in any public council, where he would suffer none to have any suffrage, or propose his judgment, who was not first sworn to him, and entirely addicted to his interest (for of this we had too great an experience in the late council of Trent, when the ambassadors and divines of the princes and free cities of Germany were totally excluded out of the council; nor can we forget that Julius III. above ten years since, took a mighty care by his rescript, that none of our men might be heard in the council, except it were one that was disposed to recant and change his opinion): for these causes (I say) we have thought fit by this book to give an account of our faith, and to answer truly and publicly what hath been publicly objected against us, that the whole world may see the parts and reasons of that faith which so many good men have valued above their lives, and that all mankind may understand

what kind of men they are, and what they think of God and religion: whom the Bishop of Rome has inconsiderately enough, before they had made their defence, without example and without law, condemned for heretics, upon a bare report, that they differed from him and his in some points of religion.

11. And though St. Jerome will allow no man to be patient under the suspicion of heresy, yet we will not behave ourselves neither sourly, nor irreverently, nor angrily, though he ought not to be esteemed either sharp nor abusive, who speaks nothing but the truth; no, we will leave that sort of oratory to our adversaries, who think whatsoever they speak, although it be never so sharp and reproachful, modest and apposite, when it is applied to us, and they are as little concerned whether it be true or false; but we, who defend nothing but the truth, have no need of such base arts.

12. Now if we make it appear, and that not obscurely and craftily, but *bonâ fide*, before God, truly, ingenuously, clearly, and perspicuously, that we teach the most holy Gospel of God, and that the ancient fathers, and the whole primitive church, are on our side, and that we have not without just cause left them, and returned to the Apostles and the ancient catholic fathers; and if they who so much detest our doctrine, and pride themselves in the name of Catholics, shall apparently see that all those pretences of antiquity, of which they so immoderately glory, belong not to them, and that there is more strength in our cause than they thought there was; then we hope that none of them will be so careless of his salvation, but he will at some time or other bethink himself which side he ought to join with. Certainly if a man be not of an hard and obdurate heart, and resolved not to hear, he can never repent the having once consi-

dered our defence, and the attending what is said by us, and whether it be agreeable or no to the Christian religion.

13. For whereas they call us heretics; that is so dreadful a crime, that except it be apparently seen, except it be palpable, and, as it were, to be felt with our hands and fingers, it ought not to be easily believed, that a Christian is or can be guilty of it; for heresy is a renunciation of our salvation, a rejection of the grace of God, and a departure from the body and spirit of Christ. But this was ever the custom and usage of them and of their forefathers, that if any presumed to complain of their errors, and desired the reformation of religion, they condemned them forthwith for heretics, as innovators and factious men; Christ himself was called a Samaritan, for no other cause, but for that they thought he had made a defection to a new religion or heresy. And St. Paul the Apostle, being called in question, was accused of heresy, to which he replied, Acts, xxiv. 14, *After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are written in the law and in the Prophets.*

14. In short, all that religion which we Christians now profess, in the beginning of Christianity was by the Pagans called a sect or heresy; with these words they filled the ears of princes, that when, out of prejudice, they had once possessed their minds with an aversion for us, and that they were persuaded, that whatever we said was factious and heretical, they might be diverted from reflecting upon the thing itself, or even hearing or considering the cause; but by how much the greater and more grievous this crime is, so much the rather ought it to be proved by clear and strong arguments, especially at this time, because men begin now-a-days a

little to distrust the fidelity of their oracles, and to inquire into their doctrine with much greater industry than has heretofore been employed; for the people of God in this age are quite of another disposition than they were heretofore, when all the responses and dictates of the popes of Rome were taken for Gospel, and all religion depended upon their authority; the holy Scriptures, and the writings of the apostles and prophets, are every where now to be had, out of which all the true and catholic doctrine may be proved, and all heresies may be refuted.

15. But seeing they can produce nothing out of the Scriptures against us, it is very injurious and cruel to call us heretics, who have not revolted from Christ, nor from the apostles, nor from the prophets. By the sword of Scripture Christ overcame the devil when he was tempted by him; with these *weapons every high thing that exalteth itself against God* is to be brought down and dispersed; "for all Scripture," saith St. Paul (2 Tim. iii. 16), "is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction, that the man of God may be perfect, and thoroughly furnished unto all good works;" and accordingly, the holy fathers have never fought against heretics with any other arms that what the Scriptures have afforded them. St. Augustine, when he disputed against Petilianus, a Donatist heretic, useth these words: "*Let not* (saith he) *these words be heard, I say, or Thou sayest, but rather let us say, Thus saith the Lord; let us seek the church there, let us judge of our cause by that.*" And St. Jerome saith, "*Let whatever is pretended to be delivered by the Apostles, and cannot be proved by the testimony of the written word, be struck with the sword of God.*" And St. Ambrose to the emperor Gratian, "*Let the Scriptures* (saith he), *let the apostles, let the prophets, let Christ be*

interrogated." The Catholic fathers and bishops of those times did not doubt but our religion might be sufficiently proved by Scripture; nor durst they esteem any man an heretic, whose error they could not perspicuously and clearly prove such by Scripture. And as to us, we may truly reply with St. Paul, Acts, xxiv. 14: "After the way which they call heresy, so worship I the God of my fathers, believing all things which are in the written law and the prophets;" or the writings of the apostles.

16. If therefore we be heretics, and they (as they desire to be called) be Catholics, why do they not do what they see the fathers and all other Catholics have done? Why do they not convince us out of the holy Scriptures? Why do they not try us by them? Why do they not shew that we have made a defection from Christ, from the prophets, from the apostles, and from the holy fathers? Why do they stand? Why do they draw back? It is the cause of God! Why, then, should they fear to commit it to the arbitrement of the word of God? But if we are heretics who submit all our controversies to the holy Scriptures, and appeal to those very words which we know were consigned to writing by God himself, and prefer them before all other things which can possibly be excogitated by the wit of man; what are they, or by what name shall they be called, who fear and shun the sentence of the Scriptures, that is, the judgment of God himself, and prefer their own dreams and silly inventions before them, and have for some ages violated the institutions of Christ and his apostles, for the sake of their traditions? There is a story of Sophocles the tragedian, that when he was very old, he was accused before the judges by his own sons for a childish and a silly person, as one that had wasted his estate by ill managery, and stood in need of a guardian in his old age to take care of him and it: the old man appeared in court, and, instead of a defence, recited

a tragedy, which he had very elaborately and elegantly written just in that time the suit was depending, and thereupon asked the judges if that poem were the work of a childish person.

17. So we therefore, because we are taken by them for madmen, and are traduced as if we were heretics, and as if we had nothing to do with Christ, nor with the church of God, have thought it not unreasonable or unprofitable to propound openly and freely the faith in which we stand, and all that hope which we have in Christ Jesus, that all may see what we think of every part of the Christian religion, and so determine with themselves, whether that faith which they must needs perceive to be consonant to the words of Christ and the writings of the apostles, and the testimonies of the catholic fathers, and which is confirmed by the examples of many ages, be only the rage of a sort of madmen, and a combination or conspiracy of heretics.

CHAPTER II.

Containing the Doctrine received in the Church of England.

1. We believe that there is one certain nature and divine power which we call God, and that this is distinguished into three equal Persons, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, all of the same power, of the same majesty, of the same eternity, of the same divinity, and of the same substance; and although these three Persons are so distinguished, that the Father is not the Son, nor the Son the Holy Ghost or Father; yet there is but one God, and this one God created heaven and earth, and whatever is contained within the circumference of the heavens.

2. We believe that Jesus Christ, the only Son of the eternal Father, as it had been decreed, before the beginning of all things, when the fulness of

time came, took our flesh and perfect human nature of that blessed and pure Virgin, that he might reveal to men that hidden and secret will of his Father which was concealed from all former ages and generations; and that in this human body he might finish the mystery of our redemption, and might nail to his cross our sins, and the obligation which lay against us. Col. ii. 14.

3. For we believe that for our sakes he died, was buried, descended into hell, and the third day, by a divine power, returned to life, and arose, and after forty days, in the sight of his disciples, ascended into heaven, that he might fill all things, and that the very body in which he was born, in which he conversed, in which he was despised, in which he had suffered most grievous torments, and a most direful death, in which he rose, and now ascended to the right hand of his Father, was placed above all principalities and power, and every name which is mentioned, not only in this world, but in that which is to come, in majesty and glory. And we believe that he doth now sit there, and shall sit there till all things are fulfilled; and although the majesty and divinity of Christ is diffused every where, *yet his body* (as St. Augustine saith) *ought to be in one place.* We believe that though Christ added majesty to his body, yet he took not from it the nature of a body; nor is Christ to be so asserted to be God, that we should deny him to be man; and as the martyr Vigilius said, *Christ left us* as to his human nature, *but he hath not left us in his divine nature; and though he is absent from us by the form of a servant, yet he is ever with us by the form of God.*

4. And from thence we believe, Christ shall return to exercise a general judgment, as well upon those he shall then find alive, as upon all that are then dead.

5. We believe that the Holy Ghost, who is the third Person in the Holy Trinity, is true God, not made, nor created, nor begotten, but proceeding from both, that is, from the Father and the Son, in a way neither known to mortals, nor possible to be expressed by them. We believe, that it is He who softens the hardness of man's heart, when he is received into their hearts, by the saving preaching of the Gospel, or by any other way whatsoever; that it is He who enlightens them, and leads them to the knowledge of God, into all the ways of truth, into a perfect newness of life, and a perpetual hope of salvation.

6. We believe, that there is one church of God, and that not confined, as it was heretofore, to the Jewish people, in one angle or kingdom, but that it is *catholic* and *universal*, and so diffused or spread over the face of the whole earth; that there is no nation which can justly complain that it is excluded, and cannot be admitted into the church and people of God; that this church is the kingdom, the body, and spouse of Christ; that Christ is the only prince of this kingdom; that there are in the church divers orders of ministers; that there are some who are *deacons*, others who are *presbyters*, and others who are *bishops*, to whom the instruction of the people, and the care and management of religion, are committed: and yet that there neither is, nor is it possible there should be, any one man who has the care of this whole catholic church, for Christ is ever present with his church, and needs not a *vicar*, or sole and perfect successor; and that no mortal man can in his mind contain all the body of the universal church, that is, all the parts of the earth; much less can he reduce them into an exact order, and rightly and prudently administer its affairs. *That the apostles*, as St. Cyprian saith, *were all of equal power and au-*

thority, and that all the rest were what St. Peter was; that it was said to all alike, Feed; to all, Go ye into all the world; to all, Teach ye the Gospel. And that, as St. Jerome saith, *All bishops, wheresoever they are settled, whether it be at Rome or Eugubium, at Constantinople or Rhegium, they are of equal worth, and of the same priesthood.* And as St. Cyprian saith, *There is but one episcopacy, and each of them hath a perfect and entire share of it.* And that, according to the judgment and sentence of the council of Nice, the bishop of Rome hath no more authority in the church of God than the other patriarchs, viz. the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch. That the bishop of Rome, who now endeavours to draw all the ecclesiastical authority to himself alone, if he doth not his duty, that is, if he doth not administer the sacraments, if he doth not instruct the people, admonish and teach, he is not to be called a bishop, or indeed a presbyter; for, as St. Augustine saith, Bishop is the name of a work or office, and not a title of honour; so that he who would usurp an unprofitable pre-eminence in the church is no bishop. But then, that the bishop of Rome, or any other person, should be the head of the whole church, or an universal bishop, is no more possible, than that he should be the bridegroom, the light, the salvation, and the life of the church; for these are the privileges and titles of Christ alone, and do properly and only belong to him; nor was there ever any bishop of Rome, who would suffer so insolent and proud a title to be given him, before the times of Phocas the emperor, who, as we very well know, aspired to the empire by a most detestable villany (the murder of Mauritius the former emperor, his sovereign), that is, till the year of Christ 613. That the council of Carthage expressly decreed, that no bishop should be called the highest pontiff or

chief priest. But the bishop of Rome, because he now desires to be so called, and usurps a power which belongs not to him, besides that he acts directly against the ancient councils and the fathers, if he dares believe St. Gregory, one of his own predecessors, he has taken upon him an arrogant, profane, sacrilegious, antichristian title, and is therefore the king of pride, Lucifer, one that sets himself above his brethren, who has denied the faith, and is thereby become the forerunner of antichrist.

7. We say that a minister ought to have a lawful call, and be duly and orderly preferred in the church of God, and that no man ought at his own will and pleasure to intrude into the sacred ministry; so that a very great injury is done us by them, who so frequently affirm, that nothing is done decently and in order by us, but all things are managed confusedly and disorderly, and that with us all (that will) are priests, teachers, and interpreters.

8. We say, that Christ has given to his ministers the power of binding and loosing, of opening and shutting. And we say, that the power of loosing consists in this, that the minister, by the preaching of the Gospel, offers to dejected minds and true penitents, through the merits of Christ, absolution, and doth assure them a certain remission of their sins, and the hopes of eternal salvation; or, secondly, reconciles, restores, and receives into the congregation and unity of the faithful, those penitents, who by any grievous scandal or known and public offence, have offended the minds of their brethren, and, in a sort, alienated and separated themselves from the common society of the church and the body of Christ. And we say the minister doth exercise the power of binding or shutting, when he shutteth the gate of the kingdom of heaven against unbelievers and obstinate persons, and denounceth to them the ven-

geance of God and eternal punishment; or excludeth out of the bosom of the church, those that are publicly excommunicated; and that God himself doth so far approve whatever sentence his ministers shall so give, that whatsoever is either loosed or bound by their ministry here on earth, he will in like manner bind or loose, and confirm, in heaven. The key with which these ministers do shut or open the kingdom of heaven, we say, with St. Chrysostom, is *the knowledge of the Scripture*; with Tertullian, is *the interpretation of the law*; and with Eusebius, is *the word of God*. We say the disciples of Christ received this power (from him), not that they might hear the private confessions of the people, and catch their whispering murmurs, as the popish priests every where now do, and that in such a manner as if all the force and use of the keys consisted only in this; but that they might go and preach and publish the Gospel, that so they might be a savour of life unto life, to them that did believe; and that they might be also a savour of death unto death, to those that did not believe; that the minds of the pious, who were affrighted with the sense of their former ill lives and errors, after they beheld the light of the Gospel, and believed in Christ, might be opened by the word of God, as doors are with a key: and that the wicked and stubborn, who would not believe and return into the way, might be left, shut up, and locked, and, as St. Paul expresseth it, 2 Tim. iii. 13, might *wax worse and worse*. This we take to be the meaning of the *keys*, and that in this manner the consciences of men are either bound or loosed. We say that the priest is a judge; but then we say with St. Ambrose, that he hath not the right of any dominion; and therefore Christ reprehended the Scribes and Pharisees with these words, that he might reprove their negligence in teaching (Matt.

xxiii. 13. Luke, xi. 52): *Woe unto you Scribes and Pharisees; for you have taken away the key of knowledge, and shut up the kingdom of heaven against men.* Seeing then the key, by which a passage is opened for us into the kingdom of heaven, is the word of the Gospel, and the interpretation of the law and the Scriptures; where there is no such word, there is no key. And seeing the same word was given to all, and the key which pertains to all, is but one; we say that the power of all ministers, as to binding and loosing, is one and the same; and we say, that even the Pope himself, notwithstanding his flatterers do so sweetly sooth him up with these words (Matt. xvi. 19), "I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven," as if they belonged to him, and to no other mortal under heaven; except he makes it his business to bend and subdue the consciences of men to the word of God; we deny that even he (as I said) can either open or shut, or hath at all the keys; and although he doth teach and instruct the people (which I wish he would sometimes do truly, and at last be persuaded to believe it is at least some part of his duty and office); but yet if he did so, his key would be neither better nor greater than that of others; for who made the difference? who taught him to open more learnedly, or absolve more powerfully, than his brethren?

9. We say, that marriage is honourable and holy in all degrees of men, in patriarchs, in prophets, in holy martyrs, in the ministers of the churches, and in the bishops; and that, as St. Chrysostom saith, *it is both lawful and just that he should ascend the episcopal throne with it*; and we say as Sozomen did of Spiridion, and Nazianzen did of his own father, *that a pious and industrious bishop is nothing the worse for being married, but rather much the better, and more useful in his ministry.* And we say that the law

which by force taketh away this liberty from men, and ties them to a single life against their wills, is, as St. Paul styles it, the *doctrine of devils*; and that from hence (as is confessed by the bishop of Augusta, Faber, the abbot of Palermo, Latimus, *the tripartite work*, which is joined to the second tome of the councils and other defenders of the papal party, and which is apparent from the thing itself, and confessed by all histories) an incredible impurity of life and manners, and horrible debaucheries in the ministers of God, have sprung and arisen; so that Pius II. bishop of Rome, was not out, when he said *he saw many causes why the clergy should be denied wives, but he saw more and greater causes to allow them wives again.*

10. We receive and embrace all the canonical Scriptures, both of the Old and New Testament; and we give our gracious God most hearty thanks, that he hath set up this light for us, which we ever fix our eyes upon, lest by human fraud, or the snares of the devil, we should be seduced to errors or fables; we own them to be the heavenly voices by which God hath revealed and made known his will to us; in them only can the mind of man acquiesce; in them all that is necessary for our salvation is abundantly and plainly contained, as Origen, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, and St. Cyril, have taught us. They are the very might and power of God unto salvation; they are the foundations of the Apostles and Prophets, upon which the church of God is built; they are the most certain and infallible rule by which the church may be reduced, if she happen to stagger, slip, or err; by which all ecclesiastical doctrines ought to be tried. No law, no tradition, no custom, is to be received or continued, if it be contrary to Scripture; no, though St. Paul

himself, or an angel from heaven, should come and teach otherwise. Gal. i. 8.

11. We receive also and allow the sacraments of the church, that is, the sacred signs and ceremonies which Christ commanded us to use, that he might by them represent to our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and most strongly confirm the faith we have in his blood, and seal in our hearts his grace; and we call them *figures, signs, types, antitypes, forms, seals, prints or signets, similitudes, examples, images, remembrances, and memorials*; with Tertullian, Origen, St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, St. Basil, and Dionysius, and many other catholic fathers. Nor do we doubt with them, to call them a kind of *visible* words, *the signets of righteousness and the symbols of grace*, and clearly affirm, that in the sacrament of the Lord's supper, the body and blood of our Lord is truly exhibited to believers; that is, the enlivening flesh of the Son of God; the bread that comes from above, the nourishment of immortality, the grace, the truth, and the life; and that it is the communion of the body and blood of Christ, by the participation of which we are quickened, strengthened, and fed to immortality, and by which we are conjoined, united, and incorporated with Christ, that we may remain in him, and he in us.

12. We acknowledge, that there are two sacraments, properly so called—baptism and the supper of the Lord; for so many we see were delivered to us, and consecrated by Christ, and approved by St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and the ancient fathers.

13. And we say that baptism is the sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christ, and that none are to be denied that sacrament, who will profess the faith of Christ; no, not the infants of Christians, be-

cause they are born in sin, and belong to the people of God.

14. We say, that the eucharist is the sacrament or visible symbol of the body and blood of Christ, in which the death and resurrection of Christ, and what he did in his human body, is in a manner represented to our eyes, that we may give him thanks for his death, and our deliverance by it; and that, by frequenting the sacrament, we may often renew the remembrance of it; and that by the body and blood of Christ we may be nourished into the hope of the resurrection, and of eternal life; and that we may be assured that the body and blood of Christ hath the same effect in the feeding of our souls, which the bread and wine have in the repairing the decays of our bodies. To this great and solemn feast the people are to be invited, that they may all communicate together, and may publicly signify and testify both their union and society among themselves, and that hope which they have in Christ Jesus; and therefore if there was any one heretofore, before the private mass was introduced, who would be only a spectator, and yet would abstain from the holy communion, the bishops of Rome in the primitive times, and the ancient fathers, would have excommunicated him as a wicked man and a Pagan; nor was there any Christian man in those times, who communicated alone in the presence of others who were only spectators. So Calixtus long since decreed, that when the consecration was finished, all should communicate if they would not be deprived of the communion of the church, and be shut out of it; for so (saith he) the Apostles ordained, and the holy church of Rome holds. And we say, that both the parts of the sacrament ought to be given to all that come to the holy communion; for so Christ commanded, and the Apostles instituted throughout

the world, and all the ancient fathers and catholic bishops so practised; *and if any one shall do otherwise* (saith Gelasius), *he commits sacrilege:* and therefore our adversaries, who, exploding and rejecting the communion, defend the private mass and a multitude of sacraments, without the authority of the word of God, without any ancient council, without any catholic father, without any example of the primitive church, and without reason; and this against the express command of Christ, and also against all antiquity—in so doing act wickedly and sacrilegiously.

15. We say, that the bread and wine are the holy and heavenly mysteries of the body and blood of Christ, and that in them Christ himself, the true bread of eternal life, is so exhibited to us at present, that we do by faith truly take his body and blood; and yet at the same time we speak not this so as if we thought the nature of the bread and wine were totally changed and abolished, as many in the last ages have dreamt, and as yet could never agree among themselves about this dream. For neither did Christ ever design that the wheaten bread should change its nature, and assume a new kind of divinity, but rather that it might change us; and that, as Theophylact saith, *we might be transelemented into his body*; for what can be more perspicuous than what St. Ambrose saith on this occasion: *The bread and wine are what they were, and yet are changed into another thing?* or what Gelasius saith: *The substance of the bread and nature of the wine do not cease to be?* or than what Theodoret: *After the consecration of the mystical symbols, they do not cast off their own proper nature, for they remain in their former substance, and figure, and species?* or than what St. Augustine saith: *That which you see is bread, and a cup, as your eyes inform you; but that*

which your faith desires to be instructed in is, this the bread is the body of Christ, and the cup is his blood? or than that of Origen: *That bread which is consecrated by the word of God, as to the matter of it, goes into the belly, and is cast out by the draught?* or than that of Christ himself, who said, not only after the consecration, but after the finishing of the communion, *I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine?* for it is certain the fruit of the vine is wine, and not blood. And yet when we speak thus, we do not so depress the esteem of the Supper of the Lord, as to teach that it is a mere cold ceremony, and that nothing is done in it which many falsely report of us; for we assert that Christ in his sacraments doth exhibit himself truly present, in baptism, that we may put him on; in his supper, that we may eat him by faith and in the spirit; and that by his cross and blood we may have life eternal: and this, we say, is not slightly and coldly, but really and truly done; for although we do not touch Christ with our teeth and lips, yet we hold and press him by faith, mind, and spirit. Nor is that faith vain which embraceth Christ, nor that participation cold which is perceived by the mind, understanding, and spirit; for so Christ himself is entirely offered and given to us in these mysteries as much as is possible, that we may truly know that we are flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone, and that he dwells in us, and we in him. (John, vi. 56)

16. And therefore in the celebration of these mysteries, before we come to receive the holy communion, the people are fitly admonished to lift up their hearts, and that they should direct their minds to heaven, for there He is, by whom we are to be fed and live. And St. Cyril saith, *that in partaking of the holy mysteries, all gross imaginations are to be excluded.* And the Nicene council, as it is cited

by some in Greek, doth expressly forbid us *to think only on the bread and wine that are set before us.* And, as St. Chrysostom writes well: *We say that the body of Christ is the carcass, and we are to be the eagles, that thereby we may learn to mount aloft, if we will approach the body of Christ; for this is the table of eagles, and not of jays.* And St. Cyprian: *This bread is the meat of the soul, and not of the belly.* And St. Augustine: *How shall I lay hold on Him who is absent? How shall I reach my hand into the heavens, and touch Him who sits there? Send thy faith thither* (saith he), *and thou hast him sure.*

17. But then as to the fairs and sales of masses, and the carrying about and adoring the bread, and a number of such-like idolatrous and blasphemous follies, which none of them dare affirm to have been delivered to us by Christ or his Apostles, our church will not endure them; and we justly blame the bishops of Rome for presuming, without any command of God, without any authority of the holy fathers, and without any example, not only to propose the sacramental bread to be adored by the people with a divine worship; but also to carry it about before them upon an ambling nag wherever they go, as the Persian kings did heretofore their sacred fire, and the Egyptians their image of Isis; and so have turned the sacraments of Christ into pageantry and pomp; that, in that very thing in which the death of Christ was to be celebrated and inculcated, and the mysteries of our redemption ought to be piously and reverently represented, the eyes of men should only be fed with a foolish show, and a piece of ludicrous levity. And then, whereas they say, and sometimes persuade fools, that they can by their masses distribute and apply to men (who very often think of nothing less, and never know what is then doing) all the merits of the death

of Christ; this pretence, I say, is ridiculous, heathenish, and silly; for it is our faith which applies the death and cross of Christ to us, and not the action of a priest. *The faith of the sacraments* (saith St. Augustine) *justifies, and not the sacrament.* And Origen saith, *He* (Christ) *is the priest, and the propitiation, and the sacrifice; and that propitiation comes to every one by way of faith.* And, therefore, agreeably hereunto, we say that the sacraments do not profit the living without faith, and much less the dead; for as to what they pretend concerning their purgatory, though that is no very late invention, yet it is nothing but a silly old wives story: St. Augustine sometimes saith there is such a place; sometimes he doth not deny but there may be such a place; sometimes he doubts if there be; and at other times he positively denies there is any such place at all, and thinks that men, out of human kindness to the dead, are deceived in that point. And yet from this one error there has sprung such a crop of small priests, that, masses being publicly and openly sold in every corner, they have turned the churches of God into mere shops, and deluded poor mortals into a belief that there was no commodity more useful; and, certainly, as to those small Levites, these masses were very advantageous.

18. We know that St. Augustine grievously complained of the vast number of impertinent ceremonies in his time, and therefore we have cut off a great many of them, because we know they were afflictive to the consciences of men, and burdensome to the church of God. Yet we still retain and religiously use not only all those which we know were delivered to the church by the Apostles, but some others which we saw might be borne without any inconvenience, because, as St. Paul commands, we desire all things in the religious assemblies should

be done decently and in order; but then, as to all those that were very superstitious or base, or ridiculous, or contrary to the Scripture, or did not seem to befit sober men, an infinite number of which are still to be found among Papists; we have rejected all these, I say, without excepting any one of them, because we would not have the service of God any longer contaminated with such fooleries.

19. We pray (as it is fit we should) in that tongue our people do all understand, that the people, as St. Paul admonisheth, may reap a common advantage by the common prayers, as all the holy fathers, and catholic bishops, not only in the Old, but in the New Testament also, did ever pray and teach the people to pray, lest, as St. Augustine saith, *we should, like parrots, and other prating birds, seem to sound words which we did not understand.*

20. We have no mediator and intercessor by whom we approach to God the Father but Jesus Christ, in whose name only all things are obtained. But that which we see done in their churches is base and heathenish; not only because they have set up an infinite number of intercessors, without any authority of the word of God; so that, as Jeremiah saith, *according to the number of thy cities, so are thy gods*; so that miserable men know not which to apply themselves to; and though they are innumerable, yet they have ascribed to each of them their office, and what was to be obtained, had, and received from each of them; but also because they have not only impiously, but impudently, solicited the Virgin Mary, *that she would remember she is a mother; that she would be pleased to command her Son; and that she would make use of the authority she hath over him.*

21. We say that man is born and does live in sin, and that no man can truly say his heart is clean;

that the most holy man is an unprofitable servant; that the law of God is perfect, and requires of us a full and perfect obedience; and that we cannot in any way keep it perfectly in this life; and that there is no mortal who can be justified in the sight of God by his own deserts; and therefore our only refuge and safety is in the mercy of God the Father by Jesus Christ, and in the assuring ourselves that he is the propitiation for our sins, by whose blood all our stains are washed out; that he has pacified all things by the blood of his cross; that he, by that only sacrifice which he once offered upon the cross, hath perfected all things; and therefore, when he breathed out his soul, said, IT IS FINISHED; as if by these words he would signify, now the price is paid for the sins of mankind.

22. Now if there be any who think not that this sacrifice is sufficient, let them go and find out a better; but as for us, because we know this is the only sacrifice, we are contented with it alone, nor do we expect any other; and because it was only once to be offered, we do not enjoin the repetition of it; and because it was full and in all its members and parts perfect, we do not substitute to it the perpetual successions of our own sacrifices.

23. Though we say there is no trust to be put in the merits of our works and actions, and place all the hopes and reason of our salvation only in Christ; yet we do not therefore say, that men should live loosely and dissolutely, as if baptism and faith were sufficient for a Christian, and there were nothing more required. *The true faith is a living faith, and cannot be idle*; therefore we teach the people, that God hath not called us to luxury and disorder, but, as St. Paul saith, *unto good works, that we might walk in them* (Eph. ii. 10). *That God hath delivered us from the power of darkness, that we might*

serve the living God (Col. i. 10). That we should root up all the relics of sin; *that we should work out our salvation with fear and trembling* (Philipp. ii. 12); that it might appear that the spirit of sanctification was in us, and that Christ himself dwelleth in our hearts by faith.

24. To conclude: we believe that this body of ours in which we live, though after death it turns to dust, yet in the last day it shall return to life again, by the spirit of Christ that dwelleth in us; and that then, whatever we suffer for Christ in the interim, he will wipe away all tears from our eyes, and that then through him we shall enjoy everlasting life, and be always with him in glory. Amen.

CHAP. III.

Containing a plain Demonstration of the Causes why and whence Heresies arose in the Church, with Instances of all Sorts in all Times.

These are the horrible heresies for which a considerable part of the world at this day are condemned by the Pope unheard; it had been better to have entered a contest with Christ, the Apostles and holy fathers; for they it was, who did not only give a beginning to these doctrines, but commanded them; unless they of the church of Rome will say (as perhaps they will) that Christ did not institute the holy communion, that it might be distributed amongst the faithful; or that the Apostles of Jesus Christ, or the ancient fathers, said private masses in all the corners of their churches; sometimes ten, and at other twenty in one day; or that Christ and the Apostles deprived the people of the cup, or that that which they now do, and that with that eagerness, that whoever will not comply with them in it,

is by them condemned for an heretic, is not called sacrilege by one of their own popes, Gelasius; or that those are not the words of Ambrosius, Augustinus, Gelasius, Theodoret, Chrysostom, and Origen: "That the bread and wine in the sacrament remain what they were before; that that which is seen on the holy table is bread; that the substance of the bread doth not cease to be, nor the nature of the wine; that the substance and nature of the bread is not changed; that this very bread, as to what concerns the matter of it, goes down into the belly, and is cast out by the draught?" Or that Christ and his apostles, and the fathers, did not pray in that tongue which was understood by the people? Or that "Christ, by that one oblation which he once offered, hath not perfected the work of our redemption, or that this sacrifice was so imperfect that we need another?" Either they must say all these things, or else they must aver, which, perhaps, they had rather say, that all right and justice is inclosed in the cabinet of the Pope's breast; and, as one of his followers and flatterers once said, *that he may dispense against the apostles, against the councils, and against the apostolical canons*; and that he is not bound by those examples, institutions, and laws of Christ.

2. Thus we have been taught by Christ, by the apostles and holy fathers, and we do faithfully teach the people of God the same things, and for so doing we are called heretics, by the great leader and prince of religion. O immortal God! what! have Christ and his apostles, and so many fathers, all erred? What! are Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Chrysostom, Gelasius, and Theodoret, apostates from the catholic faith? Was the consent of so many bishops and learned men nothing but a conspiracy of heretics? Or that which was commendable in them, is

it now blameable in us? And that which was catholic in them, is it, by a change in the wills of men, become schismatical in us? Or that which was once true, is it now, because it displeaseth them, become false? Let them, then, produce a new Gospel; or, at least, set forth their reasons why those things which were so long publicly observed and approved in the church, ought now at last to be recalled. We know that the word which was revealed by Christ, and propagated by the apostles, is sufficient to promote our salvation and all truth, and to convince all heresies. Out of it alone we condemn all sorts of ancient heresies (which they pretend we have recalled from the bottom of hell), and pronounce the Arians, Eutychians, Marcionites, Ebionites, the Valentinians, Corpocratians, Tatians, and Novatians; and, in one word, all those who have thought impiously either of God the Father, or of Christ, or of the Holy Ghost; or of any other part of the Christian religion; all these (I say), because they are convicted by the Gospel of Christ, we pronounce them wicked and lost men, and detest them to the gates of hell; and not only so, but if any of those heresies happen to break out anew amongst us, we severely and seriously correct the revivers of them with lawful and civil punishments.

3. We confess, that, upon the beginning of the Reformation, there arose some new and unheard-of sects, as Anabaptists, Libertines, Menonians, and Zwinkfeldians; but we render our unfeigned thanks to God, that the world is now well satisfied, that we neither brought forth, nor taught, nor maintained those monsters. Whoever thou art who thinkest otherwise, be pleased to read our books, which are every where to be had. What is there in them that can fairly be taken to favour the madness of these people? Yea, there are at this day no nations so

free from these pests as those in which the Gospel is freely taught. Now if they would rightly and attentively consider this thing, it is a strong argument that the doctrine we teach is the very truth of the Gospel; for neither tares nor chaff use to spring up or be found, but in corn. And who knows not what a number of heresies arose when the Gospel was first propagated in the world, in the times of the very Apostles? Who before these times ever heard of Simon Magus, Menander, Saturninus, Basilides, Corpocrates, Cerinthus, Ebion, Valentinus, Secundus, Marcosius, Colorbasius, Heracleo, Lucian, and Severus? But why should I mention this contemptible number? Epiphanius reckons eighty, and St. Augustine more, distinct heresies, which grew up with the Gospel. What then? Was not the Gospel the Gospel, because together with it so many heresies were produced? Or shall we therefore say that Christ was not Christ?

4. And yet (as I said) this cursed crop has not sprung up in our fields, where the Gospel is freely preached, and publicly received and settled: those plagues have had their rise in the darkness and blindness of our adversaries, and with them too they have increased and spread themselves, where the truth is oppressed with tyranny and cruelty; nor are these things to be heard of any where but in corners and conventicles. Let them make a trial; let them grant the Gospel its free course; let the truth of Jesus Christ freely shine and extend its rays to all parts without hindrance, and they shall soon see, that as the darkness of the night vanisheth at the approach of the sun, so will these shadows disappear before the light of the Gospel. For as for us, we daily make it our business to repel and confute these heresies, which we are falsely reported to nou-

rish and encourage, whilst our adversaries sit still, and mind nothing less.

5. And whereas they say we are divided into different sects, and that some of us have taken the name of Lutherans, and others of Zuinglians (or Calvinists), and we could never yet agree among ourselves concerning the articles of our doctrines: what would they have said if they had lived in the times of the apostles and holy fathers? when one said, I am of Paul; another, I am of Cephas; and another, I am of Apollos; when St. Paul reprehended St. Peter; when, by reason of a quarrel, Paul and Barnabas separated one from the other, and went several ways; when, as Origen acquaints us, the Christians were divided into so many factions, that they had no name common to them but that of Christian, and they agreed in nothing else but that name, and, as Socrates informs us, they were derided publicly in the theatres by the people for their dissensions and sects; and when, as Constantine the Great said, *there were so many contentions and controversies in the church, that this very single calamity seemed to exceed the miseries of the former times* (of persecution); when Theophilus, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Augustine, Ruffinus, and St. Jerome, all of them Christians, all fathers, and all catholics, contested each other with most violent and implacable animosity; when, as Nazianzen saith, *the members of the same body consumed one another*; when the eastern and western churches contended about leavened bread, and the time of keeping Easter, things of no mighty consequence; when in every council (which were then numerous) there was a new creed, and new and contrary decrees minted. What would these men have then said? to whom would they have applied themselves? from whom would they have fled? in what Gospel would

they have believed? whom would they have esteemed catholics, and whom heretics? Now there are only two names, Luther and Zuinglius; and what a noise is made about them! But because these two men could not agree about some points, shall we therefore think they are both in the wrong, that neither of them has the Gospel, and that neither has preached well and truly?

6. But, O good God! who are they that so bitterly reflect on us for our dissensions? Do they in the mean time all agree among themselves? Have there never been any dissensions and controversies among them? Why then do the Scotists and Thomists agree no better concerning the merit of congruity and that of condignity; concerning original sin in the Virgin Mary; and about a solemn and simple vow? Why do the canonists affirm that auricular confession is founded on human and positive laws; and the schoolmen, on the contrary, on divine institution? Why does Albertus Pighius differ from Cajetan; Thomas from Lombard; Scotus from Thomas; Occham from Scotus; Alliacensis from Occham; and the Nominals from the Realists? And that I may not mention the disagreements of the small brotherhoods and monks, some of which place their admired sanctity in eating of fish; others in living upon herbs; some in wearing of shoes, others in sandals; some in linen garments, and others in woollen; some in black, and some in white clothes; some shave their heads broad, and others narrow; some wear shoes, and others go barefoot; some are girded, and some go loose; besides these, they should remember that some of their divines say, that the body of Christ is naturally present in the sacrament, which is again denied by others; that then there are some who say, that the body of Christ in the sacrament is torn and ground

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with our teeth, and again there are others who deny this; there are some who say, that the body in the sacrament hath quantity, others deny it; some say Christ did consecrate by a certain divine power, others, that he did it by his blessing; some, that he did it by conceiving the five words in his mind; others, that it was by uttering them: there be some that say, that of these five words the demonstrative pronoun (this) showed the wheaten bread, others say no; but it relates to a certain *individuum vagum* (a no man knows what): there be some who say, *dogs and mice may truly and really eat the body of Christ*; but then there are others who stoutly deny this: there be some who say the *accidents* of the bread and wine can nourish, and others say the substance returns again. But why should I add any more? it is a long and troublesome business to count up all their divisions; the whole form of this religion and doctrine is to this day controverted and uncertain among them who first gave being and entertainment to it; for they scarce ever agree, except it be as the Pharisees and Sadducees, or as Herod and Pilate did of old, against Christ.

7. Let them go, then, and put an end to their own quarrels. Unity and agreement do excellently become religion; yet it is no certain and proper sign of the church of God; for there was a wonderful agreement among them who worshipped the golden calf; and among those who with one voice cried out against our Saviour, *Crucify him! crucify him!* Nor are we presently to determine, because there were some dissensions in the church of Corinth; or because St. Paul differed with St. Peter, or Barnabas with St. Paul; or that the Christians, in the infancy of the church, disagreed among themselves concerning some things, that therefore there was no church of God among them. Those very men whom they con-

temptuously call Lutherans and Zuinglians, are both of them Christians, and friends each to others, and brethren; they do not disagree about the principles and foundations of our religion, concerning God or Christ, or the Holy Ghost; not concerning the manner of our justification, or of eternal life; it is only about one point, and that of no great consequence; nor do we despair, or rather, we do not so much as doubt, but that in a small time an agreement will be made betwixt them; and though there are some who now think otherwise than they ought, we hope that, laying aside all passions and factious names and reproaches, God will reveal to them what they now know not, and having better considered and searched into the thing, as it happened heretofore in the council of Chalcedon, all the causes and fibres of dissensions shall be plucked up by the roots, and buried in eternal oblivion. Amen.

8. But the most insufferable of all their slanders is their pretence that we are impious men, and have cast off all care of religion. But this is the less to be regarded, because they who make this objection do themselves know, that it is contumelious and false. And Justin Martyr writes also, that when the Gospel was first published, and the name of Christ discovered to the world, that all Christians were then styled Ἄθεοι; that is, men without a God, or atheists. And when the holy Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, stood before the tribunal, the rabble incited the proconsul to the slaughter and destruction of all those who professed the Gospel, with these words, αἶρε τοὺς ἀθέους; that is, exterminate out of the world those wicked men that have no God. Not that the Christians had indeed no God, but because they would not adore the stones and blocks which were then worshipped as gods. But the world now sees plainly what we and ours have suf-

fered from them, for the sake of God and our religion. They have cast us into gaols, and fire, and water, and have rolled themselves in our bloods, not because we are adulterers, or thieves, or murderers, but purely because we embrace the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and put our whole trust only in the living God; and, O good God! because we truly and justly complain that they have for their most impertinent traditions violated the laws of God; and that these enemies of ours, who knowingly and willingly despise the commandments of God, are the haters of the Gospel, and the enemies of the cross of Christ.

9. Now these men, when they saw they could fix no slanders upon our doctrine, then they began to declaim against our manners; *that we hated all good works, that we made way for disorder and luxury, and did drive the people off from all care and exercise of virtue.* And certainly the lives of all men, even those of the most holy and Christian men, now are, and ever were, even in the best and most chaste state of things, liable to some exceptions on that account; and such is the propensity of men to do ill on the one side, and the proneness of all to suspicion on the other, that many things, which were never done or thought of, have yet been pretended to be heard, and have obtained a belief too; and as a small spot is easily seen in a very white garment, so in the purest course of life, the slightest note of turpitude or disorder is easily taken notice of. Nor do we think ourselves, or all those who have embraced the Reformation, to be angels, and to live without the least speck or unevenness; or that those who hate us are so blind, that they cannot observe whatever is blameable in us, even through the smallest chink: or that they are so candid, as that they will put a mild sense upon any thing; or so ingenuous, that they will at any time turn their eyes upon themselves,

and estimate or compare our manners with their own. But then if we should here run the thing up to the fountain-head, we know that in the apostles' times there were Christians who made the name of God to be blasphemed and evil spoken of amongst the Gentiles.

10. Constantius the Emperor complains in Sozomen, *that many, after they entered the Christian church, became worse than they were before.* And St. Cyprian, in a mournful oration, describes the corruption of his own times: *Ease and a long peace* (saith he) *had destroyed that discipline which the Apostles delivered to us. Men were intent upon the enlarging their estates; and forgetting what believers did under the Apostles, and what they ever ought to do, they applied themselves with an insatiable appetite to the improvement of their fortunes. There is not now that devout piety in the priests, that sincere faith in the ministers, that compassion in works of mercy, that restraint in men's manners; men colour their beards, and women paint their faces.* And before him Tertullian: *O woe to us! who are now called Christians; for we live the lives of heathens under that venerable title.*

11. To conclude, and not to trouble the reader with many authors, Gregory Nazianzen speaks thus of the deplorable state of his own times: *We are* (said he) *hated by the heathens now for our vices, and we are made a spectacle, not only to men and angels, but to the wickedest of men.* This was the state of the church of God when the light of the Gospel began first to shine upon it, when the fury of tyrants was not yet assuaged, or the sword diverted from the necks of the Christians: in truth, it is no wonder that men are men, though they are called Christians.

CHAPTER IV.

Containing an Account of the Rule, Lives, and Manners of the Popes and Papists, who would seem to be the only Head and Members of the holy Catholic Church.

But whilst these men so bitterly reflect upon us, why do they not sometimes think what they themselves are? Are they who have so much leisure to attend what is done at a distance in Germany and England, so forgetful or so blind, that they cannot see what is done at Rome? Are we to be impeached by them, whose lives are so dissolute, as no honest, modest man can without blushing tell their story?

2. We do not now intend to bring to light all those villanies which may be much better buried with them; it becomes neither our religion, nor our modesty and shamefacedness; and yet he that will needs be called the vicar of Jesus Christ, and the head of the church, may easily consider with himself what those things are which he hears and sees, and suffers to be done at Rome; for we will go no further in giving an account of what they are. Let him make use of his own memory; let him be pleased to consider that they are his own *canonists*, who have taught the people, that *simple fornication is no sin*, as if they had learned from the heathen comedian this doctrine, *that it is not a sin for a young man to whore*. Let him consider they are his own again, who have determined that *a priest is not to be deposed for fornication*. Let him remember that Cardinal Campejus, Albertus Pighius, and many other of his lawyers, have taught, that *the priest who keeps a concubine, lives much more chastely and holily than he who has a lawful wife*. I hope he hath not forgotten that there are at Rome many thousands of

public licensed whores, and that he levies upon them yearly, by way of tax, thirty thousand ducats. He cannot forget, surely, that himself is a public pimp, and from this base profit doth as dishonourably and wickedly increase his revenues and pleasures. Were all things well and holy at Rome, when Pope Joan, a woman of dissolute life, was the head of their church, and when for two years she had in that holy see prostituted herself to the lust of others, at length, in a public procession, in the sight of all the cardinals and bishops, in the open street she brought forth a child?

3. But why should we mention their concubines and pimping? for these are common and public crimes at Rome, and not unprofitable neither, for the *misses* there do not sit without the gates with their faces veiled and covered, as in ancient times, but they dwell in palaces and stately houses, and pass to and fro in the most public streets without masks, as if their trade were not only lawful, but honourable: but why should I use many words? their lusts are sufficiently known to the whole earth. St. Bernard writes thus truly and freely of the Pope's family and the Pope himself: *Your court receives good men sometimes, but it makes none good: evil men thrive there; good men are ruined.* And whoever he was who wrote the tripartite work, which is commonly joined to the Lateran council, he saith thus: *There is now so prevailing a luxury, not only in the inferior clergy and priests, but also in the prelates and bishops, that it strikes horror into the hearers of it.*

4. But these things are not only usual, and even for the sake of the custom approved (as most of their vices are), but they are now become so well known by their long use, that they are putid, *ripe for judgment.* For who has not heard what Petrus Aloisus, the son of Paul III. designed against Cosmus

Cherius, bishop of Fano? What Jo. Casa, archbishop of Benevento, the Pope's legate at Venice, wrote of a sin to be abhorred, whilst with a lewd eloquence and abominable words he commends what ought not to be named? Who knows not that Alphonsus Diazius, a Spaniard, was sent from Rome into Germany of purpose to murder the most innocent and holy man, John Diazius, his own brother, only because he had embraced the Gospel, and would not return to Rome—which he accordingly did? But they may pretend, perhaps, that such things as these are, may sometimes happen in the best-constituted governments, and that there are excellent laws against them.

5. Be it so; but what law passed upon these pests? Petrus Aloisus, when he had attempted the villany I have hinted at, was ever after in the bosom of Paul III. his father and his joy. Diazius, after he had assassinated his brother, was delivered out of the hands of the law by the interposition of the Pope. Johannes Casa, archbishop of Benevento, is yet alive, and at Rome, and lives under the eyes and in the sight of His Holiness. They have slain infinite numbers of our brethren, only because they truly and purely believed in Jesus Christ; but then of that infinite number of harlots, sodomites, and adulterers, who have they at any time, I will not say slain, but excommunicated, or so much as touched? What! are fornications, adulteries, pimping, sodomy, parasites, incests, and the like, no sins at Rome? or if they be, why are they so easily borne, as if they were not sins, in the city of Rome, that bulwark of sanctity, and by the Pope *the vicar of Christ, the successor of St. Peter, that most holy father?*

6. O holy Scribes and Pharisees! to whom this sanctity was never known! O sanctity and Catholic faith! St. Peter did never teach these things at

Rome, nor St. Paul live there at this rate. They did not publicly exercise the trade of pimping; they took no tribute of the whores; they did not openly and freely tolerate adulterers and parasites; they did not admit them into their bosoms, their families, their councils, nor into the congregations of Christian men. These men ought not to have aggravated so much the faults of our lives: it had been much better to have approved their own to the world, or at least to have concealed them a little more from the eyes of men.

7. For, as for us, we retain and use our ancient paternal laws, and administer church discipline, seriously and diligently, as far as we possibly can, in so much corruption of all things, both as to manners and times; we have no *stews*, nor herds of harlots and concubines; nor do we prefer adulteries before marriage; nor do we exercise pimping, nor raise money from whore-houses; neither do we suffer incests and flagitious lusts; our Aloise's, or our Casa's, or our parricidical murdering Diazio's, do not go unpunished: for if these things had pleased us, there had been no occasion of separating from the society of those men, where these (rare) things flourish, and are in great esteem; and so we had also escaped the hatred of men, and the apparent dangers we have run into by our departure from them. It is not many months since Paul IV. had some monks of the Augustine order in prison at Rome, and many bishops, and a vast number of pious men, for the sake of religion; he exercised his tortures and his racks, and left nothing untried, and at the last how many adulterers, how many sodomites, how many fornicators, how many incestuous men, did he find amongst them? Blessed be God, though we are not what we should be, nor what we profess to be, yet whatever we are, if we be compared with these, our very

lives and innocency will easily confute all their slanders. For we excite the people, not only by books and sermons, but by example and good manners, to all sorts of virtues and good works. We teach, that the Gospel is not an ostentation of knowledge, but a law of life; and that, as Tertullian expresseth it, *A Christian should not speak great things, but live them; and that not the hearers, but the doers of the law shall be justified before God.* Rom. ii. 13.

8. To all these things they commonly add, and amplify it too with all manner of reproaches, that we are a turbulent sort of men, that we snatch the sceptres out of the hands of princes, arm the people against them, subvert their judicatories and courts of justice, and endeavour to reduce monarchies to popular states or commonwealths, dissolve the laws, and retrench the revenues of princes, and turn all things topsy-turvy; and that, in short, if we had our wills, there should nothing continue safe in the government of the world. Oh! how often have they by such pretences incensed the minds of princes against us, that so they might crush the Reformation in its first springing up, and princes might be possessed with an aversion for our religion before they knew what it was; and that magistrates might entertain an opinion, that, whenever they saw one of us, they saw one of their enemies.

9. It would have been a great affliction to us, to be thus hatefully accused of so great a crime as *treason*, but that we know that Christ himself and his Apostles, and an infinite number of other pious Christians, have been made the objects of public envy on the same pretence; for Christ, though he commanded *to render unto Cæsar the things that were Cæsar's* (Matt. xxii. 21), yet he was accused of sedition, in that he was said to design a change in the government, and to affect and intend a kingdom; and so

they loudly charged him before the tribunal of Pilate: *If thou lettest this man go* (say they), *thou art no friend to Cæsar.* (John, xix. 12.) And the Apostles, although they constantly taught that we ought to obey magistrates, and that every soul should be subject to the higher powers, and that not only for fear of wrath and punishment, but also for conscience sake (Rom. xiii. 1); yet they were said to stir up the people, and to incite the multitude to rebellion. Haman brought the Jews into the disfavour of Ahasuerus, by representing them as a stubborn and rebellious people, that despised the edicts and laws of princes. The wicked king Ahab charged Elijah the Prophet of God, that he troubled Israel. Amaziah, the priest of Bethel, accused Amos the Prophet of a conspiracy before Jeroboam. *And behold* (saith he), *Amos hath conspired against thee in the midst of the house of Israel, and the land is not able to bear all his words.* (Amos, vii. 10.) In short, Tertullian saith, this was the general accusation against all Christians in his times, that they were traitors, plotters, and the common enemies of mankind: and therefore if truth, which is still the same, suffers the same reproaches as it did formerly, it may indeed seem troublesome and uneasy, but it is not new or unusual.

10. It was easy forty years ago to fix such slanders upon the then rising and unknown truth, when the first rays of it burst forth in the midst of so great a darkness, and few men had heard what doctrines were taught, when Martin Luther and Huldericus Zuinglius, two excellent persons, who were given by God to enlighten the world, began first to preach the Gospel; when the thing was new, and the event uncertain, and the minds of men surprised and unsettled, and their ears open to all manner of calumnies; and it was not possible to invent that defama-

tion of us which would not be believed by the people, even upon the account of the novelty and strangeness of the thing. And so it was in the more ancient times: the first opposers of Christianity, Symmachus, Celsus, Julianus, and Porphyrius, represented the primitive Christians as a seditious and rebellious sect, before either prince or people knew well what the Christians were, or what they professed, or what they would have; but now, when our enemies may see and cannot deny, that in all our words and writings we diligently admonish the people of their duty, that they should obey their princes and magistrates, though they are wicked men, which is also confirmed by experience, and seen and observed by all the world; certainly (I say) it is now a senseless thing to attempt to make us odious by a parcel of superannuated over-worn lies, when they have no new and fresh crimes to lay to our charge.

11. We bless our gracious God, whose cause this is, that there hath yet been no example of any insurrection or rebellion in any of those countries, kingdoms, or commonwealths, which have embraced the Reformation. We have not subverted any monarchy; we have not diminished any prince's jurisdiction or rights; we have not troubled any commonwealths; the Kings of England, Denmark, and Sweden; the Dukes of Saxony; the Counts of the Palatinate; the Marquises of Brandenburg; the Landgraves of Hessia; the commonwealths of the Switzers; the free cities of Strasburg, Basil, Frankfort, Ulm, Augsburg, and Noremberg, are all in the same state they were before the Reformation; or rather, because the people are now better instructed in the matters of obedience to their governors than they were before, in a better state. Let our defamers go into those places where the Gospel

is settled by the blessing of God, and then tell us where princes have more majesty? where there is less pride and tyranny? where are princes treated with more respect? where the people are less tumultuous? where the civil government or ecclesiastical was ever in greater tranquillity?

12. But you will say, the boors of Germany fell into tumults and insurrections upon the first preaching of this doctrine. Be it granted; but then Martin Luther, the first divulger of it, did with great vehemence and sharpness write against them, and reduced them to their allegiance and duty.

13. And whereas some ignorant men have objected, that the Switzers murdered Leopold, the archduke of Austria, and, changing the state, erected a commonwealth, and so freed their country; this was done, as appears by all histories, above two hundred and sixty years since, under Boniface VIII. when the papal power was at the highest, about two hundred years before Huldericus Zuinglius began to preach the Gospel, or indeed was born. But from that time to this, all things there have been in the greatest tranquillity and quiet that was possible, not only in relation to foreign wars, but intestine commotions; so that if it were a sin to deliver their country from a foreign dominion, which oppressed them with great insolence and tyranny, yet it is unjust and absurd to load the Reformation with the crimes of others, or them with those of their forefathers.

14. But, O immortal God! shall the Bishop of Rome accuse us of treason? will he pretend to teach the people subjection and obedience to magistrates, or has he any regard to majesty? Why then does he suffer himself to be called by his flatterers, the LORD OF LORDS, which none of the ancient bishops of Rome ever did; as if he would have all kings and princes,

whoever they were, and wheresoever, be no better than his vassals and slaves? Why does he boast that he is the KING OF KINGS, and that he has the right of commanding them as his subjects? Why does he force emperors and monarchs to swear obedience to him? Why does he boast that his own majesty is seventy-seven times greater than the majesty of the Emperor; and that forsooth, because God made two great lights in heaven, and because the heavens and the earth had not two several, but one single *beginning?* Why have he and his followers in that, like the Anabaptists and Libertines, shaken off the yoke, and exempted themselves from the jurisdiction of all civil powers, that they might with greater liberty and security plague the world?

15. Why has he his legates, that is, a crafty sort of spies, as it were in ambush, in the courts, councils, and chambers of all kings? Why doth he, as his interest requires, set princes at variance amongst themselves; and at his pleasure fill the earth with seditions? Why does he proscribe, and take for an heathen and pagan, whatever prince withdraws himself from his dominion, and promises his indulgences so freely, if any man will by any means whatsoever assassinate his enemies? Doth he preserve empires and kingdoms, or at all consult and desire the public peace? You ought, O pious reader! to pardon us, if these things seem a little more sharp and eager than becomes a divine; for so great is the provocation, so great and so impotent withal is the ambition of the Pope, that it cannot be expressed in other or milder words. For he had once the insolence to say in a public council, *that all the authority of all the kings in the world depended upon him.* He, out of ambition and desire to rule, distracted the Roman empire, and tore in pieces the Christian world; he absolved the Italians, and

among them himself, from the oath wherein they were obliged to the Emperor of Greece, with great perfidy; and solicited his subjects to revolt from him, and called Charles Martell the Great out of France into Italy; and after a new and till then unheard-of manner, made him emperor. He deposed Chilperick, King of France, an innocent prince, only because he did not like him, and set up Pipin in his place. He would, if he had been able, have cast out Philip the Fair, another king of France, and have adjudged the kingdom of France to Albert, King of the Romans. He broke the power of Florence, though his own country, which was then a most flourishing city; and, changing its free and peaceable state, he delivered it up to the lust of one man. He made all Savoy to be torn in pieces by the Emperor Charles V. on the one side, and Francis I. King of France on the other; scarce leaving to the miserable Duke one city to shelter himself in.

16. I am weary of examples, and indeed there is nothing more troublesome than to enumerate the great actions of the Popes of Rome of this nature. I pray, of whose party were they who poisoned the Emperor Henry VII. in the eucharist, and they who did the same to Pope Victor in the holy chalice? Who exercised the same arts upon our King John of England, in a common table-cup? Whoever they were, and of what party soever, this is certain, they were neither Lutherans nor Zuinglians. Who is it, that at this day permits the greatest kings and monarchs to kiss his feet? Who is it that commands the Emperor to hold his bridle, and the King of France his stirrup? Who was it that cast Francis Dandulas, Duke of Venice, and King of Crete and Cyprus, under his table, to gnaw the bones with the dogs? Who crowned Henry VI. the Emperor, at Rome, not with his hands, but with his feet; and

then with his foot kicked his crown off again, adding, *that he had power to create emperors, and to depose them?* Who armed Henry the son against Henry IV. his father; and caused the son to take his father prisoner, and having shaven, and treated him ignominiously, to cast him into a monastery, where he pined away with hunger and sorrow? Who was it that trod insolently upon the neck of the Emperor Frederick? and, as if this had not been a sufficient affront, subjoined out of the Psalms of David, *Thou shalt walk upon the asp and the basilisk, and shalt tread the lion and the dragon under thy feet.* (Psal. xci. 13.) Where is there such another example of despised and injured majesty in all history, except in Tamberlane the Scythian, a fierce and a barbarous prince, and in Saphores, King of Persia? All these were Popes, all of them successors of St. Peter's, all most holy men, whose words were every one of them to be gospel to us.

17. If we be guilty of treason who reverence our princes, who submit to them in all things as far as the Scriptures will permit us, what then are these men who have not only done all these base things, but have also extolled them as generous actions? Do they thus teach the people to revere magistrates, or can they with any modesty accuse us of being seditious men, the disturbers of the public peace, and contemners of the majesty of princes? For as for us, none of us shake off the yoke, nor embroil kingdoms, nor dispose of empires; nor do we reach poison to our kings, nor put out our feet to them to kiss, nor do we insultingly tread upon their necks. No; our profession, our doctrine, is this, *that every soul, whosoever it is, whether it be a monk, or an evangelist, or a prophet, or an apostle, it ought to be subject to kings and magistrates*; and so the Pope himself, except he affect to seem greater than the evangelists,

prophets, and apostles, ought to acknowledge and call the Emperor, his lord, as the ancient Popes in better times ever have done. We publicly teach, that princes are to be obeyed as men sent by God, *and whosoever resists them, resists the ordinance of God.* (Rom. xiii. 2.) These are our doctrines; these principles shine forth in our books, in our sermons, in our lives, and in the modesty and dutiful behaviour of our people.

18. And whereas they pretend we have departed from the unity of the Catholic church; this is not only odious, but though it is not true, yet it hath an appearanee and similitude of truth in it. But then, not only those things which are true and certain find belief with the ignorant multitude, but those things also which may seem probable; and so we shall ever observe, that crafty cunning men who had not the truth on their sides, have ever maintained their cause with the resemblance of truth; that those who could not dive into the bottom of things, might be taken at least with the show and probability of their argument. Because the primitive Christians, our forefathers, when they prayed to God, turned their faces towards the rising sun, there were some that said they worshipped the sun, and that it was their God; and because they said, that, as to their eternal and immortal life, they lived on nothing but the flesh and blood of the Lamb without spot, meaning thereby our Saviour Jesus Christ; envious men, the enemies of the cross of Christ, whose only business it was to render the Christian religion by any means hateful, did thereupon persuade the people, that the Christians were impious men, that they offered humam sacrifices, and drank man's blood; and when the Christians said, with God there is neither male nor female, that is, that, as to the obtaining of justification, there is no distinction of persons, and did salute one another

commonly by the names of brother and sister; there were not wanting some who slandered the Christians hereupon, and said, they made no distinction amongst them of sex or age, but, like beasts, promiscuously lay together. And when they met frequently in vaults and secret places, to pray and hear the Gospel, which sort of private places and meetings had sometimes been made use of by conspirators against the government; there was thereupon a rumour spread abroad, that they conspired together, and had secret consultations about murdering the magistrates, and subverting the government. And because, in celebrating the holy communion, they made use of bread and wine, according to the institution of Christ, they were thought by many not to worship Christ, but Bacchus and Ceres, because those heathen deities were worshipped by the pagans with a like rite, with bread and wine. These things were then believed by many, not because they were true, (for what could possibly be less so?) but because they had a kind of resemblance of truth, and by that show of truth were fitted to deceive them.

18. So they traduce us, and say, that as heretics we have departed from the unity of the Catholic church, and the communion of Christ; not that they believe this to be true (nor are they at all concerned whether it be true or false), but because the thing may in some sort seem true to ignorant men; for we have indeed departed, not as heretics ever have done, from the church of Christ; but, as good men ought to do, from the contagion of wicked men and hypocrites: and yet here they insult wonderfully, that theirs is the church, the spouse of Christ, the pillar of truth, the ark of Noah, out of which no salvation is to be hoped for; and in the interim, they assert with the same confidence, that we have revolted, that we have rent the coat of Christ, and torn ourselves from his body, and made a defection

from the Catholic faith. And when they have thus left nothing unsaid which can possibly be (though never so falsely and slanderously) objected against us, yet at last they cannot pretend that we have forsaken the word of God, or the apostles of Christ, or the primitive church.

19. Now we have ever thought, that the primitive church which was in the times of Christ, and the apostles, and holy fathers, was the Catholic church. Nor do we doubt, but that that church is the ark of Noah, the spouse of Christ, the pillar and foundation of truth, or to place in it all the hopes of our salvation. It is indeed an odious thing to break off and depart from that society a man has long lived in, especially if that society consist of men who seem to be, and are therefore called Christians, though in truth they are none. And in reality we do not so contemn their church, as bad as it now is (for the name's sake, and because the Gospel of Jesus Christ was once truly and purely taught there), as that we have willingly departed from it without necessity. But what if an idol be set up in the church of God, and that desolation appears there, which Christ foretold should stand in the holy place? What if some pirate or robber possesseth himself of the ark of Noah? Certainly, as often as these men thus preach to us of the church, they make themselves only to be that church, and ascribe all those glorious titles to themselves, and triumph like those of old who cried, *The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord!* (Jer. vii. 4.) or like the Scribes and Pharisees, when they boasted they were the children of Abraham. (John, viii. 39.)

20. Thus do they impose upon silly men by vain and useless shows, and seek to overwhelm us with the mere name of the church; just as if a thief having got possession of another man's house, and having by force expelled or slain the true owner,

should afterwards claim it as his own, and keep the true heir out; or as if Antichrist, after he has seized the temple of God, should afterwards pretend it were his own, and that Christ had no right to it. For though our adversaries have left almost nothing like a church, in the church of God, yet they will needs seem the only patrons and defenders of the church; just as Gracchus defended the Roman exchequer, by making such profuse largesses, and such unreasonable expenses, that he quite ruined the public treasury. But then there was never any thing yet so absurd or wicked, but it might seem easy to be covered and defended by the name of the church; for wasps make combs, and impious men have their assemblies not much unlike the churches. But they are not presently the people of God who are called so; no, nor are they all Israelites who are of Israel. The Arian heretics boasted that they only were Catholics; and they called all the rest, sometimes Ambrosians, and at other, Athanasians and Johannites. And Theodoret tells us, that though Nestorius was an heretic, yet he covered himself της ὀρθοδοξίας προσχήματι, with the pretence and cloak of the orthodox faith. Ebion, though he was of the same opinion with the Samaritans, yet, as Epiphanes assures us, he would needs be called a Christian. The Mahometans, at this day, though it is clear from all histories, and they themselves cannot deny it, that they are descended from Hagar; yet, as if they were the children of Sarah, the freewoman, the wife of Abraham, they will needs, for the name and race sake, be called Saracens.

21. So the false prophets in all times who opposed themselves to the true prophets of God, to Isaiah, to Jeremiah, to Christ and his apostles, boasted of nothing so much as of the name of the *church*; nor did they so fiercely persecute them, and

call them deserters and apostates, upon any other account so much, as because they departed from their society, and would not observe the custom of their ancestors. And if we be obliged to submit to the judgment of those men who then governed the church, and will regard neither God nor his word, nor any thing else, it cannot be denied, but that the Apostles made defection from the high priests and priests; that is, from the Catholic church, and without and against their wills innovated in many things which pertained to religion, and, consequently, were rightly condemned according to the law.

And so as they say Antæus was to be lifted by Hercules from the Earth his mother, before he could be conquered by him; so our adversaries are to be lifted up from that mother of theirs, the vain pretence and shadow of the church, or else they will never yield to the word of God. So, as Jeremiah saith, do not so much boast that you have the temple of God with you, that confidence is vain; *for these are* (saith he, Jer. viii. 4) *lying words.* And the angel in the Apocalypse, ii. 9: *They say that they are Jews, but they are the synagogue of Satan.* And when the Pharisees boasted that they were of the stock and blood of Abraham, Christ told them (John, viii. 44), *they were of the devil their father*, for you do not resemble Abraham your father; as if he should have said, You are not what you so much desire to be called; you impose upon the people by vain titles, and abuse the name of the church to the ruin of the church; and therefore they ought in the first place to prove this truly and plainly to us; viz. that the church of Rome, as it is now managed by them, is the true and orthodox church of God, and that it agrees with the primitive church of Christ and his apostles, and of the

holy fathers; which primitive church we doubt not was the catholic church. We indeed will readily grant that there is no cause why we should forsake their society, if we could once persuade ourselves that ignorance, error, superstition, the worship of idols, the inventions of men, and they very often quite contrary to the holy Scriptures, did either please God, or sufficiently promote our salvation; or if we could once believe that the word of God were only written for some years, and after that were to be abrogated; or that the words and laws of God were entirely to be submitted to the wills of men; so as whatever he saith or commandeth, except the Bishop of Rome wills and commands the same too, it were to be esteemed void and not spoken. But in that we have departed from a church whose errors are attested and manifest, and which has apparently departed from the word of God; and whereas we have not so much departed from her as from her errors, and that not turbulently and injuriously, but quietly and modestly; in all this, we say, we have done nothing contrary to Christ and his Apostles; for the church of God is not of that nature, that it cannot possibly be darkened with any spots, or sometimes not need a reformation; for if it were so, what need were there of all those councils and great meetings, without which, as Ægidius saith, the Christian faith cannot stand? *for* (saith he) *as often as councils are intermitted, so often is the church left by Christ.* Or if there be no danger that the church can take damage, what need is there of the insignificant (as they have ordered the matter) name of bishops? Why are they called pastors, if there be no sheep that can go astray? Why are they called watchmen, if there be no city that can be betrayed? Why pillars, if there be nothing that can sink down into ruin when not

supported by them? In the very beginning of the world the church of God was begun, and she was then instructed by a heavenly word, which God sent out of his own mouth; she was furnished with ceremonies, taught by the Spirit of God, by the patriarchs and prophets; and so she was preserved and brought down to those times in which Christ shewed himself in the flesh.

22. But, O immortal God! how often was she in the mean time, and how horribly darkened and diminished! For where was she when all flesh had corrupted their way upon the earth? where was she when there were only eight persons (and not all those neither) chaste and pious, whom God was pleased to rescue out of a common ruin, and preserve alive in a general destruction? when Elijah so bitterly and mournfully complained that he only was left of all the earth, who did truly and rightly worship God (2 Kings, xix.); when Isaiah said, the *silver* of the people of God, that is, the church, was *become dross*, and the once *faithful city was become an harlot*, and that in her, *from the head to the sole of the foot*, there was no soundness in her whole body? or when Christ said, that the house of God was by the Scribes and Pharisees turned into a den of thieves? For the church of Christ, like a corn-field, if it be not ploughed and broken, tilled and dressed, instead of wheat it will bring forth thistles, darnel, and nettles. And therefore God from time to time sent prophets and messengers, and, at last, Christ himself, to reduce the people into the right way, and to restore the sinking church to her former strength and beauty.

And now let no man say, these things could only happen under the law, when the church was under the shadow, and in her infancy; when truth was covered with figures and ceremonies, and nothing

was yet brought to perfection; when the law was not written on the hearts of men, but on tables of stone (though this pretence is very ridiculous); for there was then the same God, the same Christ, the same Spirit, the same doctrine, the same faith, the same hope, the same inheritance, the same covenant, and the same efficacy, in the word of God. And Eusebius saith, that all the faithful from Adam were indeed Christians (though they were not so called). Let no man, I say, speak thus, for St. Paul the Apostle found the same errors and defects under the Gospel, in the highest perfection and the greatest light; so that he was forced to write thus to the Galatians, whom he had just before settled: *I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain, and that you have to no purpose heard the Gospel. O my little children, of whom I travail in birth again until Christ be formed in you.* (iv. 11, 19.)

For there is no need of speaking how fearfully the church of Corinth was corrupted. And now could the churches of Galatia and Corinth fall, and is the church of Rome the only church that can neither fall nor err? Certainly Christ long since foretold concerning his church, that there should be a time when the abomination of desolation should stand in the holy place. (Matt. xxiv. 15.) And St. Paul saith (2 Thes. ii. 4), *that antichrist shall sit in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.* (2 Tim. iv. 3, 4.) *And the time will come, when men will not endure sound doctrine, but in the church shall be turned unto fables.* And St. Peter saith, there shall be in the church *false teachers*; and Daniel the Prophet saith of the last times, the days of *antichrist, the truth shall be cast down, and trodden upon in the earth.* And Christ saith, there shall be such great calamities and confusions upon the earth,

that the very elect (if it were possible) shall be deceived. (Matt. xxiv. 24.) Now all these things are to come to pass, not among Pagans and Turks, but in the holy place, the temple of God, in the church, the assembly and society of Christians.

23. And although these things alone are sufficient to forewarn a wise man not to suffer himself easy to be imposed upon by the name of the church, so as not to examine it by the word of God; yet besides all this, many of the fathers and pious learned men have oftentimes grievously complained that these predictions were come to pass in their times. For God, in the midst of that darkness, would that there should be some men who should as sparks be observed by men, though they could not give them a very clear and bright light. Certainly Hilarius, when things were in some sort sincere and uncorrupted, tells them that *they did ill in doting upon walls; that they were mistaken in venerating houses and buildings as if they were the church of God, and offering them to us instead of peace. Is it doubtful* (saith he) *whether antichrist shall sit there? The mountains, woods, lakes, prisons, and gulfs, to me seem safer, because the Prophets of God remaining willingly, or being forcibly put into them, prophesied by the Spirit of God.* Gregory the Great, as if he then perceived and foresaw the ruin that was near at hand, wrote thus to John, Bishop of Constantinople, who first commanded himself to be called by the name of the *Universal Bishop: If the church should depend upon one man, it would certainly fall.* And who is there that hath not observed that this is come long since to pass? It is a great while since the Bishop of Rome would have the whole church depend upon him only, and therefore it is no wonder if it be long since fallen. St. Bernard, above four hundred years ago, said, *there*

is nothing sound in the clergy now, therefore there is nothing remaining but the revelation of the man of sin; and in his sermon on the conversion of St. Paul he expresseth himself thus: *It may seem, perhaps, to some, that persecutions are ceased; no* (saith he), *they now begin from them who have obtained the primacy in the church; thy friends and thy neighbours have approached and stood against thee. From the sole of the foot to the crown of the head, there is no soundness. Iniquity is proceeded from thy elders, judges, and vicars, who seemed to govern thy people. We cannot now say, as the people are, so is the priest; because the people are not so bad as the priests. Alas! alas! O Lord God! they are the first in persecuting thee who seem to love the primacy, and exercise a principality in thy church.* And upon the Canticles: *All my friends, and all my enemies, all my acquaintances, and all my adversaries, the servants of Christ, serve antichrist. Behold, in my peace my bitterness is increased!* And Roger Bacon, a man of great name, when he had in a sharp discourse represented the miserable state of his own times, concludes thus: *Those many and great errors require antichrist as near at hand.*

24. Gerson complains, *that in his times all the force of theology was degenerated into a mere contest of wit and sophistry.* The Lugdunensian Brothers, a sort of men which were not ill as to their lives, used to affirm that the church of Rome, from whence alone the oracles of faith were then fetched, was the whore of Babylon; concerning which, such clear predictions were in the Revelations; and that she was the assembly of hell. I know that the authority of these men is in no esteem with them; but what now would they say if I should produce witnesses which are of the highest value with them? What if

I say that Pope Adrian ingenuously confessed that all those mischiefs fell upon the church from the loss of the papal power? Pighius confesseth that they erred in this, that they suffered many abuses to be brought into the mass, though they would have it esteemed most holy: Gerson, that the multitude of light and foolish ceremonies had extinguished all that power of the Holy Spirit which should have flourished in us, and all that was truly pious. All Greece and Asia complained that the Popes of Rome, by their doctrines of purgatory, and sales of indulgences, had both offered violence to the consciences of men and robbed their purses.

25. Laurentius Valla, Marsilius Patavinus, Franciscus Petrarcha, Hieronymus Savanarola, Abbas Joachimus, Baptista Mantuanus, and before them all St. Bernard, have very often grievously complained of the tyranny and Persian pride of the bishops of Rome, and have not obscurely hinted (whether true or falsely I will not inquire), that the Pope was antichrist; not to mention a number of others, who, because they have freely and ingenuously reprehended the vices of the Popes, will, perhaps, be numbered by them amongst their enemies; but all these I have named, lived either at Rome itself, or under the eyes of these most holy fathers, and were intimately acquainted with their way of living, and did never depart from their catholic faith. Neither can any man object that these were Lutherans or Zuinglians, for they lived not only some years, but some entire ages, before the names of these men were heard of in the world; and they saw also, even then, that errors were crept into the church, and desired they might be amended.

And where was the wonder if the church fell into some errors in those times, in which neither the Bishop of Rome, who alone had the chiefest manage-

ment of affairs, or almost any other persons, either *did*, or, indeed, understood, what was their duty; for it is not credible, that in that time, in which they were so idle and drowsy, the devil was perpetually asleep or idle too. For what kind of men they were, and with what fidelity they took care of the house of God, though we are silent, they may be pleased to hear their own St. Bernard: *Those bishops* (saith he) *to whom the church of God is now committed, are not teachers, but seducers; not pastors, but impostors; not prelates, but Pilates.* Thus St. Bernard wrote then of him that called himself the Great Pontiff, and of the bishops, who then sat at the helm. He was no heretic, he was no Lutheran, he never forsook their church, and yet he never stuck at calling those bishops they then had, *seducers, impostors, Pilates.* And now when the people were openly seduced, and Christians imposed upon, and Pilate mounted the tribunal, and adjudged Christ and his members to the fire and sword; O good God! in what condition was the church then? And now of so many and such gross errors, what one error have they reformed to this day? yea, what one error have they at any time acknowledged and confessed?

26. But now, whereas they pretend to be in possession of the whole Catholic church, and call us heretics because we do not agree with them; let us see what mark that church hath of the church of God: nor is the church of God very difficult to be found, if you seriously and diligently seek for it; for it is placed in a high and illustrious place, and built on the top of a mountain, and the foundations of it are laid upon the apostles and prophets. *There* (saith St. Augustine) *let us seek the church; there let us try our cause:* and in another place he saith, *The church is to be shewn out of the sacred Scriptures;*

and whatever (society) *cannot derive itself from them, is not the church.* And yet I know not whence it proceeds, whether from reverence or conscience, or a despair of victory, that these men always dread and shun the word of God as much as a thief does the gallows; and, in truth, it is no wonder; for as they say a beetle is presently extinguished in opobalsam, although it is a most fragrant ointment; so they see their cause is suffocated and ruined whenever it comes near the Scriptures, which are a sort of deadly poison to it. Therefore they accustom themselves to call the holy Scriptures, which our Saviour Jesus Christ did not only cite, on all occasions, but, at the last, sealed them with his blood; that they may drive the people from them, as if they were dangerous and destructive, with the greater facility; these very Scriptures, I say, they call a cold, uncertain, unprofitable, dumb, killing, dead letter, which seems to us to be the same thing as if they should wholly deny them to be the word of God; and, besides all this, they commonly add a no very proper simile too: *They are* (say they) *a nose of wax, and may be formed and set all manner of ways, and be made to serve all manner of purposes.* Does the Pope not know that these things are said by his followers? Does he not understand what kind of patrons he has?

27. Let the Pope, then, be pleased to hear how piously and how holily Hosius, a certain Polander, and a bishop, as he saith himself (certainly an eloquent, and not unlearned man, and a sharp and violent defender of his interest), writes concerning the Scriptures. I believe he will admire a pious man, that could possibly entertain such impious thoughts, or write so contemptuously, of those very words which he knew proceeded from the mouth of God; and, above all, that he should seem to desire

that it might not pass for his sense alone, but the common opinion of the whole popish party. *We* (saith he) *have bid adieu to the Scriptures, having seen so many, not only different, but contrary interpretations given of them. Let us, then, rather hear God himself speak, than apply ourselves, and trust our salvation to those jejune elements. There is no need of being skilful in the law and Scriptures, but of being taught by God. That labour is ill employed, that is bestowed on the Scriptures; for the Scripture is a creature, and a poor kind of element.* Thus far Hosius, in his book of the express *word of God,* in this place craftily, under the person of another man, though he speaks the same thing in several other places in the same book, as his own opinion, without any disguise, which is said with the same spirit and affection as the like things were heretofore by Montanus and Marcion, who are reported frequently to have said, when they contemptuously rejected the holy Scriptures, that *they knew more and better things than either Christ or his Apostles ever knew.*

What, then, shall I say on this occasion? Oh! ye pillars of religion! Oh! ye presidents of the church of Christ! is this the reverence ye pay to the word of God? Do ye bid an *adieu* to the sacred Scriptures, which St. Paul saith are divinely inspired, which the holy God hath illustrated by so many miracles, in which the certain footsteps of Jesus Christ are imprinted, which were cited as testimonies by all the holy fathers, by the Apostles, by Christ himself, the Son of God, when occasion required it? do ye (I say) bid adieu to these, as if they were not worthy of your regard? that is, do ye impose silence upon God, who it is that speaks clearly to you in the Scriptures? or will you call that word *a poor and a dead* element, by which only, as St. Paul saith, we are

reconciled to God, and which, as the Prophet David saith (Ps. xix. 8), is *holy and pure, and shall endure for ever?* Or will you say, that all the pains we spend in that which Christ commanded us to search diligently, and to have ever in our eye, is lost? and that Christ and the Apostles, when they exhorted the people to a careful perusal of the Scriptures, that they might thereby abound in all knowledge and wisdom, designed only to delude and abuse men? It is no wonder that these men despise us and our writings, who thus undervalue God himself and his oracles; but it was a most foolish action to offer so great an affront to the word of God, that they might do us a small mischief.

28. And now, as if all this were too little, they commit the holy Scriptures to the fire, as the wicked king Jehoiakim, and Antiochus and Maximinius, two heathen persecutors, did, calling them the books of heretics; and they seem altogether disposed to imitate Herod the Great, in what he did for the establishing his power; for he, being an Idumæan, of another race and blood than the Jews were, and desiring to be thought a Jew, that so he might the better settle that his kingdom over them, which he had obtained from Augustus Cæsar, he commanded all their genealogies which they kept in their public register, and were carefully preserved from Abraham's times (by which, without any error, it was easy to find of which tribe any person was descended), to be burnt and abolished, that there might be nothing to be found for the future, by which it might be proved he was of another nation: so these men, pretending that all their innovations were consigned to them by Christ and his Apostles, and desiring they should be accordingly esteemed, lest there should be any thing, any where extant, which might contradict these dreams and shams, either

burn or suppress the Scriptures, and keep them from the people. St. Chrysostom has written very well and appositely against such men as these: *Heretics* (saith he) *shut the gates of truth; for they know, if they be kept open, the church will never be thought theirs.* And Theophylact styles *the word of God a candle, by the light of which, a thief may be discovered.* And Tertullian saith *the Scriptures convict the frauds and thefts of heretics.* For why else do they hide and suppress the Gospel, which Christ commanded his disciples to publish from the house-top? Why else do they endeavour to put that candle under a bushel which ought to be set in a candlestick? Why do they trust more to the ignorance, blindness, and folly of the multitude, than to the goodness of their cause? Do they think, their arts are not disclosed? or that, as if they had Gyges' ring, they can go undiscovered? The world sees now, with both eyes, what is so carefully locked up in the cabinet of the Pope's breast; this one argument is sufficient to prove they do not act well and sincerely. That cause deserves to be suspected, which declines a scrutiny, and hates the light; for, as Christ saith, he that doth evil, seeks darkness, and hates the light (John, iii. 20); but a mind conscious of what is good, willingly comes forth, that the works which come from God may be seen. But these gentlemen are not so blind, but they see what will become of their kingdom, if the Scriptures come once to be generally known: and, as it is said of old, all the idols of the demons, which before gave oracles, suddenly became dumb upon the appearance of Christ upon earth; so, now, will all their arts, at the approach of the Gospel, sink down into ruins and rubbish; for antichrist is not to be deposed by any other thing than the brightness of the coming of Christ. (2 Thess. ii. 8.)

29. We do not, like them, presently betake ourselves to fire and sword, but to the Scriptures; nor do we assault them with force and arms, but with the word of God. By them, as Tertullian saith, we nourish our faith; by them we erect our hope; by them we establish our confidence; for we know that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is the power of God unto salvation, and that in it there is eternal life; and, as St. Paul admonisheth us, we would refuse to hear an angel of God that came from heaven, if he endeavoured to turn us away from any part of this doctrine. Yea, as that most holy man Justin Martyr said of himself, we would not believe God himself, if he should teach us another Gospel; for whereas they make the holy Scriptures, like silent masses, dumb and useless, and appeal rather to God himself speaking in the church and in council; that is, to their own (better) senses and opinions; that is a very uncertain and dangerous way of finding out truth, and in a sort *fanatical*, and which was never approved by the holy fathers. St. Chrysostom saith, indeed, *that many boast of the Holy Spirit; but if then they speak what is their own, they glory falsely of what they have not: for* (saith he) *as Christ denied that he spake from himself when he spake out of the law and the Prophets; so, now, if any thing besides the Gospel is obtruded upon us under the name of the Holy Ghost, it is not to be believed; for, as Christ is the completion of the law and the Prophets, so the Spirit is the completion of the Gospel.*

CHAPTER V.

Concerning the Answers and Objections out of the Fathers and Councils.

I. But though they have not the Scriptures on their side, perhaps they will pretend they have the ancient

doctors and the holy fathers; for that they have ever boasted that all antiquity, and the perpetual consent of all times, is for them, and that all our pretences are novel, and were never heard of till within the course of a very few years last past.

2. Now, certainly, there can nothing of more weight be said against religion, than that it is new. We know not how this has come to pass; but, from the beginning of the world, thus it hath ever been; for, whensoever God hath discovered and restored to mankind the light of his *truth*, though it is not only of the utmost antiquity, but older than time itself, and eternal, yet it ever seems to wicked men, who hate it, to be new, and of no antiquity. That impious and bloody man Haman, that he might bring the Jews into disfavour, thus accused them to Ahasuerus: *Thou, O king! hast here in thy dominions a certain people, scattered abroad, which observeth new laws, but is stubborn and rebellious against thy laws.* St. Paul, also, when he began first to preach the Gospel to the Athenians, was said to be *a setter forth of strange gods*; that is, of a new religion; and, accordingly, thus they bespeak him: *May we know what this new doctrine, whereof thou speakest, is?* (Acts, xvii. 18.) And Celsus, when he wrote expressly against Christ and his Gospel, that he might expose it to the scorn of men, under the pretence of its novelty, writes thus: *What!* (saith he,) *has God, after so many ages, now at last bethought himself?* Eusebius, also, is our author, that, from the beginning, the Christian religion was, in derision, styled νέα καὶ ξένη, the new and strange religion; and so our adversaries condemn all our doctrines as new and strange; but then they desire that all their own, without exception, should be reputed most ancient; just as the *magicians* and *conjurers*, whose business is

with the *infernal spirits*, that their abominable art may be thought the more sublime and divine, as being derived from great patrons and inventors, and of a very ancient original, do commonly say, that they have their books, and all their rites and secret mysteries, from Athanasius, Cyprian, Moses, Abel, and Adam, and from the archangel Raphael. So our enemies, that their religion too, which they have not long since patched up for themselves, may with the more ease be recommended to ignorant men, and those that rarely consider what themselves or others do, pretend that it came down to them *(just such as now it is)* from St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, and St. Ambrose, from the Apostles and Christ; for they very well know, that there is nothing more popular, and of greater esteem with men, than those venerable names. But now, what if those things they pretend are so new, do indeed prove to be most ancient? and what, if, on the other side, almost all those things which they extol so very much upon the pretence of antiquity, when they are well and diligently examined, are in the end found to be new and of a very late original?

3. In truth, the laws and ceremonies of the Jews, although accused by Haman as *new*, could never be thought so by any man, who did well and rightly consider the thing, for they were written on most ancient tables; and Christ, though many thought he departed from Abraham and the ancient fathers, and brought in a new religion in his own name, yet answered, truly (John, v. 46), *If ye believed Moses, ye would believe me also*; for my doctrine is not so new, for Moses, a very ancient author, and of great esteem with you, *hath spoken of me*; and St. Paul saith of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, which many thought to be new, that it has the most ancient

testimony of the law and the Prophets. And our doctrine, which we may much better call the Catholic doctrine of Christ, is not so new, but that it is commended to us by the Ancient of Days, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, in most ancient monuments, the Prophets and Gospels, and the writings of the Apostles; and these cannot now seem new to any man, but to him to whom the faith of the Prophets, the Gospel, and Christ himself, seems new. But, then, as to their religion, if it be so ancient as they pretend, why do they not prove it so from the examples of the primitive church, from the old fathers and the ancient councils? Why doth so ancient a cause lie desolate, and without a patron, so very long? Indeed, they never want fire and swords; but then, as to the ancient fathers and councils, there is with them a deep silence. But it is the height of absurdity and folly to begin with those bloody and brutish reasons, if they could possibly have found out easier and milder arguments.

4. And, again, if they do indeed entirely trust to antiquities, and do not dissemble any thing, why did one John Clement, an Englishman, rend and burn some leaves of Theodoret, a most ancient father, and a Greek bishop, in the presence of several persons of good worth and credit (believing that another copy of that book was no where to be found), because this father had perspicuously and clearly taught, *that the nature of the bread was not abolished in the eucharist?* Why doth Albertus Pighius deny that the ancient father St. Augustine had a true notion of original sin? or of matrimony, in that he saith, that *a marriage made after a vow entered, is a good marriage, and cannot be dissolved?* upon which occasion Pighius saith, *Augustine erred, and made use of false logic.* And why did they, in a late impres-

sion of "Origen upon the Gospel of St. John," omit the whole sixth chapter, in which it is probable, or rather certain, that father has delivered many things contrary to their opinions concerning the eucharist; choosing rather to deface and mutilate this ancient father, than to suffer any thing to appear in the world which might contradict their doctrine, by printing the book perfect? Is their rending, suppressing, maiming, and burning the writings of the ancient fathers, an argument of their reliance on antiquity?

5. It is worth the while to see how rarely these gentlemen agree in matters of religion with those ancient fathers, of whose concurrence they boast so unmeasurably. 1. The ancient Elibertin council decreed, that what was the object of worship, should not be painted in churches. The old father Epiphanius saith, *it is a horrible wickedness, and an insufferable villany, for any man to set up the picture even of Christ in Christian churches:* but they have filled all their churches, and every corner of them, with pictures and statues, as if there were no religion without them. 2. The ancient fathers Origen and St. Chrysostom have exhorted the people to the diligent reading of the *Scriptures*; that they would buy books, and discourse among themselves of holy things in their families, the wives with their husbands, and the parents with their children; but our adversaries condemn the Scriptures as dead elements, and drive the people from them as much as they can possibly. 3. The ancient fathers Cyprian, Epiphanius, and St. Jerome, if any person who had vowed to live a single life, did afterwards fall into impurity, and could not overcome the rages of his concupiscence, said, it was better for him to marry, and live chastely, in a state of matrimony; and such a marriage is, by St. Augustine, another ancient fa-

ther, adjudged to be valid and good, and that it ought not to be recalled or rescinded; but they, if a man has once bound himself by a vow—although he is afterwards burnt—although he whores—although he lives never so lewdly and dissolutely, yet they will never suffer him to marry; or, if he does perhaps marry, they deny that it is a lawful marriage; and they teach, that it is much more holy to keep a concubine, or a whore, than to live in a state of matrimony. 4. St. Augustine, an ancient father, complained of the excessive number of impertinent ceremonies with which the minds and consciences of men were, even then, oppressed: they, as if God regarded nothing else, have since swelled the number of them to so immense a quantity, that there is scarce any thing else left in their churches. 5. The same ancient father denies it to be lawful for a monk to live lazily in idleness, and, under the show and pretence of sanctity, to live on what is another's; and the ancient father Apollonius saith, such a monk is no better than a *thief*. But they have whole flocks, or herds shall I call them, of monks, who do nothing, nor do they so much as pretend to any show of holiness, and yet do not only live by the labour of others, but fare deliciously and luxuriously. 6. An ancient Roman council decreed, that no man should be present at that divine service which was celebrated by a priest which he knew kept a *concubine*; but they permit the priests to keep concubines for money, and, by force, compel men to be present at their sacrilegious services. 7. The ancient apostolical canons command that bishop to be deposed, who shall exercise at the same time the office of a bishop and the functions of a civil magistrate; but these men do, and will exercise both, or rather, indeed, totally neglect that which is most of all their duty, and yet there is no man to remove and punish them. 8.

The ancient council of Gangra forbad any man to put such difference between a married and a single priest, as to esteem the one more holy than the other upon that account; but they put such a difference, that they think all the holy services which are performed by a pious and good man who hath a wife, are profaned. 9. The ancient emperor Justinianus commanded all things in the divine service to be pronounced with an audible, loud, clear, articulate voice, that the people might thereby reap some benefit by it; but they, that the people may never understand them, whisper their divine service not only in an obscure and low tone, but also in a strange and barbarous tongue. 10. The old Carthaginian council forbad any thing besides the canonical Scriptures to be read in the holy assemblies of the church; but they read in their churches, what they themselves do not doubt to be mere lies and silly fables. And now, if any man think these things are of no great consideration, because they were decreed by emperors, and small councils, consisting of bishops of less esteem, and not in full councils, and therefore are more fond of the authority and names of the popes. 11. Julius expressly forbad the priest, in the celebration of the holy communion, to dip the bread in the *chalice*; but they, contrary to this decree, do divide the bread, and dip it. 12. Clemens the pope saith, it is not lawful for a bishop to bear both (the spiritual and civil) swords; and (saith he) if thou wilt have both, thou deceivest thyself and those that hear thee; but now the Pope claims both, and bears both; and therefore the wonder ought to seem the less, if that hath followed which Clement foretold; and he hath accordingly deceived himself and those which have heard him. 13. Pope Leo saith, it is not lawful to celebrate more than one mass in one

day, in one church; they say every day sometimes ten, at others twenty, and at others thirty, and sometimes more in the same church, at the same time; so that the miserable spectator knows not which way to turn him. 14. Gelasius the pope saith, that if any man divide the sacrament, and, when he has received one part, refuseth the other, he doth act wickedly and sacrilegiously; but they, contrary to the word of God, and the decree of this pope, command only one part of the eucharist to be given to the people, and, by so doing, have made their priests guilty of sacrilege.

6. But now, if they shall pretend, that all these things are antiquated and worn out of use, and so are, in a sort, dead, and do not concern our times, yet that men may see what faith is to be given to these men, and with what hope they call councils, let us consider, in a few instances, how well they observe those things which have been ordained of late years, and which are fresh in memory, by councils which they pretend were lawfully called, and in which they themselves decreed those things I shall mention, to be religiously observed. In the last council of Trent, not much above fourteen years since, it was decreed, by the common vote of all orders there present, *that two benefices should not be committed at one time to the same person.* Where is that *sanction* now? Is that so soon antiquated and dead too? for they do frequently give not only two benefices, but sometimes, also, several monasteries too, and sometimes two, three, or four bishoprics, to one man, and he, too, sometimes not only unlearned, and consequently thereby unfit for them, but a soldier. In the same council it was decreed, that *all bishops ought to preach the Gospel*; but they never preach, nor ever come in a pulpit, nor do they think it in the least any part of their duty. What,

then, is the meaning of all that show of antiquity? why do they glory so in the names of the fathers, and of the ancient and modern councils? why would they so fain seem to rely upon their authority, whom, as occasion serves, at their pleasure they despise?

7. But I have a great desire to have a little discourse with the Pope himself, and to tell him some things to his face. Be pleased, then, O holy father! who so often boastest of antiquity, and pretendest that all the ancients are entirely addicted to thy service, to inform us, which of all the ancient fathers ever called *your holiness* the chief *pontiff*, or the universal bishop, or the head of the church? Which of them ever said, that both the swords were given to thee? which of them ever said, that you have the right and authority to call councils? that the whole world was your diocese? which of them ever said that all bishops had received of your fulness? that all power, both in heaven and earth, was given to you? that you could not be judged by kings, nor by the whole clergy, nor by all the people? Which of them ever said, that kings and emperors, by the command and will of Christ, derived authority from you? Which of them ever affirmed, with a *mathematical* exactness and certainty, that your authority was precisely seventy-seven times greater than that of the greatest kings? Which of them ever said, that you had a greater power than the other *patriarchs?* Which of them ever said you were *the Lord God*, or not a mere man, like other mortals, or styled you a certain hotch-potch, a mixture or *concrete* of God and man? Which of them ever said, that you were the fountain of all law, that you had an empire and dominion over purgatory, and that you might, at your pleasure, command the angels of God? Which of them ever said, that you were *King of kings, and Lord of*

lords? And now we are in, we may inquire of a few other things of the same nature. What one man, of all the ancient bishops and fathers, ever taught you to say a private mass, whilst the people did nothing but look on; or to lift the eucharist above your head, in which you now place all your religion; or to curtail the sacrament of Christ, and, contrary to his institutions and express commands, to deprive the people of one half of it? And that we may conclude: What one, of all the ancient fathers, taught you to dispense the blood of Christ and the merits of the martyrs, and to sell your indulgences, and all the apartments and lodgings of purgatory, like commodities in the market for money? They are wont often to celebrate their own wonderful secret learning, and their manifold and various readings. Now let your partisans at last produce something of it, if they can, or let them at least shew they have read, and do know, more than ordinary; for they have often made hideous outcries amongst their hearers, that all the parts of their religion are ancient and approved, not only by the number, but also by the continuance and consent of all nations and times.

8. Well, then, let them at least shew this their boasted antiquity; let them make it appear, that what they so much extol, is indeed of so vast an extent; let them prove, that all Christian nations have embraced their religion. But, alas! (as I said before,) they flee from their own decrees, and have already plucked up those canons, which, but a very few years since, they made to last for ever. Why, then, should we trust them in relation to what they pretend concerning the fathers, the ancient councils, and the Scriptures? They have not, O good God! they have not on their sides what they pretend to have; they have neither antiquity, nor universality, nor the consent of either all times or all nations; and of

this they are not ignorant themselves, though they craftily dissemble their knowledge; yea, at times, they will not obscurely confess it, and therefore sometimes they will allege, that the sanctions of the ancient councils and fathers are such as may lawfully be changed; *for different decrees* (say they) *will best suit the different state of the church in different times.* And so they hide themselves under the name of the *church,* and by a wretched sham delude mankind. And, in truth, it is a great wonder, that men should be so blind as not to see these things, or, if they do see them, so patient, as to bear and endure them with that stupidity and unconcernment they seem to have.

9. But though they have abrogated the canons of the ancient councils, as too old and overworn, yet, perhaps, they have settled new and more useful rules in their place; for they have the confidence to say, that if Christ himself, or his Apostles, should arise from the dead, they could not administer the affairs of the church of God better or more piously than it is now administered by them. Indeed they have put others in the place of the former; but, as Jeremiah saith, *chaff instead of wheat,* or, as Isaiah saith, *what God never required at their hands*; for they have stopped up all the veins of living waters, and have hewn for the people of God *broken and polluted cisterns,* being full of mud and dregs, which neither have in them any pure water, nor can hold it if it were in them. They have torn from the people the holy communion; the word of God, from which all true comfort could only be expected; the true worship of God; the right use of the sacraments and prayers of the church: and they have given us, to please ourselves withal, in the mean time of their own pure invention, consecrated *salts, waters, oils, spittle, palms, bulls, jubilees, indulgences, crosses,*

censings, and an infinite number of *ceremonies*; and, as Plautus calls others of the like nature, *ludos ludificabiles*, shows and pageants, that are very diverting, and good for nothing else. In these things they have made all religion to consist; and they have taught the people, that by these things God is rightly appeased, and that by these things devils are put to flight, and the consciences of men quieted and confirmed. For these are the paints and perfumes of Christianity; these are the grateful and acceptable things to the all-seeing God; these are to be had in honour, that Christ's and his Apostles' institutions may be taken away. And as heretofore the wicked king Jeroboam, when he had taken away the true service of God, and persuaded the people instead of it to accept the golden calves, for fear they might change their minds, and fall from him, and return to the temple of God at Jerusalem, made a long oration to them, "exhorting them to constancy, saying to them, *These are thy gods, O Israel*; thus did your God command you to worship him. But it would be very grievous and troublesome for you to take so long a journey, and to go up every year to worship and adore God at Jerusalem:"—even so our adversaries, when they had once by their traditions quashed the laws of God, lest the people should afterwards open their eyes, and fall off from them, and seek a better way of assuring their salvation; oh! how often have they exclaimed, that this is the true worship of God, which he is pleased with, and hath required of us, and by which he will be appeased when he is angry! and that it is grievous and troublesome to the people to have recourse to Christ and the apostles and fathers, and to attend perpetually what they require of them. Is this their way of bringing the people of God off from the weak elements of the world, from the leaven of the Scribes and Pharisees,

and from human traditions? Are the commandments of Christ and his apostles to be taken away, that these goodly things may succeed them? Oh most righteous cause! why should an old doctrine, which hath been approved for many ages, be antiquated, and a new form of religion be brought into the church of God? Ay (but say they), be it what it will, nothing ought to be changed: the minds of men are wondrous well satisfied with these things; the church of Rome has so decreed, and she cannot err; for Sylvester Prierus saith, *that the church of Rome is the rule and model of truth, and that the holy Scriptures have received from her all their faith and authority. The doctrine* (saith he again) *of the church of Rome is the infallible rule of faith, from whence the holy Scriptures have all their strength. For indulgences were not made known to us by the authority of Scriptures, but they were made known by the authority of the church and Popes of Rome, which is greater than the Scriptures.* Pighius doth not fear to say, *that without the command of the church of Rome we are not to believe the most clear place of Scripture*; which is just as good as if one of those who cannot speak good and pure Latin, and yet by use and custom has got the faculty readily and fluently to blunder on in the *lawyers'* Latin, should therefore stand stoutly to it, that all others are bound to speak it after the same manner that was many years since in use with Mammetrectus and the Catholicon, which they still use in their pleadings; because by that means men might very easily be understood, and their humours might be gratified; but, on the other side, that it were ridiculous to trouble the world now with a new way of speaking, and to reduce into practice again the old purity and eloquence of the Latin tongue used in the times of Cicero and Cæsar.

10. So much are they indebted to the ignorance

and blindness of the former times, that, as one saith, *Many things are often had in great esteem, because they were once dedicated to the service of the gods.* So now we see many things are magnified and applauded by them, not because they judge them worthy of this esteem; but only because by custom they were once received, and thereby in a sort dedicated to the service of God. *But they pretend that their church cannot err.* I suppose they speak this in the same sense as the Lacedemonians were wont to say, there was no such thing as adultery in their commonwealth, when in truth they were all adulterers, and used an uncertain sort of marriages, and had their wives in common: or, as the hungry canonists now say of the Pope, that he being lord of all benefices, although he sells bishoprics, monasteries, and livings, and suffers nothing to go from him without money, yet because he claims all those as his own, though he would, yet he cannot commit simony. But then how well or rationally this is spoken, we poor men cannot see or understand, except as the ancient Romans served Victory, so they have served truth; for when she once came flying to them, they clipped her wings, that she might no more fly from them.

But what if Jeremiah should tell them, as we have observed above, *that these are lying words?* And what again, if he should say, *that many pastors* (who ought to have dressed) *have destroyed my vineyard?* (Chap. xii. 9.) What if Christ should say, that those who should have taken the greatest care of the temple, have made *the house of God a den of thieves?* (Matt. xx. 13.) For if the church of Rome cannot err, she is more beholding to her own good fortune, than to their prudence or care; for such are their lives, doctrines, and diligence, that if we are to take our measures from thence, this church

is not only in danger of falling into error, but of a total ruin and destruction. And certainly if that church can err, which hath departed from the word of God, the commandments of Christ, the institutions of the apostles, the examples of the primitive church, and from the canons and sanctions of the ancient fathers and councils; yea, and from her own too, which will be obliged by neither old nor new laws, by neither her own nor any others, by neither divine nor human laws; I say, if all this be to err, then it is certain that the church of Rome not only may err, but that she hath most wickedly and lewdly erred.

11. But they say, we were once of their communion, but now we are apostates, and have departed from them. Indeed we have departed from them, and we bless the great and holy God for it, and please ourselves mightily in it; but then we have not departed from the primitive church, from the apostles, from Christ; we were educated indeed with them in darkness and ignorance of God, as Moses was in the discipline and bosom of the Egyptians. *We were of your number* (saith Tertullian), *and I confess it*; *but what wonder is there in that? Men are made, and not born Christians.* But then I may as well ask them, why they have descended from the seven hills on which the ancient city of Rome stood, to dwell in the plains in the Martian field, to which, perhaps, they would reply, that the aqueducts, without which they could not conveniently dwell on those hills, have failed. Let them then but grant the same liberty in relation to the waters of life, which they expect we should afford them in regard of the common family-water. The springs did now fail with them: *the elders* (saith Jeremiah, xiv. 3) *sent their little ones to the waters*; *they came to the pits, and found no water*;

they returned with their vessels empty; they were ashamed and confounded, and covered their heads. Or, as Isaiah saith (xli. 17), *The poor and needy seek water, and there is none, and their tongue faileth for thirst.* They had broken all their conduits and water-courses; they had stopped up all the springs, and covered the fountains of living waters with mire and mud: and as Caligula, by shutting up all the public granaries, enjoined the people of Rome to fast, so they, by stopping up the fountains of the word of God, had enjoined the people to undergo the miseries of a destructive thirst; they have, as the Prophet Amos saith (viii. 11), brought upon the world a famine; *not a famine of bread, nor a thirst for water, but of hearing the words of the Lord.* Miserable men went about searching for a small spark of divine light to cheer their consciences; but they were all gone out, and they could find none: this was the miserable condition and state of their church; men lived wretchedly in it, without the Gospel, and without light or consolation.

12. And, therefore, how afflictive soever our departure from them may seem to them, yet they ought at the same time to consider how just the cause of it was; for if they say in general, it is not lawful to leave that society in which thou wert educated, this were in our persons to condemn the prophets, apostles, and Christ himself; for why! is it not as reasonable to blame Lot for leaving Sodom; Abraham, for leaving Chaldea; the Hebrews, for leaving Egypt; Christ, for leaving the Jews; and St. Paul, for leaving the Pharisees? For except it be granted that there may be a just cause of departure, we can see no cause why these may not, in the same manner as we are, be accused of faction and sedition. But if we are to be thought heretics because we will not obey all their unjust commands, what are they?

Who or what are they to be thought, who have contemned the commands of Christ and his apostles? If we are schismatics, who have forsaken them, by what name shall we call them who have forsaken the Greeks, from whom they first received the Christian faith; the primitive church, Christ, and the apostles, who were their spiritual parents? For the Greek church, who at this day profess the religion and name of Christ, although they have in many things contaminated it, yet they still retain a great part of those things which they received from the Apostles. And so they have no private masses, no maimed sacraments, no purgatory, nor indulgences: and as to the papal titles, and magnificent names, they have this esteem of them, that whoever calls himself the *Universal Bishop*, and *the Head of the whole Church*, is a proud man, and injurious to all the other bishops, who are his brethren; nor will they scruple on this single account to call him *heretic*.

13. But now, seeing it is apparent, and cannot be denied, that they have made a defection from them from whom they received the Gospel, the Christian faith, and religion; yea, and the very being of a church; what cause is there to be given, why they should not return back to them as to their original? why should they so much dread the times of the fathers and apostles as if they had seen nothing? Why, do they see more, or love the church better, than they who delivered what they have to them? For as for us, we have forsaken a church in which we could neither hear the pure word of God, nor administer the sacraments, nor invoke the name, of God, as we ought; which they themselves acknowledge to be faulty in many things, and in which there was nothing to retain a prudent man, who thought seriously of his salvation. Lastly, we have departed from a church which is not now what anciently she was;

and so we have departed as Daniel did out of the den of lions; as the three children did out of the fiery furnace; or, to speak more properly, we have not so much departed from them, as been cast out by them, with execrations and curses.

14. But then we have united ourselves to that church, in which if they would speak their minds truly and freely, they themselves cannot deny but that all things are purely and reverently administered, and, as far as we can possibly, according to the example and manner of the ancient times. 1. Let them compare their church and ours together, and they will soon see that they have most basely departed from the apostles, and we have most justly and reasonably departed from them; for we, with Christ, and the apostles and primitive fathers, give the entire and whole eucharist to the people; but they, contrary to the practice of all the fathers and apostles, and of Christ himself, divide that sacrament, with an high sacrilege, as Gelasius expresseth it, and deprive the people of one half of it. 2. We have recalled the Lord's supper to its first institution, and have made it common to as many as was possible, that it might be, as it is called, *a communion*. But they, contrary to the institution of Christ, of a holy communion have made it a private mass; and so we give the people the Lord's supper, they entertain them with a vain show. 3. We affirm, with the ancient fathers, that the body of Christ is eaten by none but holy and faithful men, who are endowed with the spirit of Christ; but they say that the very body of Christ may be truly, and, indeed—or, as they express it—*really and substantially* eaten, not only by impious and unbelieving men, but, which is abominable to be spoken, by *mice* and *dogs*. 4. We pray so in our churches, that, according to St. Paul's admonition, 2 Cor. 14,

the people may know what is prayed, and understandingly answer *Amen* to the common prayers: they, like tinkling brass, pour out in the church unknown and strange words, without understanding, sense, or meaning, and take all the care they can that the people may understand nothing. 5. And that we may not mention all the differences, because they are almost infinite, we have turned the holy Scriptures into all languages, and they will scarce allow them to be extant in any tongue. We invite the people to read and hear the word of God; they drive them away from it. We desire the cause in controversy should be understood by all; but they fly from judgment. We trust to knowledge; they to ignorance. We trust to the light; and they to the darkness. We venerate, as it is fit we should, the words of the Apostles and Prophets; they burn them. Lastly, in the cause of God, we desire to stand or fall by the judgment of God alone, and they would stand only by their own. Now, therefore, if they would consider all these things with a sedate and quiet mind, well disposed to hear and learn, they would not only approve our design, who, having left their errors, have applied ourselves to follow Christ and his apostles; but they would likewise fall off from themselves, and certainly unite with us in our way.

CHAP. VI.

Of the great Value we have for Councils, and of the little Regard the Papists have for them.

1. But in the next place they pretend, that it is altogether unlawful to attempt any of these things, without the consent of a *general council*; because in

that is lodged all the power of the church; and Christ hath promised, that there he will never fail to be present. But, as I said, they have violated the commandments of God, the decrees of the Apostles, and almost all the institutions and doctrines of the primitive church, without ever expecting any such sacred council.

2. And whereas they pretend that it is not lawful for any church to change any thing without a general council:—who imposed these laws upon us, or from whence had they this edict? That king acted very ridiculously, who when he was assured by an oracle of the will and pleasure of Jupiter, the great heathen god, referred the thing again to Apollo, that he might see whether he were of the same mind with his father Jupiter. But we should act much more imprudently, if when we have heard God himself speaking to us in the Scriptures, and thereby know his will and pleasure, as if all this were nothing, we should after all refer the thing to a *council*; which is nothing better than to try whether God and man are both of one mind, and whether men will please to approve and enforce the laws of God by their authority. For, what! shall not truth be truth except a council is pleased to will and require it? or shall not God be God without their consent? If Christ at the beginning would have acted thus, and would neither have taught nor spoken any thing without the authority of the high priests, and if he had referred his whole doctrine to Annas and Caiaphas, where had the Christian faith been now? or who had ever heard of the Gospel? And St. Peter, whom the Pope mentions more frequently, and with greater eulogies, than he doth Jesus Christ himself, confidently withstood the sacred council, and replied, *It is better to obey God than man.* (Acts, iv. 19.) And St. Paul, when he

had once thoroughly imbibed the Gospel, and that *neither from man, nor by man, but only by the will of God, deliberated not with flesh and blood* (Gal. i. 12, 16); nor did he refer the thing to his kinsmen and brethren, but straightway went into Arabia, that he might there publish the divine mysteries which he had learned of God himself.

3. We do not despise councils, nor the meetings and consultations of bishops and learned men; nor have we done what we have done without bishops and a council: the thing was debated a long time in a full assembly of the states. But what we may expect from that council which is now pretended to be held by Pope Pius IV. in which men are with such facility condemned, uncalled, unheard, and unseen, is not mighty difficult to conjecture. When Nazianzen in his time saw men in these meetings so blind and obstinate that they were wholly led by their affections, and that they sought victory more than truth, he confidently said, *that he never saw a good end put to any of the councils.*—What would he now say if he were living, and understood their transactions? for then, although there was some faction and partiality, yet causes were heard and considered, and manifest apparent errors were taken away by their united suffrages. But our adversaries will not so much as suffer the cause to be freely debated, nor will they suffer any one of the many errors that are crept into the church to be changed; for they are wont frequently and impudently to boast that their church cannot err; that there is not the least fault in it; that nothing was to be yielded to us; or that, if any thing were granted, it was to be at the discretion of the bishops and abbots; that they were the sole moderators of affairs, and that they were the church of God. Aristotle saith, that bastards cannot make a civil society or state, and

they may consider whether they be any better qualified for the making of a church of God; for certainly they are neither lawful abbots, nor genuine bishops. But suppose they are in the church, suppose they are to be heard in councils, and that they have the sole right of voting, yet in ancient time, when the church of God was well governed, especially if it be compared with their church, as St. Cyprian acquaints us, the presbyters and deacons, and some part also of the laity, were then called to assist at the hearing of ecclesiastical causes.

4. But what now if those abbots and bishops know nothing? what if they know not what religion is, nor what they ought to believe of God? what if the law hath perished from the priests, and counsel from the elders? what if, as Micah saith (iii. 6), the night be unto them instead of a vision, and darkness instead of a divination? what if, as Isaiah saith (lvi. 10), "the watchmen of the city are all blind, they are all ignorant?" and what if the salt (as Christ saith, Matt. v. 13) hath lost its force and savour, and is become good for nothing, not fit even to be cast upon the dunghill? for they defer all to the Pope, who cannot err: but then this in the first place is ridiculous, that the Holy Ghost should be sent by a carrier from the holy council to Rome, that if any doubt or stop happens which he cannot expedite, he may take better instruction and counsel from I know not what more learned spirit; for if it must come to this at last, what need is there that so many bishops should with such great expense be called from very distant places at this time to Trent? It had certainly been more prudent, and much better, a shorter and an easier way, to have at first turned over all this business to the Pope, and have gone directly to the oracle of his sacred breast; besides, it is unjust to devolve

our cause from so many bishops and abbots to the judgment of any one man, and, above all others, to the judgment of the Pope, who is accused by us of many very great crimes; and though he hath not answered for his own misdemeanors, yet hath presumed to condemn us before we were called, and that without any trial.

Now do we invent all this? or is it not now the manners of our late councils? Are not all things referred to the Pope by the council; so that as if nothing were done by so many sentences and subscriptions, he alone may add, diminish, abrogate, approve, relax, and restrain whatsoever he please? Whose words are these? why did the bishops and abbots, in the end of the late council at Trent, put in these words as a part of their decree: *Saving in all things the authority of the apostolical see?* or why did Pope Pascal write thus insolently of himself: *As if* (saith he) *any councils could prescribe a law to the church of Rome, when all councils are held by the authority of the church of Rome, and derive their force from it too; and whereas they do patiently in their decrees except the authority of the Pope of Rome?* If they will confirm and approve these things, why are councils called? but, if they are indeed repealed and abrogated, why are they still left in their books as if they were in force?

5. Well, but suppose, in the next place, that the Pope, though one, is above all councils, that is, that he is a part greater than the whole, has more power, yea, and more wisdom too, than all his party besides; and that, in spite of St. Jerome's judgment, *the authority of this one city is greater than that of the whole world:*—what if he has seen none of these things, and has neither read the holy Scriptures, nor the ancient fathers, nor so much as any of his own councils?—what if, like Pope Liberius of old, he becomes

an Arian; or, like Pope John who lived not many years since, thinks very lewdly and wickedly of *the immortality of the soul, and of the life to come*; or, as Pope Zosimus heretofore corrupted the council of Nice, so he, for the enlarging of his own power, should corrupt the other councils, and aver, that those things were deliberated and constituted by the holy fathers, in them which were never so much as thought of; and that, as Camotensis saith the Popes do frequently, he should offer violence to the holy Scriptures, that he might thereby possess himself of a plenitude of power?—what if he renounce the Christian faith, and become an apostate, as Lyranus saith many Popes have done?—what! will the Holy Spirit, for all these things, knock at the cabin of his breast, and obtrude such a light upon him contrary to his inclinations, and against his will, that he shall not err though he would? or shall such a Pope as this be the fountain of all laws, and all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge be notwithstanding found in him as in a cabinet? or, if these things be not in him, can he nevertheless judge well and conveniently of things of this great weight? or, if he be not qualified to judge of them, does he yet desire that all things should be referred to him alone? What now, if the Pope's advocates, the abbots and bishops, dissemble nothing, but declare themselves openly to be the enemies of the Gospel, and will not see what they do see, but wrest the Scriptures, and knowingly and willingly deprave and adulterate the word of God, and do foully and impiously transfer to the Pope what is perspicuously and properly spoken of Christ, and cannot be applied to any other mortal? What if they say, the Pope *is all and above all*, or that he can do all those things which Christ can do, or that the tribunal and consistory of the Pope is the same with Christ, or *that the Pope is that light which*

came into the world, which Christ spake of himself only, and that he that doth evil hateth *that light, and fleeth from it*, or that all other bishops have received of his fulness? Or, lastly, what if they do without dissimulation or obscurity clearly and manifestly determine contrary to the word of God? Shall whatever they say nevertheless presently become Gospel? shall such as these be the army of God? will Christ be present with such men? will the Spirit of God move upon their tongues, or may they say truly, *It seems good to the Holy Ghost, and to us?* (Acts, xv. 28.)

6. Petrus a Soto, and his voucher Hosius, make no scruple to affirm that that very council which condemned our Saviour to death, had then the spirit of prophecy and truth, and the Holy Ghost, with them; and what those high priests said was not false and vain, when they said, *We have a law, and by that law he ought to die*; that in this (according to Hosius), they gave a true judgment, and that their decree was perfectly just by which Christ was adjudged *worthy of death*. It is a wonder, in the mean time, these men cannot defend themselves, and propagate their own cause, except at the same time they undertake the patronage of Annas and Caiaphas. For what council will these men ever acknowledge to be vicious and erroneous, who say that it was a lawful and good council in which the Son of God was most ignominiously condemned to the death of the cross? and yet considering what almost all these councils have been, it was necessary for them thus to pronounce of the council held by Annas and Caiaphas. But are they ever like to be the men which are to reform the church, who are at once the judges and the criminals? Will they ever lessen their pride and ambition? will they depose themselves, and give judgment against themselves, that the bishops shall not be unlearned, slow bellies, multiply benefices, carry themselves

like princes, nor bear arms? will the Pope's beloved sons, the abbots, decree, that that monk who doth not earn his bread with the sweat of his brows, is a thief? or that it is not lawful for them to live in the city, or in a crowd of men, or of that which belongs to another; that a monk ought to lie upon the bare ground, to live hardly with herbs and pease; to study hard, dispute, pray, and labour to prepare himself for the service of the church? It is as reasonable to expect that the Scribes and Pharisees will reform the temple, and of a *den of thieves* will again make it become a house of *prayer*.

7. There were some amongst them who observed that many errors were crept into the church; Pope Adrian, Æneas Sylvius, Cardinal Pool, Pighius, and others, as we have said. After which, they had a council at Trent, in the same place where there is one now indicted. Many bishops and abbots, and others who ought to be in a council, met; they were alone, and there was nobody to disturb them, whatever they did; for they had taken care to exclude all that were for the reformation, and there they sat with a great expectation six years. In the first six months they decreed many things concerning the holy Trinity, the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, which were pious, but no way necessary for those times; and yet of all these clear, manifest, confessed errors which had gotten into the church, what one single error or corruption have they reformed? from what kind of idolatry have they reclaimed the people? what superstition have they taken away? what part of their tyranny and pomp have they abated or diminished? as if the world were so blind, that it could not see and observe that this is a conspiracy, rather than a council, and that all the bishops which the Pope has there called together, are sworn and addicted to his interest, and resolved beforehand, not to do any thing

but what shall please him and increase his power, and which they see he desireth; or that votes there are not numbered, rather than considered or weighed; or that the wiser and better part of the council is not often overborne by the greater, but worse part of it? And therefore we know perfectly well, that many good men and Catholic bishops, when such councils were indicted, and they saw clearly that parties and factions were served by them, and that they should lose their pains, and harden the minds of their adversaries by their opposition, without doing the least good, have wisely staid at home, and refused to be present in them. Athanasius would not come to the council of Cæsarea, when he was called by the Emperor, seeing he should there meet with an enraged parcel of enemies; and afterwards when he came to the council of Syrmium, and in his mind foresaw, from the fury and malice of his enemies, what the event would be, he packed up his carriages, and went away immediately. St. Chrysostom, though he was called four times by letters from Arcadius the Emperor, to an Arian council, yet staid at home. When Maximus, Bishop of Jerusalem, sat in a council in Palestine, the old Paphnutius took him by the hand and led him out of it, and then told him, '*T is not lawful for us to consult about these things with wicked men.* The bishops of the West would not be present at that council at Syrmium, from which Athanasius departed. St. Cyril by letters appealed from the council of the Patropassians, as they were called. Paulinus, Bishop of Treves, and many others, would not come to the council of Milan, when they saw the power and intrigues of Auxentius; for they saw it was to no purpose to go thither, where faction, and not reason, would be heard, and where causes would be certainly determined by affection and passion, and not by judgment. But then all these, though they were to deal with enraged and obstinate adversaries,

yet if they had come they should have been freely heard in the council.

8. But now no man need wonder, when none of us are permitted, not only not to sit, but not so much as to be seen in their council; so far are we from being freely heard, when the popes, legates, and all the patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, and abbots, are in a conspiracy, and united by their common crimes, all sworn in the same oath, only sit, and have alone the power of voting, and, as if all this were not enough, have submitted all their judgments to the will and humour of the Pope alone; that he who ought to answer for his own faults, shall give sentence in his own cause upon himself, when that ancient Christian liberty which is absolutely necessary should be very great in councils, is totally taken away: I say, after all this, wise and good men ought not to wonder, if we do now that which they have seen done in the like case, by so many fathers and Catholic bishops; that is, that seeing we cannot be heard in the council, and that the ambassadors of princes are had in contempt and scorn there; and as if the thing were already determined and agreed, we are condemned before we are heard; if after all this we had rather sit at home and commit the business to God, than to go thither, where we shall have no place, nor effect any thing.

But though we can patiently and quietly bear our own injuries, yet why should they shut Christian and pious princes out of their councils? why do they so rudely and insolently put them out, and not suffer them to hear the business of religion debated, or to understand the state of their own churches, as if they were not Christians, or could not judge well of it? or if these princes interpose their authority, and do that which they may, are commanded, and ought to do, and which we know David and Solomon, and

other good princes have done ; that is, if they restrain the luxury of the priests, and compel them to do their duty, and keep them to it. If they pluck down idols, extirpate superstition, and restore the worship of God to its ancient purity, why do they presently make an outcry, that these princes disturb all things, break in upon other men's offices, and do act ill things and immodestly? What Scripture (I pray) hath excluded Christian princes from hearing these causes? who, besides these men, ever decreed any such laws? But they will reply, that civil princes have learned to govern their states, and to manage arms, but they understand nothing of the mysteries of religion. And now, what is the Pope at this day but a monarch or a prince? and what are the cardinals, (who are now scarcely suffered to be any other but) the children of kings and princes? What are the patriarchs, and for the most part the archbishops, bishops, and abbots, other than princes, dukes, and earls, in the Papal kingdom? and accordingly whithersoever they go, they are attended with a great retinue, and adorned with chains and collars of gold, and other ensigns of honour. And they have sometimes else a peculiar habit belonging to them, as crosses, pillars, hats, mitres, and palls ; which pomp the ancient bishops St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and St. Augustine, were not acquainted with ; but then, excepting these outward ornaments, what do they teach, what do they speak, what do they do, and what do they live, so as becomes, I will not say a bishop, but a common Christian? Is it then of so mighty a consequence to go under this or that title ; and, by changing nothing but a man's clothes, to be called a bishop?

9. Certainly it is a proud, injurious, and unjust thing, and not to be borne by Christian and prudent princes, to permit the sum of all that concerns religion to be managed by such men as these alone, who

know nothing of the mysteries of religion, nor care to know any thing more than what belongs to their bellies and kitchens, and do not value any thing of religion as worth a rush, who are no better than blind men placed in a watch-tower; and that in the interim, a Christian and a Catholic prince should stand like a trunk or a stock, and without vote, and without giving his judgment, only observe what they are pleased to command and impose upon him; and as if he had neither ears, nor eyes, nor mind, nor heart of his own, to receive without exception, and with a blindfold submission to do, whatever they are pleased to command him, although they are blasphemous and wicked things; yea, although they should command him to extinguish all religion, and to crucify his Saviour: for why? Can Caiaphas and Annas judge well of matters of religion, and cannot David and Hezekiah? Is it lawful for a cardinal, a martial and a bloody man, to sit in a council; and is it unlawful for an emperor and a Christian prince? For we attribute nothing more to our princes, than what is allowed them by the word of God, and approved by the examples of the best governments. For besides that, the care of both tables is committed by God to a faithful prince, that he may thereby understand, that not only the civil but the ecclesiastical polity belongs to him and to his office. And besides all this, God hath often expressly commanded princes to cut down the groves, and overthrow the statues and altars of idols, to transcribe for himself a book of the law; and Isaiah saith, chap. xlix. 23, that *Kings should be nursing fathers to the church, and their queens her nursing mothers.* Besides all these things, I say, we see by histories, and the examples of the best times, that pious princes did never think the administration of ecclesiastical affairs, a thing that was foreign to their duty.

10. Moses, who was the civil magistrate and leader of the people, received from God the whole body of their religion, and the order of their sacred rites, and delivered them to the people, and severely and sharply chastised Aaron, their bishop, for making the golden calf, and violating the religion by law established. (Exod. xii.) And Joshua, though he were no other than a civil magistrate, yet when he was first inaugurated and set over the people, he received express command concerning religion and the worship of God. David, the king, when their religion had been miserably disordered by Saul, a wicked king, brought back the ark of God, that is, restored religion. And he was not only present as an admonisher or persuader of the work, but he published psalms and hymns, disposed the priests and levites into classes and orders, and in a sort governed the priests as a priest. (2 Chron. xiii.) Solomon, the king, built a temple to the Lord, which his father David had only designed in his thoughts; and after made an excellent oration to the people concerning religion and the worship of God. And after this, he removed Abiathar, the high-priest, and substituted Zadock in his place. (1 Kings, viii.) And when after this the temple was wretchedly ruined by the vice and negligence of the priests, Hezekiah the king commanded it to be cleansed of its rubbish and dirt, the lamps to be lighted, incense to be offered, and the sacred rites to be performed according to the ancient order; and caused the brazen serpent that was then irreligiously worshipped by the people, to be taken away and reduced to dust. (2 Chron. xxix.) Jehoshaphat the king overthrew and took away all the high places, and destroyed the groves, by which he perceived the worship of God was hindered, and the people by a private superstition diverted from attending the service of God in the temple to which

they were bound to go three times in the year out of all parts of his kingdom. (2 Chron. xvii.) Josias, another king, diligently admonished the priests and bishops of their duty; Joash, the king, repressed the luxury and insolence of the priest; Jehu slew the wicked false prophets. (2 Kings, x.) And that I may trouble the reader with no more examples out of the Scriptures, and rather pass to see and consider how the church has been governed since the birth of Christ and the publishing of the Gospel. Heretofore Christian emperors called councils of the bishops: Constantinus called the Nicene council; Theodosius I. the Constantinopolitan; Theodosius II. the Ephesian; Martianus, the Chalcedonian; and when Ruffinus had alleged a synod as making for him, his adversary, St. Jerome, that he might confute him, replied, *Tell us what emperor commanded it to be assembled?* And he also, in his funeral oration for Paula, a Roman lady, cites the letters of the emperors who had commanded the Greek and Roman bishops to meet at Rome, for the holding of a council.

11. It is most certain, that for five hundred years the Emperor alone took care of calling all the general councils and sacred meetings, and therefore we do now the more admire the unreasonableness of the bishop of Rome, who, though he knows that during the subsistence of the Roman empire in its greatness, this was the sole right of the Emperor, and that now kings have succeeded to part of the Cæsarean or imperial majesty, this right is devolved to all princes in common, yet has so unjustly usurped it to himself alone, and thinks it sufficient to communicate his design of holding a council to the greatest prince in Christendom as to his servant. But if the modesty of Ferdinand the Emperor be so great, perhaps because he doth not thoroughly understand the papal arts, that he can digest this injury; yet the Pope, who

pretends to so much sanctity, ought not to have offered him this affront, and thus to have arrogated to himself another man's right.

12. But some of his party may reply, that the Emperor then called the councils, because the bishop of Rome was not then arrived to that height of greatness; and yet he did not even then sit with the bishops, or at all interpose his authority in their deliberations and consultations: yet, as Theodoret acquaints us, Constantine the Great did not only sit with the bishops, but admonished them to determine the controversy then depending out of the prophetic and apostolic writings. *In this disputation* (said the Emperor) *concerning divine things, there is set before us, which we ought to follow, the doctrine of the Holy Ghost; for the books of the Evangelists and Apostles, and the oracles of the Prophets, do sufficiently shew us what we ought to think of the will of God.* Theodosius, another Emperor, not only sat amongst the bishops (as Socrates saith), but also was moderator of the dispute, and rent the papers of the heretics, and approved the sentiments and doctrine of the Catholics. And in the council of Chalcedon, the civil magistrate (who under the Emperor governed that council) condemned three bishops, Dioscorus, Juvenalis, and Thalassius, by his sentence, for heretics, and gave judgment that they should be deposed from that degree. In the third, the Constantinopolitan council, the civil magistrate not only sat with the bishops, but also subscribed the canons with them. *We have read* (said he) *and subscribed them.*

In the second council of Orange, the ambassadors of the princes, being noblemen themselves, sat, and not only voted concerning matters of religion, but also subscribed amongst the bishops; for thus it is written in the end of that council: Petrus

Marcellinus and Felix Liberius, two noble and illustrious præfecti-prætorio of Gaul, and patricians, *have consented and subscribed.* Syragius Opilio, Pantagathus, Deodatus Cariatho, and Marcellus, honourable men and magistrates, *have subscribed.* But if the præfecti-prætorio, and patricians, or noblemen, could then subscribe the councils, may not emperors and kings do it now? There were no need to prosecute so plain and apparent a point as this is, but that we have to do with a parcel of men who use to deny the clearest things, even those things which lie plain and open before their eyes, out of a contentious disposition and desire of victory. The Emperor Justinianus made a law for the correcting the manner and curbing the insolence of the clergy; and although he was a most Christian and catholic Emperor, yet he deposed Sylverius and Vigilius, two Popes and successors of St. Peter, and vicars of Jesus Christ, as they are now called.

13. And now seeing that princes have employed their authority upon bishops, received commands from God concerning religion, brought back the ark of God, composed sacred hymns and psalms, governed the priests, made public discourses concerning the worship of God, purged the temple, demolished high places, burnt idolatrous groves, and have admonished the priests concerning their office, and given them laws of living, have slain wicked prophets, deposed bishops, called councils of bishops, and sat with them, and taught them what they should do, have punished heretical bishops, have taken cognizance of religion, subscribed councils, and given sentence in them, and done all this, not by the command of another, but in their own names, and that rightly and piously; shall we say, after all this, that the care of religion belongs not to them? or that a Christian prince, who is pleased to concern

himself in these things, acts ill, immodestly, and wickedly? In all these affairs, the most ancient and most Christian kings and emperors have intermeddled, and yet were never accused of impiety or immodesty for so doing; and will any pretend to find either more catholic princes or more illustrious examples?

14. But now, if they might do all these things, though they were only civil princes, and governed their several states; wherein have our princes offended, who, though they are in the same authority, may (it seems) not do the same things? or wherein consists the wonderful force of their learning, wisdom, and holiness, that, contrary to the custom of all the ancient and catholic bishops, who have heretofore deliberated with princes concerning religion, they should now reject and exclude Christian princes from the cognizance of the cause now depending, and from all participation and congress with them in their councils? But yet it cannot be denied they have taken a prudent care for themselves, and the upholding their kingdom, which they foresaw otherwise would soon have perished. For if they who are placed by God in the highest station, had once seen and understood these men's arts; that the commands of Christ are contemned by them, that the light of the Gospel is obscured and extinguished by them, that they play tricks with and delude them, and shut up against them the entrance into the kingdom of God—they would never so patiently have suffered themselves to be so proudly despised, and injuriously scorned and abused. But now, on the other hand, they have rendered all princes obnoxious and subject to them by their blindness and ignorance.

15. We (as I said before) have done nothing in the changing of religion, either insolently or rashly;

nothing but with great deliberation and slowly; nor had we ever thought of doing it, except the will of God undoubtedly and manifestly opened to us in the most sacred Scriptures, and the necessity of our salvation, had compelled us so to do; for although we have departed from that church, which they call the catholic church, and thereupon they have kindled a great envy against us, in them who cannot well judge of us; yet it is enough for us, and ought to be so to any prudent and pious man, who considers seriously of his salvation, that we have only departed from that church which may err, which Christ, who cannot err, so long since foretold should err, and which we see clearly with our eyes has departed from the holy fathers, the apostles, Christ himself, and the primitive and catholic church. And we have approached, as much as possibly we could, the church of the apostles and ancient catholic bishops and fathers, which we know was yet a perfect, and, as Tertullian saith, *an unspotted virgin*, and not contaminated with any idolatry or great and public error. Neither have we only reformed the doctrine of our church, and made it like theirs in all things, but we have also brought the celebration of the sacraments, and the forms of our public rites and prayers, to an exact resemblance with their institutions or customs. And so we have only done that which we know Christ himself and all pious and godly men have in all ages ever done; for we have brought back religion, which was foully neglected and depraved by them, to her original and first state; for we considered that the reformation of religion was to be made by that which was the first pattern of it; for this rule will ever hold good against all heretics, saith the most ancient father Tertullian, *That that is true which is first, and that is adulterated and corrupted which is later.* Irenæus doth often appeal

to the most ancient churches who are the nearest to Christ, and which therefore were not at all likely to have erred. And why is not that course now taken also? why do we not return to a conformity with the most ancient churches? why cannot that be now heard amongst us, which was pronounced in the council of Nice, without the least contradiction or opposition from so many bishops and catholic fathers; ἡθη ἀρχαῖα κρατείτω, *Let the old customs stand firm?* When Esdras was to rebuild the temple, he did not send to Ephesus, though there was there a most beautiful temple of Diana, which was adorned most exquisitely; and when he was to restore the rites and ceremonies, he did not send to Rome, though perhaps he might have heard there of hecatombs, &c. and the ritual books of Numa Pompilius: he thought it was sufficient for him if he set before him as an example, and followed the ancient temple built by Solomon, according to the prescription of God Almighty, and the ancient rites and ceremonies which God had expressly commanded Moses. When the temple was rebuilt by Esdras, and the people might seem to have a just cause to rejoice in so very great a blessing granted to them by the great and holy God, yet Haggai the prophet brought tears from all their eyes, because they that were yet living, and had seen the structures of the former before it was destroyed by the Babylonians, did well remember how far this latter was from the splendour of the former temple. But, on the contrary, they would have thought it excellently restored, if it had answered the model, and represented the majesty of the old temple.

16. St. Paul, that he might reform the abuses of the Lord's supper, which the Corinthians began even then to corrupt, proposed to them the institution of it by Christ to follow. *That* (saith he) *have I de-*

livered to you which I received of the Lord. And Christ, that he might refute the errors of the Pharisees in another case, sends them up to the beginning: *In the beginning* (saith he) *it was not so.* And that he might shew the sordidness and avarice of the priests, This, saith he, *in the beginning* was a house of prayer, that men might in it pray to God religiously and purely; and so you ought still to have kept it, for it was not built to be a *den of thieves.* So all religious and approved princes in Scripture are especially honoured with this commendation, that *they walked in the ways of David their father*; that is, that they returned to the original and fountain, and restored religion to its first integrity. And so we, seeing all things perverted by them, and that there was nothing left in the church of God but miserable ruins, thought it was but reasonable to set before us those churches for our example, which we were sure had not erred, and had neither private masses, nor unintelligible and barbarous prayers, nor that corruption of the holy rites, or other fooleries. And desiring to restore the church of God to its first integrity (and purity), we would not seek any other foundation to build upon, than what was laid by the Apostles, that is, by our Saviour Jesus Christ.

17. When therefore we had heard God himself speaking to us in his words, and had seen and considered the illustrious examples of the ancient and primitive church, and that the expectation of a *general council* was very uncertain, and the event that would follow it much more uncertain; and especially when we had the utmost certainty what was the will of God, and therefore thought it a sin to be too solicitous and anxious what the opinion of men might be; after all this, I say, we could no longer deliberate with flesh and blood; but proceeded, and have accordingly done that which may both lawfully be

done, and which hath already been often done by many pious men and catholic bishops; that is, to take care of our own church in a provincial synod. For so we see the ancient fathers ever took that course, before they came to a general and public council of the whole world; and there are still extant the canons made in municipal or provincial councils at Carthage under St. Cyprian, at Ancyra, Neocæsarea, and at Gangra, also in Paphlagonia; all which, as some think, were held before the name of the Nicene general council was thought of. And in this manner, without any general council, by a private dispute they of old opposed the Pelagians and Donatists. So when Constantine the Emperor openly favoured Auxentius, a bishop of the Arian party, Athanasius, a most Christian bishop, did not appeal to a general council, in which he saw nothing could be done, by reason of the power of the Emperor, and the great partiality and stiffness of the faction, but to his own clergy and people, that is, to a provincial council.

18. So it was decreed in the Nicene council, that twice in the year, and in a Carthaginian council, that at least once in a year, meetings of the bishops should be celebrated in every province, which the council of Chalcedon saith was done, that *if any errors or abuses arose any where, they might presently and upon the spot be extinguished.* And so when Secundus and Paladius rejected the council of Aquileia, because it was not a public and general council, St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, replied, *that it ought not to seem new or strange, if the bishops of the West assembled in provincial conventions or synods; for it had been not seldom done by the western bishops before, and was very frequently by the Greek bishops.* So Charles the Great, Emperor of Germany, held a provincial council in Germany, for the taking away

images out of the church, against the second Nicene council, which had determined for them; nor is the thing new and unheard of in England; for we have heretofore had many provincial synods, and have governed our church by our own domestic laws, without the interposition of the Popes of Rome, or any other foreign bishops or churches. What need is there of many words? Certainly, those greatest and fullest councils, of which these men so often glory, if they be compared with all the churches which throughout the world own and confess the name of Christ—what, I pray, can they seem to be, more than some private councils of the bishops, and a sort of great provincial synods? For though perhaps Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, Denmark, and Scotland should meet; yet Asia, Greece, Armenia, Persia, Media, Mesopotamia, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, and Mauritania, in all which places there are many Christians and bishops, would yet be absent; and how could such a council as this ever be reputed a general council by any understanding man? And when so many and such considerable parts of the world are absent, how can they pretend to have the consent of the whole world? or what kind of council was the last at Trent, or how could it in any sense be said to be general, when only forty bishops met there, out of all the Christian kingdoms in Europe, and some of them too were so very eloquent, that it had been fit to send them to the grammar-school again, and so learned, that they had never in all their lives read the Bible over? But be these things as they will, the truth of the Gospel of Jesus Christ doth not depend upon general councils, or, as St. Paul saith (1 Cor. iv. 3), upon man's judgment. But if they who ought to take care of the church will not understand, and will be wanting to their duty, and will harden their hearts against God and

against his Christ, and still go on to pervert the direct and straight ways of the Lord, God will make the stones to cry out, and endow infants with an oratorical eloquence, that there may ever be some to confute their shams; for God can protect and enlarge his church, not only without help, but against the opposition of councils. "There be many devices in man's heart," saith Solomon (Prov. xix. 21); "but the counsel of the Lord that shall stand;" for there is neither wisdom, nor prudence, nor counsel against the Lord; for, saith Hilary, "Those things that are set up by human industry, do not continue long; the church was otherwise built, and must be preserved by other means; for she was built upon the foundations of the Apostles and Prophets, and is fixed and cemented together by one corner-stone, Jesus Christ."

18. Very elegant, and to our times most seasonable, are the words of St. Jerome: "As often (saith he) as the devil lulls any asleep with the sweet blandishments of his syrens, the holy Scriptures never fail to awaken them with, Awake, thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light." (Eph. v. 14.) At the coming of Christ, and of the word of God, and of the ecclesiastical doctrine, when the time of the ruin of Nineveh, that beautiful harlot, is come, then shall the people awake, which had before been lulled asleep under their former teachers, and shall pass to the mountains of the Scriptures; there shall they find the mountains of Moses, and Joshua the son of Nun; the mountains of the Prophets, and the mountains of the New Testament, the Apostles and Evangelists; and when the people are fled to these mountains, and are exercised in the reading of them, though they find no teacher (for the harvest shall be great, and the labourers few), yet the industry of the people shall be

approved, in that they have fled to the mountains, and the negligence of their teachers shall be reprehended."

Thus hath St. Jerome written so very plainly, that here is no need of an interpreter, and with so great a congruity to the events which have happened in our times, that it looks as if he had designed to foretel and describe to us, with a prophetic spirit, the whole state of our times, the ruin of that richly-adorned Babylonish harlot, and the reformation of the church of God, the blindness and negligence of the bishops, and the alacrity and zeal of the people. For who can be so blind, as not to see that these were the masters, who, as St. Jerome saith, led the people into error, and stupified them in it; or that Rome, their Nineveh, which was once painted with the most lively colours, is not now better known and less valued; or that pious men, being now as it were awakened out of a deep sleep, have not betaken themselves to the mountains of the Scriptures, the word of God, and the light of the Gospel, without ever expecting the councils of such teachers as these?

19. But without the Pope's consent at least (some may think) these things ought not to have been attempted, because he is the bond that unites the Christian society; he is that one priest, whom God means in Deuteronomy, from whom counsel was to be expected in all difficult cases, and from whom the judgment of truth was to be fetched; and if any man should dare to disobey him, he was to be put to death in the sight of his brethren; and whatsoever he doth, he can be judged by no mortal man; that as Christ reigns in heaven, so he rules on earth; that he can do whatever Christ or God himself can do; that his consistory and Christ's are one and the same; that without him there is no faith, no hope,

no church; that he who forsakes him, rejects his own salvation.

For thus the canonists, the flatterers of the Pope, write not very modestly of him, for they could scarce say more, and certainly not greater things, of Christ himself. As for us, we have not forsaken the Pope for any human pleasure or worldly profit, and we wish passionately, he would behave himself so, that there should be no need of a departure from him: but so it was, except we left him, there was no coming to Christ; nor will he now enter a league with us upon any other terms than those proposed by Nahash, king of Ammon, to the men of Jabesh-gilead, *that he may thrust out all our right eyes* (1 Sam. xi. 2); for he will deprive us of the holy Scriptures, the Gospel of our salvation, and of all that hope we have in Christ Jesus; for upon other conditions no peace with him can be had.

20. And as to that which so many of them accustom themselves to extol so very much, that the Pope only is St. Peter's successor, as if upon that account he always carried the Holy Ghost in his bosom, and so could not err, it is an airy and a silly pretence. The grace of God is promised to pious souls, and to those that fear God, and not affixed to chairs and successions. *Riches* (saith St. Jerome) *may render one bishop more powerful than another; but yet all bishops, whatever they are, are the successors of the Apostles.* But if the place and inauguration be it they so much rely on, both Manasses succeeded David, and Caiaphas, Aaron; and an idol hath often stood in the house of God. Long since one Archidamus, a Lacedemonian, made a mighty boasting that he was descended from Hercules. One Nicostratus chastised his insolence, by telling him it did not seem probable that he could be descended from Hercules, because Hercules made it his business to

rid the world of bad men, but (saith he) you make all the good men you can bad. And when the Pharisees boasted of their succession and lineage, that they were of the blood of Abraham, Christ replied, "Ye seek to kill me: a man that hath told you the truth which I have heard of God, this did not Abraham; ye are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do." (John, viii. 40. 44.)

But now suppose we should grant something to successions, doth the Pope only succeed St. Peter? In what thing? in what religion? in what function? in what part of his life? what one thing ever had St. Peter like the Pope, or the Pope like St. Peter, unless they will say, that when St. Peter was at Rome, he never taught the Gospel, he never fed the flock; that he took away the keys of the kingdom of heaven, hid his Lord's treasure, that he only sat in the Lateran, and with his finger pointed out all the spaces of purgatory, and the several sorts of pains there; presently, and at his pleasure, dismissed some souls for money, and sent other miserable souls into torture; that he taught them the use of private masses, which might be mumbled over in every corner; that he muttered the sacred mysteries in a soft low voice, and in a strange language; that he hanged up the eucharist, or consecrated bread, in every church, and enshrined it on every altar, and carried it before him whither-ever he went on an ambling jennet with lights and bells; that he consecrated oil, wax, wool, bells, chalices, temples, and altars, with his sacred breath; that he sold jubilees, graces, immunities, expectancies, preventions, first fruits, palls, the use of palls, bulls, indulgences, and pardons; that he called himself the head of the church, the high priest, the bishop of bishops, and the only most holy; that he usurped authority over other churches; that he exempted himself from all civil power; that he

made wars, set discord amongst princes; that he was carried upon the shoulders of noblemen in a gilded chair, with a crown full of labels or tassels, with a Persian gallantry, adorned with a royal sceptre, and a golden diadem glittering with jewels. Did St. Peter heretofore do all these things at Rome, and, as it were, from hand to hand deliver them down to his successors? for all these fine things are now done at Rome, and that in such manner as if nothing else ought to be done.

21. Unless perhaps they would be better pleased with turning the table, and saying, that the Pope does all those things which we know heretofore St. Peter did; that he travels into all countries, preacheth the Gospel, not only publicly but privately from house to house; that he insisteth opportunely and inopportunely, in season and out of season; that he doth the work of an Evangelist, and performs the ministry of Christ; that he is the watchman of the house of Israel; that he receives the oracles and word of God, and delivers them, as he received them, to the people; that he is the salt of the earth, the light of the world; that he feeds not himself, but the flock; that he doth not entangle himself with the civil affairs of this life; that he doth not exercise lordship and dominion over the people of the Lord; that he doth not so much seek to have others minister to and serve him, but rather that he may serve and assist others; that he thinks with St. Peter, that all bishops are his companions and equals; that he submitteth himself to princes, as to them that are sent by God; that he renders to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and (which all the ancient bishops of Rome without exception have done) calls the Emperor his lord. Now, unless the Pope at this day do all these things, or that St. Peter did all the other which we have set forth in the foregoing paragraph,

there seems to be no reason why he should so strangely value himself upon the account, either of St. Peter's name or succession.

22. There is much less cause for them to complain so dreadfully as they do, of our departure from them, and to recall us back again to their society and faith. There is a story, that one Cobilon, a Lacedemonian, being sent to make a league with the king of Persia, and finding by chance his courtiers playing at dice, he returned forthwith, without dispatching or mentioning the business he came about. Being examined upon his return home, why he had not executed the public commission they had given him, he replied, that it seemed to him to be a great dishonour to their commonwealth, if he had made an alliance with a parcel of dicers. Now if we should return to the Pope and the popish errors, and make a league, not only with dicers, but with men infinitely more debauched, it would not only bring an ill report upon our fame and reputation, but would be pernicious and destructive to us, by incensing the wrath of God against us, and burdening and wasting our consciences; for we have only left him, who we saw had for many ages blinded the nations of the earth, and departed from him, who with too much insolence useth to pretend that he cannot err, and that whatever he doth, he cannot be judged by any mortal man, no, not by kings nor emperors, nor all the clergy, nor all the people, though he should carry a thousand souls with him to hell; from him who assumed dominion not only over men, but over the angels of God, commanding them when he pleased to go and come, and carry souls to purgatory, and bring them back again as His Holiness thought fit, whom Gregory the Great styled plainly the forerunner and harbinger of antichrist, and an apostate from the faith; from whom those cham-

pions, who now so vigorously oppose the Gospel. and that truth they are very well satisfied of, have every man of them heretofore fallen, and would now again freely and willingly leave him, if the note and shame of being thought too inconstant, and their credits with the people, did not hinder them from it. Lastly, we have departed from him to whom we were no way bound, and who hath nothing to pretend for our submission to him; but I know not what genius of the place and the succession he possesseth.

23. And we, of all the nations in Christendom, have had the greatest reason to desert the Pope; for our kings (even those who followed the faith and authority of the bishops of Rome with the utmost observance and deference), a long time since, sufficiently felt the weight of their yoke, and groaned under the tyranny of the papal kingdom; for the Roman bishops plucked the diadem from off the head of our Henry II. and compelled him to wait upon their legate in a private habit, without any of the ensigns of majesty, that he might be exposed to the contempt of all his subjects. And another bishop of Rome armed against king John, another of our princes, the bishops and monks, and some part of the nobility, and absolved all his subjects from that oath of allegiance they had taken to him, and at last, by the highest impiety, not only deprived him of his kingdom, but his life; and they wounded Henry VIII. a most noble prince, with their curses and excommunications, and stirred up against him sometimes the Emperor, and sometimes the King of France, and, as much as in them lay, exposed our kingdom to be a prey and a booty to them, like a company of silly men as they were, to think so great a prince would be frighted with vizors and rattles, or that so great a kingdom could be devoured at one mouthful; and,

as if all this had not been enough, they would needs make England a tributary province, and yearly most unjustly exacted a considerable revenue out of it;—so much has the friendship of the city of Rome cost us.

Now if they extorted these great advantages from us by impostures and ill arts, there is no reason why we should not by good methods and laws recover them back again; but if, on the other side, our kings, induced by an opinion of their simulated holiness, in the darkness of those times freely bestowed these things on them, upon the account of religion, there is now very good reason that our latter kings, having discovered the errors of their ancestors, should take them away again, they being possessed of the same power with the former kings; for every donation becomes void, when it is no longer approved by the will of the giver; but it can never seem a will, which is clouded and impeded by error.

THE CONCLUSION.

Thus I have acquainted thee, my reader, that it is no new or strange thing to see the Christian religion in these days, upon its restitution and revival in the world, entertained with slanders and reproaches, for the same thing happened to Christ himself and his Apostles. And yet, lest thou shouldest be misled and imposed upon by these clamours of our adversaries, we have represented to thee what the whole manner of our religion is; what we believe concerning God the Father, concerning his only Son Jesus Christ, and concerning the Holy Ghost; what our opinion is concerning the church, the sacraments,

the ministry, the holy Scriptures, the ceremonies of the church, and all the other parts of the Christian religion. We have declared also, that we detest, as pernicious to the souls of men and plagues, all those ancient heresies that have been condemned by the old councils and holy Scriptures; that we have reduced into practice again, as much as we can possibly, the ecclesiastical discipline, which our adversaries had much weakened, and that we punish all licentious courses of life and debauchery in manners, by our ancient and established laws, and that with as much severity as is fit and possible; that we preserve all kingdoms in the same state we found them, without any diminution or mutation, and preserve the majesty of our princes entire as much as we can possibly; that we have departed from that church, which they had made a den of thieves, in which they had left nothing sound or like a church, and which they themselves confessed to have erred in many things, as Lot left Sodom, or Abraham Chaldea, not out of contention, but out of obedience to God; and have sought the certain way of religion out of the sacred Scriptures, which we know cannot deceive us, and have returned to the primitive church of the ancient fathers and apostles, that is, to the beginning and first rise of the church, as to the proper fountain.

2. That we have not indeed expected the authority or consent of the council of Trent, in which we saw nothing was managed well and regularly, where all that entered took an oath to one man, where the ambassadors of our princes were despised and ill-treated; where none of our divines could be heard; where partiality and ambition openly carried all things; and according to the practice of the holy fathers, and the customs of our own ancestors, we have reformed our churches in a provincial synod; and according to

our duty we have cast off the yoke and tyranny of the bishop of Rome, who had no just authority over us, nor was like either Christ or St. Peter, or the apostles, or indeed like a bishop in any thing. Lastly, we do all agree amongst ourselves in all the doctrines and points of the Christian religion, and do with one spirit and one mouth worship God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

3. Wherefore, O Christian and pious reader, now thou seest the reasons and causes of the reformation of religion with us, and our departure from them, thou oughtest not to wonder that we should rather choose to obey our Saviour than men. St. Paul hath admonished us (Rom. xvi. 17, 18), that "we should not be *carried away with every wind of false doctrine*," and especially that we should *mark them which cause divisions and offences contrary to the doctrine which we have learned, and avoid them; for they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly, and by good words and fair speeches deceive the hearts of the simple.* Their impostures accordingly, like bats and owls, do now sometime since begin to fly and steal away before the *rising sun*, and cannot endure the light of the Gospel; and although they were in some sense built and heaped almost up to heaven, yet they sink down into ruins of their own accord; for thou oughtest not to think that those things happened accidentally or by chance. It was certainly the will of God, that in these times the Gospel of Jesus Christ should, in defiance of all opposition, be spread abroad in the world; and therefore men, being moved by the word of God, freely betook themselves to the doctrine of Christ; and as for us, we sought neither riches, nor pleasure, nor ease, by this change; for our adversaries abound in all these, and we had a much larger share of them, whilst we continued with them.

4. Nor do we decline concord and peace with

men neither; but yet we will not continue in a state of war with God, that we might have peace with men. *The name of peace* (saith Hilary) *is pleasant, but then peace and servitude are not the same thing; for if (according to their desire) the name of Christ should be suppressed, the truth of the Gospel betrayed, their wicked errors be dissembled, the eyes of Christian men be deluded, and a plain and apparent conspiracy be carried on against God himself; this is not* (saith that great man) *peace, but the conditions of a most base slavery. There is* (saith Nazianzen) *an unprofitable peace, and there is an useful sort of discord; for we must pursue peace with conditions, as far as is lawful, and in us lieth:* and unless these limitations may attend it, Christ himself came not to bring peace into the world, but a sword.

5. Wherefore if the Pope does indeed desire we should be reconciled to him, he ought first to reconcile himself to God; for, as St. Cyprian saith, *Schisms arise from hence, that the head is not sought, and a return is not made to the fountain of the holy Scriptures, and the precepts of our heavenly Master are not kept; for else, it is not peace* (saith he), *but war; neither can any man be united to the church, who is separated from the Gospel.* But these men (with whom we are concerned) do use to make a base gain by the name of peace; for the peace they seek is only a peace of *idle bellies*; for all these controversies betwixt us and them might with great facility be ended, if ambition, gluttony, and luxuries did not hinder it: and from hence proceed all their tears, their souls are in their dishes, and all their loud clamours and noise are only that they may basely and wickedly keep what they have acquired knavishly.

6. In these times the pardoners, dataries, collectors, and pimps of the court of Rome make the greatest complaints against us, who, with others of their

trade, think that *great gain is godliness, and serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own bellies*; for in the foregoing ages this sort of men had a very profitable employment; but now whatever is gained to Christ, turns, as they think, to their loss. Yea, His Holiness too complains sadly, that piety is grown cold, and his revenue is become much smaller than heretofore it was; and therefore the *good man* does his utmost to make us hated, loads us with reproaches, and condemns us for heretics (without any mercy), that they who know not the real cause of all this, may thereby be induced to believe us the very worst of men; and yet in the interim we are not therefore ashamed, nor indeed ought we to be so, of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, because we esteem the glory of God more than the good opinion of men. We know that all we teach is true, and we cannot offer violence to our own consciences, or give testimony against God; for if we deny any part of the Gospel of Jesus Christ before men, he will in like manner deny us before his Father; and if there be any that will be offended, and cannot bear the doctrine of Christ, they are blind, and the leaders of the blind; but the truth is still to be preached and owned, and we must patiently expect the judgment of God.

7. And in the interim our adversaries should do well to bethink themselves seriously of their own salvation, and to put an end to their raging hatred and persecution of the Gospel of the Son of God, that at last they may not find him the vindicator and revenger of his own cause; for God will not be had in derision; and men, too, now see what is doing; that flame, the more it is repressed, with so much the greater violence doth it break out again, and display itself. Their infidelity and unbelief shall never be able to frustrate or put a stop to the faith of God; and if they shall still persist in the hardness

of their hearts, and refuse to receive the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the publicans and the harlots shall go into the kingdom of God before them. (Matt. xxi. 31.)

The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ open all their eyes, that they may see that blessed hope to which they are called, that we may altogether glorify the only true God and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent down to us from heaven; to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, be rendered all honour and glory to all eternity. Amen. Amen.



AN

EXPOSITION

UPON THE

TWO EPISTLES

OF THE

APOSTLE ST. PAUL

TO THE

THESSALONIANS.

BY THE REV. FATHER,

JOHN JEWELL,

LATE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

The First Epistle of St. Paul to the Thessalonians.

CHAPTER I.

PAUL, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians, which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with you and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

The Apostle Paul preached the Gospel of our Saviour Jesus Christ unto the Thessalonians, as he did also in other places from Jerusalem, round about to Illyricum. But his travail had not like success in all places; for in Damascus the governor of the people, under King Aretus, laid watch in the city of the Damascenes, and would have caught him. At Lystra they stoned Paul, and drew him out of the city, supposing he had been dead. (Acts, xiv.) At Philippi he and Silas were drawn into the market-place unto the magistrates, and accused that they troubled their city; they were beaten with rods, and cast into prison. (Acts, xvi.) The Corinthians received the doctrine of the Gospel, and made much of the professors thereof; but they fell soon from their good beginning; they walked like men in envying, in strife, and divisions; some called themselves after Paul, some after Apollos, some after Cephas, and some after Christ; they stirred contention about meats, they abused the Lord's supper, and they were doubtful of the resurrection of the dead. In like manner the church of God, which was gathered at Rome, grew proud and high-minded, and boasted themselves over the Jews. The Galatians forsook the good way of the Gospel, whereunto they were called, and wherein they did walk; they gave ear to false prophets, therefore the Apostle

telleth them, "I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain." (Gal. iv.) But the Thessalonians, after they had heard the glad tidings of the Gospel, they received it greedily, and laid it up close and safe in their hearts. Albeit the Jews withstood them, and vexed them sore; albeit false brethren used divers secret means to draw them from the love of the truth; yet they kept still their steadfastness, and could not be driven from their faith, neither by cruelty of persecution, nor by subtilty of crafty persuasion.

Paul being at Athens, a place far distant from thence, sendeth Timothy to know in what case they stood; so careful was he for that house which he had built, for the fire which he had kindled, for the graft which he had planted, and for the children which he begot among them. When Timothy made report of their constancy, that they continued steadfast in those things which they had learned, he writeth this Epistle to commend them, and to exhort them to abide steadfast in their faith; that they become not like the foolish Israelites, which longed after the fleshpots of Egypt, and were unmindful of their deliverance from bondage under Pharaoh; that they return not like filthy dogs to their vomit, and like unclean swine to their puddles of mire; that they look not back again after they have put their hands to the Lord's plough, and so make themselves unworthy the kingdom of God. He giveth many lessons and instructions to godliness, that they would walk worthy of God, and bring forth the fruits of the Gospel. There were among them that lived idly, and did trouble the church without a cause; whom he reproveth, willing them to be quiet, and to meddle with their own matters, and work with their hands. Others mourned over the dead without measure, even as if they had no hope, whom he in-

structeth in the resurrection, and comforteth with the speech of the blessed coming of our Lord, when we which live shall be caught up to meet him, and so we shall ever be with the Lord. Others reasoned fondly of the latter day, when it should be, when the Son of God should appear, and when the world should have an end, as if man might reach to the knowledge hereof. But them also he reproveth, and warneth that they take care rather to watch and look for the Lord's coming, that they may be found ready, having their loins girded, and their lamps burning.

Many are desirous to see the countenance of St. Paul, to see his sword, or the relics of his blood, which was shed at his death, or of his upper garment, or of his coat, or of the hair of his head; and for purpose to see such things, many take painful pilgrimages to far places, where they are deceived. How much better may they be satisfied by reading the story of his life, set down in the Scriptures! In these his Epistles, written to the churches of God, he is to be seen in more excellent show, than when he was yet in body; for here is to be seen, his heart filled with the Holy Ghost, and the care which he had for all saints, how he did travail in birth of them again, that Christ might be formed in them, and how he did wish himself separated from Christ for their sake. The matter of this Epistle is plain, and treateth of deep and profound mysteries. The manner of utterance which the Apostle useth is open and evident; so that the whole Epistle is full of sweet and wholesome doctrine, wherein the simplest may find great comfort.

Paul, and Silvanus and Timotheus. These two were companions unto Paul in his journies, and in the work of his ministry; whom here he joineth in his letter to the congregation at Thessalonica, to

witness their consent and agreement with him, that they all with one mouth and with one hand and heart set forth the glorious Gospel of our Saviour Christ. And that therefore they also which are called to the fellowship of the Gospel should be like-minded, being one body and one spirit in Christ Jesus, and the children of one Father, in whom there is no dissension, but all peace and consent and unity.

Ver. 1. *Unto the church of the Thessalonians, which is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ.*

There are sundry sorts of churches: there is a church of the wicked, whereof the Prophet saith (Psalm xxvi.), "I have hated the assembly of the evil, and have not companied with the wicked." Two hundred and fifty captains, men of renown, and famous in the congregation, joined themselves to Korah, Dathan, and Abiram; but Moses said unto Korah, "Thou and all thy company are gathered together against the Lord." (Num. xvi.) The builders of the great tower of Babel were many in number, and consented to that they had imagined to do, thereby to get them a name; but the Lord did confound their language, and scattered them upon the face of the earth. (Gen. xi.) The Scribes and Pharisees and high-priest held a council, and conferred among themselves, but against the Lord, and against his Christ. (Acts, iv.) John is commanded to write unto the angel of the church of the Smyrneans (Rev. ii.), "These things (saith he) which is first and last, which was dead, and is alive, I know the blasphemy of them, which say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan." They revile you, and speak all manner of evil against you for my name's sake; they charge you with teaching false doctrine, and say you have departed from the church; that they are the seed of Abraham, the children of promise, the true worshippers of God, and which walk in the steps of their

forefathers. But their boast hereof is vain: it profiteth them nothing that Abraham was their father, that the covenant was made with them, that they were circumcised, that a law was given unto them. Let them not trust in their fathers, let them not trust in lying words, and say, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, this is the temple of the Lord. If they were Abraham's children, they would do the works of Abraham; if God were their father, then would they love Christ his Son, and seek to set forth his glory; if they were of the sheepfold of God, they would hear his voice: they are of their father the devil, and the lusts of their father they will do; they are in name the servants of Christ, but serve antichrist; they call themselves Jews, but are of the synagogue of Satan: for, saith the Apostle (Rom. ii.), he is not a Jew, which is one outwardly, neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh; but he is a Jew, which is one within, and the circumcision is of the heart, in the spirit, not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God.

Of those which are such, Leo saith, "Ye arm yourselves with the name of the church, and yet ye fight against the church." And Chrysostom saith, "The name only of Christ doth not make a Christian, but he must also have the truth of Christ; for there are many which walk in the name of Christ, but few which walk in his truth." It is therefore manifest, as Lyra saith, "that the church is not among men, by reason of any ecclesiastical or secular authority or dignity, because many princes and high-priests, and others of inferior sort, have forsaken the faith." Though they pretend show of holiness, though they draw to themselves credit by long continuance, though their numbers be great, and they consent together; yet if they have forsaken the faith; if they hold not the truth of Christ; if they fight against and persecute the

church; if their circumcision be not the circumcision of the heart, and in the spirit; if they hear not the voice of the Shepherd; if they love not Christ Jesus, the Son of God, and set not forth his glory; if they seek to stop the course of the Gospel; if they seek to get a name among men; if they resist Moses and Aaron—they have only a painted vizard, and carry only an empty name of the church; they call themselves so, and are not.

But the church of God is in God the Father, and in the Lord Jesus Christ; it is the company of the faithful, whom God hath gathered together in Christ by his word and by the Holy Ghost, to honour him, as he himself hath appointed. This church heareth the voice of the Shepherd; it will not follow a stranger, but flieth from him; for it knoweth not the voice of strangers. Of this church St. Jerome saith, "The church of Christ, which containeth the churches through all the world, is joined together in the unity of the spirit, and hath the cities of the law, of the Prophets, of the Gospel, and of the Apostles. This church goeth not forth, or beyond her bounds, that is, the holy Scriptures." It is the pillar of the truth, the body, the fulness, and the spouse of Christ; it is the vine, the house, the city, and the kingdom of God; they which dwell in it, are no more strangers and foreigners, but citizens with the saints, and of the household of God, and are built upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets; Jesus Christ himself being the head corner-stone, in whom all the building coupled together, groweth into an holy temple in the Lord. This church Christ loved, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it, and cleanse it by the washing of water through the word; that he might make it unto himself a glorious church, not having spot or wrinkle, or any such thing, but that

it should be holy, and without blame. (Eph. v.) Such a church was the church of God at Thessalonica; such a church are they, whosoever in any place of the world fear the Lord, and call upon his name; their names are written in the book of life; they have received the spirit of adoption, by which they cry Abba, Father; they grow from grace to grace, and abound more and more in knowledge and in judgment; they cast away the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light; they are made absolute and perfect unto all good works; they are evermore comforted in the mercies of God, both by the holy Scriptures, wherein God declareth his gracious goodness towards them, and by the sacraments, which are left unto the church to be witnesses and assured pledges for performance of the promises of God's good will and favour towards them.

Grace be with you and peace, &c. God give you the forgiveness of your sins, and the peace and comfort of your conscience. God let all his blessings fall upon you, that you may see the riches and the treasures of his mercy; that you may be filled with all fulness in the spirit; that you may behold the glory of the kingdom of God; and those things may be revealed unto you by his Spirit, which he hath prepared for them that love him. Without this grace you can do nothing, you can neither feel the burden of your sins, nor seek to be eased of them, nor perceive when they are forgiven; you cannot rend your heart, and set apart from you the vanities and lusts of the flesh, which doth evermore fight against the soul; you cannot discern the word of God, and by it enter the way to everlasting life; you cannot abhor that which is evil, and cleave unto that which is good; without the grace of God you cannot continue steadfast and constant in faith, and in hope of the mercies of God through our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Ver. 2. *We give thanks to God always for you all, making mention of you in our prayers;*

Ver. 3. *Without ceasing, remembering your effectual faith and diligent love, and the patience of your hope in our Lord Jesus Christ, in the sight of God, even our Father.*

Ver. 4. *Knowing, beloved brethren, that ye are elect of God.*

Ver. 5. *For our Gospel was not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance, as ye know after what manner we were among you for your sakes.*

We give thanks, &c. Paul teacheth what is the office of a good minister; he must ever carry in remembrance the state of the congregation over which the Lord hath placed him; he must give thanks to God in their behalf, and pray for them, that God will bless that which he hath begun, and confirm them unto the end; that they may be blameless in the day of our Lord Jesus Christ; that he will behold them from above, and bless his inheritance, and guide the sheep of his pasture.

Your effectual faith. Faith is not idle; it worketh, and is forcible; it breaketh out like fire; it is always fruitful through love; faith without works is no faith; it is dead, and bringeth death.

And diligent love. Love is painful, and full of travail; it thinketh not evil; it seeketh not her own things; it is bountiful. This love had the Thessalonians to the saints of God, which suffered affliction in all places for the Gospel's sake. Many were spoiled of their goods, cast out of their houses, and banished from their country; even as at this day, for the like cause, many of our brethren, the good servants of God, are driven into banishment, cast into prison, put to the sword, or consumed in fire,

in those places where the god of this world hath so blinded their eyes, that the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ should not shine unto them. It is high time, in such cases, for charity to shew herself; she cannot dissemble, nor despise the tears of her brother; it sheweth forth as the morning light; it taketh from herself to relieve them which are in need; it dealeth bread to the hungry, and bringeth the poor that wander unto her house, and covereth the naked, and hideth not her face from her own flesh. Unto them that have this love, the Lord giveth his blessing: "Blessed is he that considereth the poor and needy; the Lord shall deliver him in the time of trouble." (Psa. xli.) And Christ saith (Matt. v.), "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall find mercy."

And the patience of your hope. How many are the troubles which the children of God suffer in this life! Let us behold the times which were before us. Abel was innocent and just, yet was he slain by the hands of his brother, and without a cause. The prophet David saith of the prophets and holy men of God, and the same words saith the Apostle of the church of Christ under the Gospel, "For thy sake are we killed all the day long, we are counted as sheep for the slaughter." (Psa. xliv. Rom. viii.) Jeremiah saith, "Thy word is unto them as a reproach." And again, "For thy sake I have suffered rebuke." What villanies were brought against our Saviour Christ! They reproached him in speeches, brought false accusations and false witness against him, and killed the innocent, in whose mouth there was found no guile. When St. Paul appealed to the witness of Timothy, who did fully know his doctrine, manner of living, purpose, faith, long-suffering, love, and patience, and that he knew also the persecutions and afflictions which came to him, and which he suffered

at Antioch, Iconium, and at Lystra, after he had thus remembered his persecutions and his own innocency, he saith, "All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution." (2 Tim. iii.)

What, then, hath the godly to lean unto but hope? The Prophet David therefore said (Psalm xxiii.), "Though I should walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me." Therefore said Job (xiii.), "Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him: for he that putteth his trust in the Lord, shall never be confounded." In this hope spake St. Paul (Phil. i.): "Christ is to me, both in life and death, advantage." Again (Rom. xiv.): "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's." And again (Gal. vi.): "God forbid that I should rejoice, but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." And to the Romans he saith, "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus." This is the foundation of faith; even a strong rock, which shall continue for ever. Neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor persecution, nor famine, nor any danger, can remove the faithful from this hope.

But the wicked and unstable fall from their hope, and their fall is miserable. They have heard the word of God, that teacheth unto salvation, but did not regard it; they have forgotten the works of the Lord, and received his grace in vain: for when they have heard the word, the devil cometh, and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved. And the end of these men is worse than the beginning.

It was not so with the Thessalonians. They received the word of God willingly, and it was fruitful in them, so that thereby they increased in faith, in love, and in hope. Their faith the Apostle calleth forcible or effectual; their love diligent and painful:

their hope mighty through patience, whereby they overcome all manner of dangers; and rejoiceth on their behalf, because he found so great success of his travail in the Gospel among them.

Knowing that you are elect of God. You were blind, the children of wrath, without understanding, without God, and without hope. But God hath had mercy upon you, and hath given you grace to know your calling. Herein it appeareth that you are the chosen of God, and of the flock of Christ. "My sheep (saith he, John, x.) hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me, and I give unto them eternal life, and they shall never perish, neither shall any pluck them out of mine hand."

For our Gospel was not unto you in word only, but also in power, and in the Holy Ghost, and in much assurance. That you have yielded obedience unto the word, and that my ministry hath been effectual among you, it cometh not of any power in yourselves or in me, it is the work of God. He hath blessed my ministry; he hath blessed your hearts. It is the gift of God, lest any man should boast thereof. Hereof he speaketh to the Corinthians: Who is Paul then, and who is Apollos, but the ministers by whom ye believed, and as the Lord gave to every man? I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase. (1 Cor. iii.) It is he which hath the key of David, which openeth, and no man shutteth; and shutteth, and no man openeth. Without him we can do nothing; he guideth us and all our counsels, and leadeth us into all truth. "No man can come unto me (saith Christ, John, vi.), except the Father, which hath sent me, draw him." And by the Prophet Ezekiel God saith, "I will give you a new heart, and a new spirit will I put within you; I will put my spirit within you,

and will cause you to walk in my statutes, and you shall keep my judgments, and do them." (Ezekiel, xxxvi.) And by the Prophet Jeremiah: "I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts." Therefore David maketh his prayer, "Teach me, O Lord; give me understanding, and I will keep thy laws." (Psa. cxix.)

The words of the preacher enter in at the ear: the Spirit of God conveyeth them into the heart. Augustine saith, "The Gospel is declared: some there are which believe; some there are which believe not: they which believe, hear it inwardly by the Father, and so learn it; they which believe not, hear it only with their outward sense, and not with inward feeling, and therefore learn it not." As much as to say, To them it is given to believe; to the other it is not given. In the Acts of the Apostles (xvi.), "Lydia, a woman of the city of the Thyatireans, heard the preaching of the Apostle Paul; (but it is said,) whose heart the Lord opened, that she attended unto the things that Paul spake." The people which said unto Peter, and the other Apostles, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" did hear all the words of Peter; but they had another teacher, that gave force unto the word, and made it fruitful in them, and therefore it is said, "They were pricked in their hearts."

This also appeared in the disciples which walked towards Emmaus (Luke, xxiv.); they heard Christ open the Scriptures unto them; they reasoned with him; yet until their eyes were opened, they knew him not. His word crept into their ears, but it was the Spirit of God which wrought within them, which inflamed their hearts, and made them to know him. Thus God blesseth his word, and maketh it yield fruit in such measure as his wisdom hath appointed. His blessing appeareth greater when many are converted,

yet is his word all one, and the power thereof no whit shorter when it is utterly refused, or received but of few. "Surely (saith God), as the rain cometh down, and the snow, from heaven, and returneth not thither, but watereth the earth, and maketh it fruitful, that it may give seed to the sower, and bread to him that eateth; so shall my word be that goeth out of my mouth. It shall not return unto me void, but it shall accomplish that which I will, and it shall prosper in the thing whereunto I sent it." (Isaiah, lv.) It is the word of the living God which is blessed for ever; and blessed is that heart which can receive it, which God instructeth, and giveth knowledge of his word; which doth so learn it that he is assured of the truth thereof, and nothing doubteth but it is indeed the word of life; which saith thereof, This is the way, in which if I walk I shall certainly go forward to the city of my God: this is the truth; if I hearken unto it, I shall never be deceived. Whosoever findeth himself endued with this grace, he doth as plainly and evidently judge of the words of God, and try out the truth thereof from the devices and doctrines of men, as a man of clear eyesight is able to judge of colours, and to know one colour from another. Yea, in this is the knowledge of that more certain, because colours do fade and alter, and many times one colour thereby waxeth like another: but the truth of God doth never alter; it continueth one through all ages; it is the word of everlasting life: heaven and earth shall perish, but one tittle thereof shall not be lost: the truth of God shall be established for ever; the humble shall hear it, and be glad.

As ye know after what manner we were among you for your sakes. You know how I behaved myself, and after what manner I have lived among you.

You know my first coming and entering unto you. You know what doctrine I have taught, and what hath been my conversation of life. I never deceived any, nor offered wrong unto the simplest. I sought not you nor yours, but those things which are Jesus'. I have lived by the labour of my hands, in watchings, in hunger, in cold, and nakedness. God hath ordained, that they which teach the Gospel, should live by the Gospel. Who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? but I have not used this liberty; for I have a great care, lest by any means I should offend you: yet would I never flatter any in that thing they had done amiss. I never spared to rebuke ill. If I should fear, or seek to please men, I were not the servant of Christ. I seek not mine own glory, but the glory of Him that sent me, who also hath made me a minister of his Gospel. I have forsaken all things, my goods and life, my flesh and my body, and am daily in perils, compassed daily by persecution, and see death daily before mine eyes, for the love I bear to you, and for the care I have of the church. You are the Lord's sheep; I am your shepherd: you are the house of God; I am your builder: you are God's orchard; I am your overseer and workman: I shall give an account for your souls. You know how tenderly I have loved you in the Lord. Your grief hath been my grief; your joy hath been my joy. I have prayed for you day and night, and have given thanks to God for you, and rejoiced in your behalf. What is more dear to a man than life? yet have I desired to yield up my life, that you might live: I have been ready to suffer death, if thereby I might do you good. These things you cannot but remember; your conscience beareth me witness that I have thus lived among you for your sake.

Ver. 6. *And ye became followers of us, and of the Lord, and received the word in much affliction, with joy of the Holy Ghost.*

He commendeth the godly for the practice of that which they have learned and seen in him, in that they have received the Gospel, and framed their lives accordingly, and have continued steadfast in the same in the midst of persecution. Herein he doth not only lay out himself and the other Apostles for an example, but telleth them that this way is also trodden out by our Lord himself; who, as he is the way, and the light that lighteneth every man which cometh into the world, so did he bear his cross, and did lay down his life for his sheep: therefore he said to his disciples (Matt. x.), "The disciple is not above his master, nor the servant above his Lord; it is enough for the disciple to be as his master is, and the servant as his lord. If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household!"

But this is reckoned unto them for happiness: "Blessed are you when men revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you for my sake falsely. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven: for so persecuted they the Prophets, which were before you." (Mat. v.) They slew them, and drowned them, hewed them with swords, and cut them in pieces with saws. "If any man (saith our Saviour, Matt. xvi.) will follow me, let him forsake himself, and take up his cross, and follow me." So far must the children of God be from the love of this world; in such sort must he forsake his own life, and endure affliction, that will come unto Christ.

In the old law, the priests went on and carried the ark before, and the people came after: in token

that they should give good example, and the people should follow them. The priest was appointed to be a shrill trumpet, sounding in the ears of the people, and the people were commanded to prepare themselves for the battle of the Lord of Hosts. "Therefore (saith St. Paul), so have I followed the Lord, and so have you followed me, and received the word (not in affliction only, but) in much affliction." Where he describeth the unmerciful hearts and tyrannous hate of the wicked against all those that follow the Lamb, and receive the word of God with gladness. No torment so cruel, no device so strange, no manner of death so horrible, which hath not been borne, or which is not laid upon them. Their bodies be cast into prisons; they are stripped out of their houses, and spoiled of their goods. Thus do the enemies of God work tyranny and much affliction unto the godly: they consume their bodies in fire, shed their blood without measure, throw out their bones, and scatter them upon the face of the earth; and this do they, not as against murderers, robbers, adulterers, or such-like, but only because they receive the word, and bear alone to the truth, and cannot deny the power thereof.

With joy of the Holy Ghost. This is that which passeth all natural sense and wisdom. Many seem to take in good part, and abide patiently, afflictions, loss of goods, imprisonment, and loss of life. But no man can rejoice in the suffering of these things, but the child of God; no man but whom Christ hath chosen out of the world; but whose name is written in the book of life; but he in whom the Spirit beareth witness with his spirit that he is the child of God. He knoweth that through many tribulations he must enter into rest: he knoweth the wicked could have no power over

him, unless it were given them from above; he knoweth that all is done for the best to them that love God, and that God could dispose means, if it were so expedient, to bring to nought all the devices of the ungodly.

When the servants of God were cast into the hot burning furnace, because they would not worship the golden image that the king Nebuchadnezzar had set up, who would have thought that the fire could not burn? or that their bodies should not have been consumed? yet did God in the midst of the fire preserve them so, that not one hair of their head was burnt, neither were their coats changed, nor any smell of fire came upon them. (Dan. iii.) Let us never forget this notable example of God's power to deliver his servants, that we may ever be earnest and careful to profess our faith in him, and to strive unto the death for the setting forth of his glory.

It fareth even so with the children of God in the persecution of this world: troubles, miseries, and adversity, compass them, as the fiery furnace encompassed those three men of God; but God covereth them with his mercy as with a cloud, that nothing shall hurt them. I say not, all that stand in like defence shall in like sort be so preserved, that their bodies shall not be pierced; for God suffereth the wicked to destroy and kill his servants, and to consume their bodies to dust and ashes: yet are his servants warned not to fear them. When the Apostles were beaten because they had spoken in the name of Jesus, they departed from the council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer rebuke for his name. (Acts, v.) "We rejoice (saith St. Paul, Rom. iii.) in tribulation, knowing that tribulation bringeth forth patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed

abroad in our hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us."

The comfort which is given in this case to the godly, is hidden within them: "For to him that overcometh shall be given a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth, saving he that receiveth it." "The afflictions of this present time are not worthy the glory which shall be showed unto us." (Rom. viii.) When our Saviour did see the time of his passion draw near, he said to his disciples (Luke, xxii.), "You are they which have continued with me in my temptations; therefore I appoint to you a kingdom, as my Father hath appointed unto me, that ye may eat and drink at my table in my kingdom, and sit on seats, and judge the twelve tribes of Israel." And in his sermon upon the mount he saith (Matt. v.), "Blessed are they which suffer persecution for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven." The case shall be altered: it shall be between them and their persecutors, as it was between Lazarus and the rich man. When the wicked and cruel tyrants shall see them in the presence of the throne of God, "because they came out of great tribulation, and have washed their long robes, and have made them white in the blood of the Lamb" (Rev. vii.); the God of Abraham shall say unto the wicked, Sons, remember that you in your lifetime received your pleasures, and likewise these men pains; now, therefore, are they comforted, and you tormented. They are taken out of affliction into rest, from their bonds into liberty, out of prison into a kingdom, out of misery into glory, from life unto death.

The promise of this comfort is often renewed. The Prophet David saith (Psalm cxxvi.), "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy." Our Saviour telleth his disciples (John, xvi.), "Ye shall

weep and lament, and the world shall rejoice; and you shall sorrow; but your sorrow shall be turned to joy." St. John heard a voice from heaven, saying, "Blessed be the dead, which hereafter die in the Lord; even so saith the Spirit; for they rest from their labours, and their works follow them." (Rev. xiv.) He is commanded to write unto the angel of the church of the Smyrnians: "Fear none of those things which thou shalt suffer. Behold, it shall come to pass, that the devil shall cast some of you into prison, that you may be tried, and ye shall have tribulation ten days. Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee the crown of life." (Rev. ii.) Thus God suffereth his servants to be sifted, and to be tried as pure gold in the furnace, and receiveth them as a sweet-smelling savour of burnt sacrifice. And this is it, whereof the Apostle putteth the Thessalonians in remembrance, that they are strengthened by the Holy Ghost, not only to abide such afflictions as they suffer, because they have received the Gospel, but also to rejoice, because they are assured whatsoever shall happen unto them, they be the children of God.

Ver. 7. *So that you were as examples to all that believe in Macedonia and Achaia.*

Ver. 8. *For from you sounded out the word of the Lord, not in Macedonia and Achaia only; but your faith also, which is toward God, spread abroad in all quarters, that we need not to speak any thing.*

Ver. 9. *For they themselves shew of you what manner entering in we had unto you, and how you turned from idols to God, to serve the living and true God;*

Ver. 10. *And to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised from the dead, Jesus, which delivereth us from the wrath to come.*

The countries round about them, were drawn, by the example of the Thessalonians, to believe the Gospel preached unto them; You are (saith he) as the bright sunbeams; they behold you, and rejoice of you, even as of the morning light. You are an holy city, set upon a hill; you cannot be hid; your faith is a pattern of faith; your life is a pattern of life unto them. They have learned of you how to guide their ways. You have called them back from error, and from ungodliness, to serve the true and living God; you are made unto them a sweet-smelling savour of life unto life. For so it hath pleased God to make his Gospel known in all places, through you, and to make you the builders of his church. When they behold your godly conversation, which is in Christ, they are ashamed of themselves. When they behold your light, they find fault with their own darkness. Oh! say they, this is a holy people, this is a people that feareth God; let us hear then what they teach; let us lead our lives in holiness and righteousness, as they do.

Let us, by hearing these words, enter into ourselves. God hath given his light to shine upon us; he hath blessed us with the knowledge of his Gospel. Let us take heed, we turn not the light into darkness, nor the truth of God into lies. Many thousand eyes are set upon us, to look upon and behold us. Let us be an example of godliness. Let us be as a light to them that yet abide in darkness. Let not the name of God be evil spoken of, through us. His name is holy. "Woe be unto the world (saith Christ, Matt. xviii.), because of offences; for it must needs be, that offences shall come; but woe be unto that man by whom the offence cometh. Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones, it were better for him, that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the

depth of the sea." "It were better for that man, if he had never been born. For the blood of them that perish by his offence, shall be required at his hands. The wrath of God is revealed from heaven against those that are such, because they withhold the truth in unrighteousness. The kingdom of God shall be taken away from them, and given to a nation that will bring forth the fruits thereof."

It followeth, *From you sounded the word of the Lord, not in Macedonia and Achaia only*, &c. If a man carry in his hand a light burning candle, it giveth not light to him only that carrieth it, but to all those which be in the house; and they also see it which are without. Even so, if any be the child of knowledge, and carry about him the light of God, he doth not only taste of the comfort thereof himself, and work comfort to those that appertain to the church of God, but lighteneth also the hearts of pagans and infidels which are abroad. Such as are bathed or perfumed with precious ointments or powders, have not only the pleasure to themselves, but the savour thereof casteth itself out, and is pleasant to all those which stand by. The Gospel is the light of God. It shineth in the darkness of this world. It is the sweet incense and savour of God. Wheresoever the breath thereof is received, it bringeth life.

But your faith also which is towards God, spread abroad in all quarters. As the lightning is seen from one part of the air to the other, and as the sound of great noise spreadeth itself far and wide, so doth the light of good conversation in the godly, shew itself forth. And therefore he telleth them, they have filled all the country of Macedonia with knowledge, and with wonder at their faith and steadfastness in the truth. As if he had said, Great is the renown of your king Alexander, and your coun-

try is famous. He hath overrun the whole world, and subdued it. He hath conquered Greece, Asia, Arabia, Phrygia, Armenia, Scythia, and India. Kings and princes fell down before him. The whole world stood in awe of his name. Yet Alexander had but the power and force of men. He had great treasures of gold and silver. He had numbers of horses, and camels, and elephants. He had swords, bills, spears, and darts, and such-like artillery and armour. These were the things wherewith he overcame his enemies. Hereby both he and his people were renowned.

What then may be said of the battle which you have fought, or of the victory which you have gotten? You have won, that Alexander could never win. You have overcome yourselves. You have overcome the world. He conquered the bodies of many, and had them at commandment; but their souls stood out, and would not be conquered. You have subdued your souls, and brought them to the obedience of the Gospel. You have overrun all the country, and triumphed among the people. And all this is brought to pass, without force, without policy, without armour, without artillery, only by your patience and suffering for the Gospel's sake.

That we need not to speak any thing. To make the commendation of their faith more evident, he telleth them, the fame of their zeal and constancy is known in all places. "Whithersoever I go," saith he, "they know you, and speak of you, and hearken unto you." Hereby appeareth how needful it is, that chief towns and cities be well governed, that vice in them be severely punished, that virtue and godliness be maintained, and the people instructed, because the examples of such places do spread abroad in all quarters nigh them.

They themselves shew of you, what manner of entrance we had unto you. After what sort you re-

ceived me, and how dear I was unto you. All places were laid and beset for me, to seek my life; but you enlarged yourselves towards me, and took me in. When I was in prison you came to me, and feared no man; you were not ashamed of my bonds, you were ready to lose your own lives to save me. This is spoken of to your great praise.

And how you turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God. Here are set down in few words, the sum and parts of Christian religion. The first is, to forsake all idols, to turn from them; then to turn unto God, and to put all our trust in him; lastly, to serve the living and true God. The service of God and idols cannot stand together. No man can turn unto God, that turneth not from idols. This is a wonderful effect of the Gospel, to forsake idols and serve God, to leave customs and the usage of forefathers, and give ear to the truth. To love from the heart, that which thou didst sometimes hate, and to detest from the heart, that which thou didst sometimes love, is strange and wonderful. But to do this for Christ who was born of poor Mary, whom the wise and learned, and mighty men of this world despised, which was crucified and hanged between two thieves, whom they scorned upon the cross; to follow, or believe, or put trust in him; to call him the power and the wisdom of God, to confess him to be, in whom all Israel shall be blessed, and in whom all the world shall be saved, to give body or life for his sake, is a strange miracle. No king, no prince, no law, no wisdom of man can work this, and bring it to pass. This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. And this doth he in those only which receive the word of the Gospel with joy of the Holy Ghost.

And to look for his Son from heaven, whom he raised, &c. The holy Scriptures do not only teach

us to turn unto God, but also what it is that God giveth unto all them which seek him; even that they be delivered from the wrath to come; and for whose sake he delivereth us—for Jesus his Son, whom he raised from the dead. Therefore he telleth them, howsoever they be rejected or despised as foolish among men, if they continue in the things which they have learned, they shall be wise unto salvation: that therefore they lift up their heads and look for their Redeemer; that they say, Thy kingdom come, and, Come Lord Jesus; because he is appointed by God to be the judge of the quick and the dead; and he shall come in the glory of his Father; and delivereth from the wrath to come, all those that trust in him. For among men there is none other name given under heaven, whereby we must be saved. This is the depth of all knowledge, and the comfort which passeth all understanding, that against all temptations and afflictions, which oppress our conscience, or vex and trouble our bodies, we may grow strong by faith in the Son of God, Christ Jesus, and ascertain ourselves of his coming from heaven for our deliverance.

CHAPTER II.

Ver. 1. *For you yourselves know, brethren, that our entrance unto you was not in vain.*

He taketh witness of them, of his diligence and pains taken in the fulfilling of his ministry, seeing it hath so good success among them, that they by the preaching of the Gospel have forsaken superstition, and are turned unto, and do now serve the true and living God, and do believe forgiveness of their sins and deliverance from the wrath to come, by Jesus Christ.

It is a great and deadly smart to the faithful ser-

vant of God, to see the people wilful, and to despise the word of their salvation. Hereof Isaiah complaineth (chap. lxv.), "I have spread out my hands all the day long, to a rebellious people, which walked in a way that was not good, even after their own imaginations." They stopped their ears, and would not hear, nor be reclaimed, nor return, that they might be saved. And Jeremiah (chap. ix.), "Oh! that my head were full of water, and mine eyes a fountain of tears, that I might weep day and night for the slain of the daughter of my people, for they be adulterers, and an assembly of rebels." Sword and destruction cometh upon them, and they will not see. Oh! that they would give an ear, and repent in time! Again (chap. iv.), "My people is foolish, they have not known me, they are foolish children, and have no understanding; they are wise to do evil; but to do well, they have no knowledge." David crieth out (Psalm iv.), "O ye sons of men, how long will ye love vanity, and seek after lies?" Why forsake you the truth of God, and have no regard to his mercy? So our Saviour mourneth over Jerusalem (Luke, xiii.), "O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, which killest the prophets, and stonest them which are sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as the hen her brood under her wings, and ye would not!" How carefully and tenderly have I sought thy salvation! How often have I called upon thee, sent unto thee my servants, and poured out my blessings before thine eyes! So bitter and mournful a thing is it to all those that seek the glory of God, to see no fruit follow of their labours, to see the people continue ignorant and wilful, and to seek their own destruction.

Therefore they turn themselves unto God, which is the Father of lights, and God of all comfort, in whose hand are the hearts of the people, that his

word may have free passage and be glorified; that God will open unto them the door of utterance, to speak the mystery of Christ, and publish the secret of the Gospel boldly; that he will give power to his word, declared by them, and assist them with his holy Spirit; that he will open the eyes of the people, that they may see, and turn their hearts, that they may be converted. So did David make his prayer (Psal. li.), "Open thou my lips, O Lord, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise." Albeit my mouth is simple, and rude, and barbarous; yet if thou wilt, it may be an instrument to declare thy glory. "Then shall I teach thy ways unto the wicked, and sinners shall be converted unto thee. Be favourable unto Sion; build the walls of Jerusalem." Thus do they lift up their hands, and call unto God, that he would send down his light into the hearts of the people, that what they hear, they hear not in vain, but may receive it, and understand it, and keep it. For, unless God direct the heart, and make it fit to receive instruction, the preacher, though he be never so desirous to do good, doth labour in vain.

God only disposeth the ways of men; it is he which trieth the corn from the chaff. He knoweth whom he will bring to be of his fold, and make to hear his voice. Many times he blesseth his word with great increase among them, which at the first despise it, and entreat cruelly the preachers and messengers thereof. When Paul disputed, and exhorted the Jews, and the Grecians at Corinth, and found little fruit of his labour, and that there were few or none that liked his doctrine, and many enemies which resisted and blasphemed it; he purposed to depart and go away from them. "Then the Lord said unto Paul in the night, by a vision, Fear not, but speak, and hold not thy peace. For I am with thee, and no man shall lay hands on thee

to hurt thee, for I have much people in this city." (Acts, xviii.) They shall hear thee; if not now, yet they shall hear thee at some other time. They shall bear thy sayings in mind. I will be with thee, I will open their hearts, and make them obedient to the Gospel, and they shall be turned unto me. Thou shalt see the fruit of thy labours, and that thy coming unto them hath not been in vain.

Ver. 2. *But even after that we had suffered before, and were shamefully entreated at Philippi (as ye know), we were bold in our God, to speak unto you the Gospel of God with much striving.*

The story of these his persecutions is written in the sixteenth of the Acts. He was stript naked, and scourged with rods, and cast into prison, and put in hazard of life. Yet, notwithstanding he were thus evil entreated at Philippi, when he came to Thessalonica he was nothing discouraged, but proceeded more boldly than before, and went into the synagogue of the Jews, and disputed three sabbath-days, and taught them that Christ is that Messias, even the Son of God.

But, that we may the better conceive how mightily God worketh, and what great strength he giveth to weak creatures, when he appointeth them to set forth his glory, let us behold the boldness of the Apostle in speaking the Gospel unto them. To whom did he speak? To the Jews, the enemies of the cross of Christ. Where? Not in hugger-mugger, and in corners; but openly, in their synagogue; for he feared no man. What time chose he? Then when all the Jews were assembled together. How often? Three sabbath-days together. In what city? In Thessalonica, the greatest and most famous city of all that country. How was he entreated? There arose great trouble and contention. They resisted

him, spake against him, and sought to destroy him. For what cause? what had he deserved? what had he taught? The Gospel of God, and of Christ, of the kingdom, and of the life to come; the Gospel in which God offereth his grace, and reconciliation, and comfort, and peace, and salvation.

Who would think such joyful tidings should not be welcome? what eye would not willingly open itself to behold the brightness of the sun; what ear will refuse to hear God speak? But it hath always been so; there have ever been some, that have loved darkness rather than light. The world shall never be without some Annas or Caiaphas, or Judas or Pilate; the children of the devil shall always set themselves against the children of God.

The cause of tumults and troubles proceedeth not from the Gospel; the Gospel of Christ is the Gospel of peace; but the enemies of the Gospel are stirrers of unquietness, and inflamers of war: Abel was simple, Cain spiteful; Jacob smooth, Esau rough and hairy; David gentle, Saul cruel; Joseph innocent, his brethren wicked, and fell upon him; the Apostles humble in heart, and peacemakers; the Pharisees bloodthirsty, and sought to put them to death. The like examples are before us this day. The whole world is in an uproar, and great troubles and afflictions are in all places; no man is able to declare the misery thereof; let no man therefore slander or forsake the Gospel; it hath been so from the beginning, and from time to time.

Such troubles, confusion, and misery, are wrought not by the Gospel, but by those which resist it; they practise all means, and turn all things upside down, rather than it should take place; the wicked are angry therewith, they gnash their teeth, and consume away. This is the cause for which "the children shall rise against their parents, and shall cause

them to die." (Matt. x.) Cain murdered Abel, because God had respect unto Abel and to his offering; Esau could not abide Jacob, because Isaac had given him his blessing; the brethren of Joseph sought to make him away, because God had a favour unto him; Saul was wrathful against David, because God gave him great gifts of courage, and strength, and wisdom; the Egyptians loathed the children of Israel, because they were God's people; the Galatians resisted Paul, because he preached the truth. Therefore, saith St. Paul (1 Tim. iv.), "We labour, and are rebuked, because we trust in the living God, which is the Saviour of all men, especially of those which believe." Likewise, saith our Saviour (John, xvi.), "They shall excommunicate you; yea, the time shall come, that whosoever killeth you, will think he doth God service. And these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father nor me."

Even so standeth it with the church of God this day. There is nothing new that is under the sun. Whatsoever is done now hath been done afore. Who will lift up his eyes, and look to the doings of men, shall see Cain rise up against Abel, Esau against Jacob, the cruel brethren against Joseph, Saul against David, Pharaoh against Moses, the Egyptians against the people of God, the high-priest and the Pharisees against Christ and all that will be his disciples; they change peace into war, they turn judgment into gall, and the fruit of righteousness into wormwood; they resist the truth of God, to establish devices and doctrines of men. But, blessed be God, they shall not prevail. He giveth us peace; he hath made us turn our swords into mattocks; he hath taught us all together with one mouth, and one heart, to praise him, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. His truth is mighty, and shall prevail.

Ver. 3. *For our exhortation was not by deceit, nor uncleanness, nor by guile.*

Ver. 4. *But as we were allowed of God, that the Gospel should be committed unto us, so we speak, not as they that please men, but God, which trieth our hearts.*

God (saith he) hath chosen me from my mother's womb, and set me apart to the office of an Apostle; he hath appointed me to carry his name before the Gentiles; therefore, as he hath given me charge to preach the Gospel, and to bring the people unto him from the power of Satan, so I speak truly, faithfully, sincerely, not as the words of men, but as the words of God. I have used no deceit, nor taught you to follow traditions of men instead of the commandments of God. In like sort saith he to the Corinthians (i. 11), "I have received of the Lord, that which I also have declared unto you." And again (2 Cor. v.), "We are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you through us." For this cause he saith unto them (2 Cor. iv.), "Seeing that we have this ministry, as we have received mercy we faint not, but cast from us the cloaks of shame, and walk not in craftiness; neither handle we the word of God deceitfully; but in declaration of the truth, we approve ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God." In these speeches he asketh credit, because of his upright handling of the word, and chargeth the false prophets for marring the word of God with unclean and deceitful corruptions and glosses.

In foreign countries, women that have no natural beauty of their own, use to paint and colour their faces, that whereas they lack beauty indeed, yet they may seem beautiful. Even so is it oftentimes in matters of religion. Such as hold not the true reli-

gion, as it is taught by the word of God, and hath been practised in those churches which the Apostles planted, and among those Christians which lived nighest unto that time when the Apostles preached; because they know, their religion which they profess now will not agree with that, they deal deceitfully, and with guile. These be false apostles, and deceitful workmen; they beguile our senses, and blind our eyes; they call us to worship an idol instead of the true and living God; they lead us out of the light into darkness, from the truth into error, from knowledge unto ignorance; they forbid lawful matrimony, and call it filthiness, and allow open stews and harlots, as a thing which nothing impaireth their holiness.

I will not speak all that I might, nor in such sort as the matter occasioneth; yet can I not but say somewhat of their spiritual craftiness, in abusing and beguiling the people of God.

The Egyptians furnished richly, and decked their churches beautifully, and all in honour of a cat. Many things among these men carry great show of holiness, which are nothing else but cloaks of their shame, and manifest proof that they are not allowed of God, but are crept in by deceit and by guile.

Single life carrieth a fair show; but, O merciful God! what shame and villanies have been covered with this cloak! Pius Secundus saw somewhat, when he said, "As marriage was taken away from priests upon great considerations, so now upon other greater considerations it were to be restored to them again." Jerome saw somewhat, when he wrote thus: "You may see some (that pretend gravity) are girded, and go in black, and have long beards, who can in no wise leave the company of women, but keep house with them, and banquet with them; they take young maids into their service, and do all things as

if they were married, save that they lack the name of marriage." Origen saith, "They teach chastity, and yet keep not chastity." And Epiphanius, "They refuse marriage, but not lust or pleasure."

Images are fair and beautiful; the churches are decked and beset with them; but they are a cloak of shame; they are set in place of teachers; the priests are ignorant, and live in idleness, and send the people to learn at pictures; they call them laymen's books. Yet what profiteth the image? saith Habakkuk, for the maker thereof hath made it an image, and a teacher of lies. And Jeremiah saith (chap. x.), "The stock is a doctrine of vanity."

What is their meaning to speak and pray in the church in a strange tongue? This is a cloak of their shame. Their priests be so unlearned, they can scarce understand English, yet they save their credit, seeing they are able to read Latin. And hereby they cover all their blasphemies and superstitions, because the people cannot understand, and therefore not reprove them.

I speak nothing of their relics, pilgrimages, purgatory, and such other cloaks of shame, which they use to hide their covetousness, and thereby draw unto themselves the riches of the whole world. They cannot say with the Apostle, "Our exhortation was not by deceit, nor uncleanness, nor by guile."

I know there are some, that lay it unto our charge, as the false apostles did unto Paul, that we use the word of God deceitfully; they find fault with our translations of the Scriptures; they spare not to say there be a thousand faults in the New Testament; yet would they never set down five hundred, or one hundred, or fifty, or twenty-five, or five.

If there be errors in the translation, I know they were men which translated it, and they might err like men. May no translation be allowed that is

not altogether perfect? as if the Greek translation were without fault, or as if many faults were not in the common vulgar translation in Latin, or in the translation of Jerome. What then? Must the Greek translation be forbidden? must Jerome's translation, or the vulgar translation, be forbidden? As for the old Latin common translation, though many learned men have shewed the gross errors thereof; yet have they well provided for it in the council of Trent.

"Let no man dare or presume (say they) by any manner of colour to refuse the old common translation of the Bible." Yet is no translation of ours so corrupt, as that which they have thus privileged. But if it were true, which they falsely report, reason would they did correct the errors, and so set it abroad. But thus they bear you in hand, that they may bring you in hatred of it, and pull you from the reading of the Scriptures. I will not say in what sort they abuse the word of God. What speak I of abusing? Nay, they do manifestly against and contrary to the word.

The word of God teacheth us forgiveness of our sins, by the blood of Jesus Christ once offered; they teach contrary, that the same blood is daily offered, and Christ as often new born, as pleaseth the priest to say mass. The word of God forbiddeth to make any graven image, to bow down to it, or worship it. They teach contrary, that images are to be worshipped, and even with such honour as is due to the patterns themselves. The word of God teacheth us to pray in a known tongue; they teach the contrary, and account it for heresy to pray in a known tongue. The word of God chargeth all states of men to be subject to their prince or higher power; they withdraw their obedience unto civil magistrates, and teach the people to resist authority. Erasmus saith, in his notes upon these words of Christ, *Let these go their way*, "I know a divine of great fame and

account for his learning, which did wrest these words of Christ, to defend the immunity or lawless state of clergymen. But this did he *ridicule* fondly or peevishly," saith Erasmus.

It would be overlong to declare unto you the foolish, or, rather, blasphemous applying of the Scriptures, to approve their gestures at mass, and the sovereignty and chiefty that they challenge. One of their bishops in the late council of Trent said of Paulus Tertius, then Pope: "The Pope, which is the light, is come into the world;" which are the words of the Evangelist, declaring the godhead of Christ.

By these few it may appear, how unjustly they charge us with corrupting the word of God, and how truly this fault is to be laid unto them, which either abridge the sense of the Scripture, or reach it further than it yieldeth, or utterly refuse to stand to the authority thereof, and in no case can like that the people of God should read the Scriptures, and have adjudged them heretics, and consumed their bodies in the fire, which have defended in speech, and sought to maintain the doctrine of truth set down in the holy Scriptures.

The Apostle saith, *he was allowed of God.* They that enter into the ministry must be allowed not of men only, but of God. Therefore, whosoever taketh that charge over the people, must look narrowly into himself, and see whether his calling be of God. If he have not a testimony that God hath called him inwardly, all other outward calling is to small purpose. God is a righteous judge; he will say to the conscience and to the heart of such an one, Friend, how camest thou in hither without thy wedding garment? who brought thee in? give an account of thy stewardship. Thine account is great.

And because some are this day to be admitted into this office, let us pray unto God for them, that God will allow them, that he will give them hearts to conceive, and tongues to speak, the truth of God; that they may be the servants of Christ, and disposers of the mysteries of God; that they may be the salt of the earth, and the light of the world; that they may lay out the Lord's money to his advantage; and so it may be said unto them, "Thou hast been faithful in little, I will make thee ruler over much; enter into thy Master's joy." (Mat. xxv.)

Ver. 5. *Neither did we use flattering words, as you know, nor coloured covetousness: God is record.*
Ver. 6. *Neither sought we praise of men; neither of you, nor of others.*

The servant and messenger of God must so speak, as God speaketh. God speaketh deeply, and to the heart; he lanceth the spirit, and woundeth the inward parts: he biddeth Isaiah shew the people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins: God himself saith, "I visit the sins of the fathers upon the children, unto the third and fourth generation of them that hate me." (Exod. xx.) Again he saith, "If ye shall despise my ordinances, either if your soul abhor my laws, so that ye will not do all my commandments, I will set my face against you, and you shall fall before your enemies, and they that hate you shall reign over you." (Leviticus, xxvi.) But unto those that repent them of their sins, and turn unto him, God saith (Isai. xlv.), "Turn thou unto me, and ye shall be saved." Again (Jer. iii.): "Thou disobedient Israel, return, saith the Lord, and I will not let my wrath fall upon you." So must the minister of God; he must shew forth the mercy of God, and not hide his judgments: he hath the Lord's business in hand, he

may not do it negligently. A flatterer maketh it his greatest care to please men; he seeketh their favour; he feareth to displease, and dareth not speak that that will be evil taken. When he seeth a thief, he runneth with him, and is partaker with the adulterers; he seweth pillows under the arms of sinners: whosoever saith *nay*, his nay is ready; and if any say *yea*, he is ready to say yea: he changeth often as the weathercock: he dareth not strive against the stream: his heart is at the will of others: he seeketh some gain; he seeketh his own glory, and not the glory of God.

They which are such, are called in the Scriptures hirelings, dumb dogs, that cannot bark. They deny God, betray his truth, and deceive his people: they lock up the truth in lies. Of such the Spirit of God saith (Eccles. ii.), "Woe unto them that have a double heart; and to the wicked lips." And (James, i.), "A double-minded man is inconstant in all his ways." And (Luke, xi.), "He that is not with me is against me." And, "He that gathereth not with me, scattereth." And (1 Kings, xviii.), "How long halt ye between two opinions? if the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal be he, then go after him." And again (2 Cor. vi.): "What communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?" Cursed is he which flattereth the people, and is unfaithful in the Lord's work.

Nothing is so requisite in the steward of God, as that he be found faithful, and that he speak those things whereunto the Lord hath sent him, boldly: that they keep not back the message given them of God, nor fear to do their errand, for any malice of men. "Who is it (saith St. Peter, i. 3) that will harm you, if you follow that which is good? Notwithstanding, blessed are ye if ye suffer for righteousness' sake: yea, fear not their fear, neither be

troubled." If the Apostle speak this comfort to all Christians which have a care to serve God, and thereby exhorteth them to steadfastness, and to sanctify the Lord in their hearts, and to be ready to give an account of their faith, and of the hope that is in them; how much more ought preachers, and they which are appointed to the ministry, lay aside all fear and flattery of men! "Woe unto them that go down into Egypt for help! The Egyptians are men, and not God; and their horses flesh, and not spirit: and when the Lord shall stretch out his hand, the helper shall fall, and he that is holpen shall fall, and they shall all together fail." (Isai. xxxi.)

Christ telleth his disciples they are salt, and they are light. Salt must needs be sharp to a rotten wound: light must needs be painful to a sore eye. A good physician must needs trouble and disquiet his sick patient before he can heal his disease; and a good surgeon must needs lance and rip up festered wounds. We are surgeons; we are physicians. The word of God is committed unto us, that by us it might be applied to season the earth, and that the light thereof should shine forth in all the world. "Cry out aloud; lift up thy voice as a trumpet." (Isai. lviii.) If the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battle?

When God had called Jeremiah to the office of a prophet, and said (ch. i.), "Thou shalt go to all that I shall send thee, and whatsoever I command thee, shalt thou speak;" he said further, "Fear not their faces, lest I destroy thee before them. For, behold! this day I have made thee a defenced city, and an iron pillar, and walls of brass against the whole land. Thou shalt not bend; thou shalt not yield: thou shalt be a consuming fire; they shall be stubble before thee." Likewise saith God to Abraham (Gen. xv.), "Fear not, Abraham; I am

thy buckler, and thine exceeding great reward." When Moses thought to refuse the message, and thought himself over-simple to go unto Pharaoh, God answered, "Certainly I will be with thee." (Exod. iii.) And after he saith, "I have made thee Pharaoh's god; he shall tremble and quake at thy voice." (Exod. vii.) So saith Christ, "What I tell you in darkness, that speak you in light; and what ye hear in the ear, that preach ye on the houses. And fear ye not them which kill the body, but are not able to kill the soul; but rather fear Him which is able to destroy both soul and body in hell." (Matt. x.)

The consideration hereof ever moved the Prophets and Apostles to warrant their sayings with authority from God, and to set apart all fear when they speak in his name. When Ahab reproved Elias, "Art thou he that troubleth Israel?" he answered, "I have not troubled Israel, but thou and thy father's house, in that ye have forsaken the commandments of the Lord; and thou hast followed Baalim." (1 Kings, xviii.) The Prophet Isaiah is bold with the princes of Judah and Jerusalem, and saith, "Hear the word of the Lord, O princes of Sodom! hearken unto the law of our God, O people of Gomorrah!" John the Baptist nothing feared to tell Herod, a mighty prince, "It is not lawful for thee to have her to wife." (Matt. xiv.) "If Balak would give me his house full of silver and gold (saith Balaam, Num. xxiv.), I cannot pass the commandment of the Lord, to do good or bad of mine own mind: what the Lord shall command, that same will I speak." Moses was bid to tell Pharaoh, "The Lord God of the Hebrews hath sent me unto thee." (Exod. vii.) Christ calleth James and John, the sons of Zebedee, Boanerges, which is, the sons of thunder, because they should not flatter,

but raise tempest, and lighten and thunder in the ears and hearts of their hearers.

St. Paul saith, "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." It is the word of God, and shall endure for ever. He hath not given us the spirit of fear to flatter, but the spirit of might and of power, to speak roughly and courageously where occasion so requireth; and therefore saith, "If I would please men, I were not the servant of Christ." But I preach God's doctrine, and not the doctrine of men. I seek to please God, and not men.

The Pharisees sought to please men, and to deceive the people. They taught them to walk in the ways of their forefathers; to believe as they believed; to do as they had done. They flattered them, and said, You are the church of God; you are God's people; you are the sons of Abraham; you cannot err; you cannot be deceived. They that in this sort flatter the people and deceive them, they serve not Jesus Christ, but their belly, and through flattery and fair speech seduce the hearts of the simple.

Nor coloured covetousness. The Scribes and the Pharisees devoured up widows' houses, under pretence of their long prayers. They prayed, and made money of their prayers: they gave alms, and made money of their almsgiving: they fasted, and made money of their fasting. This did the Scribes and Pharisees: their doings continue still. They be dead; their name is taken away; but their profession abideth: as they made gains of their prayers, and alms, and fasting, so do some now make great gains, and wax rich under pretence of holiness. They have brought in a profession of wilful chastity, and forbidden marriage in some whole estate of men. No doubt chastity is a holy thing; but they have

given license for money, to such as would, to forsake their vow of chastity. They have forbidden to eat certain meats upon certain days. God left meats as free to the choice of every man, as he left his sun to shine freely to the use of all men. And they make free liberty for money to eat what every man liketh. They make money of purgatory, money of pardons, and money of their masses. They make money of Peter and of Paul, of the apostles and martyrs, and of Christ himself. These are they of whom St. Peter speaketh: "Through covetousness shall they with feigned words make merchandise of you." (2 Pet. ii.) One saith of them, The court of Rome careth not for that sheep that hath no fleece. I will not lay forth at large, how they do all things for covetousness. I have no pleasure in speaking ill. God grant us to deliver the Gospel aright, that we use not the truth of God for a cloak of covetousness.

Neither sought we praise of men; neither of you, nor of others. This is another hindrance of the course of the Gospel, when the ministers thereof love the praise of men more than the praise of God. "How can ye believe (saith Christ, John, v.) which receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour which cometh of God alone?" How far the Apostle was from this ambition it appeared; for he was reviled and evil spoken of, and counted the filth and outcast of the world.

Ver. 7. *When we might have been chargeable as the Apostles of Christ; but we were gentle among you, even as a nurse cherisheth her children.*

Ver. 8. *Thus being affectioned to you, our good will was to have dealt unto you not the Gospel of God only, but also our own souls, because ye were dear unto us.*

Ver. 9. *For ye remember, brethren, our labour and travail; for we laboured day and night, because we would not be chargeable unto any of you, and preached unto you the Gospel of God.*

Ver. 10. *You are witnesses, and God, how holily, and justly, and unblameably, we behaved ourselves among you that believe.*

I might have required meat and drink, and other things necessary at your hands; for who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock? Who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? Who goeth a warfare at any time at his own cost? Who muzzleth the mouth of the ox that treadeth out corn? We plant the vineyard of the Lord of Hosts: we feed Christ's flock: we go to warfare; and stand in the watch and defence of your safety: we are the poor oxen that tread out the corn, which will feed you to salvation: we are your servants; we labour to do you good; we are ordained to minister in the church of God. It were great reason we should reap your carnal things, which have sown to you spiritual things. The workman is worthy his wages; yet taught I the Gospel freely, and without reward, and was ready to give my blood, my life, and my soul out of my body, for your sakes. What could you ask of me more? What greater gift could I bestow upon you?

Ver. 11. *And ye know how that we exhorted you, and comforted, and besought every one of you, as a father his children,*

Ver. 12. *That ye would walk worthy of God, who hath called you to his kingdom and glory.*

I took care of you as of mine own soul, and dealt with you by all ways of comfort, and exhortation, that you would take heed unto yourselves, and

your calling. I did put you in mind, that you were placed in the midst of the unfaithful people which knew not God; and that they watched you, and your doing; that their eye was upon your household, your wives, your servants, and your children, upon yourselves, and your words, to espy if they might find any occasion to speak evil of you. I did beseech you by the glorious coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that the name of God might not be ill spoken of through you. You cannot deny this: you must needs confess you have thus been taught; ignorance cannot be your excuse. What remaineth, then, but that you perform it? For "the servant that knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes."

As a father his children. What manner of care is it that a father taketh of his children? Many men are fathers of children, but what man taketh the care he ought to take for them? Pastors or teachers of the people should be affected towards their people, as fathers are to their natural children.

Let such as are fathers and have children, know in what sort they must be careful. Your children are a good blessing of God; they be members of the body of Christ, and the sons of God. The kingdom of heaven belongeth to them; God hath appointed his angels to guide and lead them, and to shield them from evil; and their angels be in the presence of God, and do behold the face of their Father which is in heaven. They be fresh plants of the church: who knoweth what necessary instruments they may be in the commonwealth, and in the house of God? It is not enough to feed them, and to nourish their bodies with necessary sustenance; for this do the heathen, that know not God; and the savage and brute beasts,

and the birds, which have no understanding. They breed up their young ones, and are tender and painful to provide for them. The ass, though she be dull, the bear and lion, though they be wild and cruel, yet seek they far and near to get wherewith to help their young. Therefore if there be any, or can be any, which doth forsake and leave his own, he is more beastly than the foolish ass, and more unnatural than most cruel bears, and lions, and tigers.

But in this part, men are for the most part overcareful. For this cause many build their houses with blood, and seek possessions by iniquity; they join house to house, and field to field, and will dwell alone upon the earth; they oppress the poor and needy, and do wrong to the widow and the fatherless; they make money their god, and spoil one another, and all to provide for their children. This is the cover and cloak for all their mischief—they may not leave their children unprovided. Unhappy are the fathers, which in this sort care for their children, by the ruin and spoil of the needy and innocent, and so break the commandment of God; because their portion shall be with the wicked in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone. And unhappy are their children, because they are partakers of their fathers' wickedness, and therefore shall also be partakers of punishment with them. The Prophet David saith (Psalm xxxvii.), "I have seen the wicked strong, and spreading himself like a green bay-tree: yet he passed away, and, lo! he was gone; and I sought him, but he could not be found." His root was deep; his stock strong; his branches broad; he spread over and shadowed the whole country, yet he passed away. He departed, his sons died, his house soon decayed, and his name was in little time quite forgotten.

Oh! how much better then is it to furnish the minds of your children, and to instruct them in godliness, to teach them to know God, to lead their life virtuously, and to rebuke them, and correct them for dealing ill!

The beginning of wisdom is the fear of God. Let them then learn what that good and acceptable will of God is. Shew them the way in which they should walk, that they go neither to the right hand, nor to the left. The word of God is pure, and giveth understanding to the simple; it is a light to their footsteps; it teacheth those that are young to amend their ways.

When Christ came into Jerusalem, the young children received him: they cried, "Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord!" Christ giveth witness of them: "By the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou set forth thy praise." (Matt. xxi.) The words of the little and simple children were able to confound the wisdom of the Pharisees. Thus were they taught from their cradle, so careful were their godly parents for them.

Contrariwise, they cannot have any wisdom, that despise the law of the Lord; they become blind and wicked, and abominable in all their ways; they have no sense, nor feeling of the will of God; they cannot know light from darkness, nor God from Belial. Such were the little children that mocked the Prophet Elisha, and said to him, "Come up, thou bald-head; come up, thou bald-head." (2 Kings, ii.) Their bringing up was no better; their wicked fathers had taught them nothing else but wantonness; but the wrath of God fell upon them, and these were destroyed by two bears, two-and-forty of them.

Another care which a father ought to have of his children, is to lead them up in the study of virtue and

of godly life: "Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." (Matt. v.) They which keep not this way, are the children of wrath. Herein standeth the whole profession of a Christian life: "For God hath not called us to uncleanness, but unto holiness." (1 Thess. iv.) This is the will of God, and this is our promise made unto him, that we serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life, that we increase in virtue, and grow from grace to grace.

A good and loving father, which sendeth his son to a dangerous journey, either by sea or land, first instructeth him with advice, and telleth him in what sort he shall avoid perils: Take heed, saith he; the way is perilous which thou must pass; the sea is terrible, the waves rise up as high as heaven, and by and by thou shalt see a pit as low as hell; the sands may swallow thee, the rocks may destroy thee, thou shalt pass by huge mountains, and through wildernesses, where thieves will assault thee; thy heart will quake, thou shalt cry for succour, and find no man to help thee. In these and these places hath many a good man's child been cast away. Oh! take heed, my son, thou art the staff and the comfort of mine age; if ought come to thee otherwise than well, I shall soon after end my days in sorrow.

If a father be thus careful, that his child should escape worldly dangers, he must be more careful of spiritual dangers, in which whosoever is lost is lost for ever. Therefore thus will he say to him: Oh! my son, understand what God hath done for thy sake; take heed to thyself; the world is all over strewed with snares; the devil rangeth, and seeketh whom he may devour; give no ground to him, but resist him, and he will flee from thee. Be strong in faith; the name of the Lord is a strong tower of de-

fence; call upon him in the day of thy trouble, and he will deliver thee; he will give thee of his Spirit.

Take heed, my son, and be not deceived; let no wilfulness cast thee away. If sinners entice thee, be not a companion of them in wickedness. Fashion not thyself to the likeness of this world, for the world passeth away, and the lust thereof. He that loveth this world, the love of God is not in him. Be not like unto them that perish. Thou wast conceived and born in sin; thou art by nature the child of wrath; but God made thee meet to be partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light, and hath delivered thee from the power of darkness, and hath translated thee into the kingdom of his dear Son. Receive not this grace in vain, cast away the works of darkness, and put on the armour of light. Be renewed in thy heart, and in thy spirit, that it may appear I have been careful for thee.—Thus a good father seeketh to train up his son, and to nurture him.

Besides these, fathers must also be careful for their children, to give them correction and chastisement. God knoweth the mould of man's heart; he seeth our inward parts; he said it in the beginning, "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." He did see that "all the imaginations of the thoughts of his heart were only evil continually." (Gen. viii. v.) Behold man's nature, and consider it even from our first birth; how full of affections, how wayward is the young child, which lieth in the cradle! His body is but small, but he hath a great heart, and is altogether inclined to evil; and the more he waxeth in reason by years, the more he groweth proud, froward, wilful, unruly, and disobedient. If this sparkle be suffered to increase, it will rage over, and burn down the whole house. We are not born good, but by education we are changed, and become good.

Therefore the wise man saith (Prov. xxii.), "Foolishness is bound in the heart of a child, but the rod of correction shall drive it away from him." And again (chap. xxix.), "The rod and correction give wisdom; but a child set at liberty, maketh his mother ashamed." And in the same chapter, "Correct thy son, and he will give thee rest, and will give pleasures unto thy soul." He that spareth the rod hateth the child; for, "If thou bring up thy son delicately, he shall make thee afraid; and if thou play with him, he shall bring thee to heaviness. Bow down his neck whiles he is young, and beat him on the sides whiles he is a child, lest he wax stubborn, and be disobedient unto thee, and bring sorrow to thine heart," saith Solomon, Eccl. xxx.

Who hath not heard the story of Eli and his sons? It is worthy to be remembered for ever. He had shrewd children; they feared not God, but brake his commandments, and offended the people: their father heard of their doings, but took no care for it; he suffered them, and let them alone so long, that God grew displeased thereat, and called unto Samuel, and said, "Behold, I will do a thing in Israel, whereof whosoever shall hear, his two ears shall tingle. In that day I will raise up against Eli all things which I have spoken concerning his house; when I begin, I will also make an end. And I have told him, that I will judge his house for ever, for the iniquity which he knoweth, because his sons run into a slander, and he stayed them not." (1 Sam. iii.) And it came to pass shortly after, "The ark of God was taken by the Philistines, and the two sons of Eli, Hophni and Phineas, died." And Eli also, when he heard the report thereof, fell from his seat backward, and his neck was broken—such shame and confusion came upon him. This was the hand and judgment of God. In sparing his children, he cast

away his children and himself all together. But Job dealt far otherwise with his children; his eye was upon them, and he took care lest they should offend God. He sanctified them, and offered burnt-offerings for them daily; for Job thought, "it may be that my sons have sinned, and blasphemed God in their hearts." (Job, i.) Therefore he prayed for them: My sons (saith he) are young and tender, and lack discretion; the ways wherein they walk are slippery, they may soon be deceived, and run into danger. O Lord, be thou their guide, be thou unto them a tower of defence, let thy holy Spirit go before them to direct them in all their ways.—So mindful was he of his children.

Infancy is the first part of our life, and, as it were, the foundation thereof. When a virtuous and a godly childhood goeth before, there a godly and virtuous age followeth after. Contrariwise, when the fathers are not careful to teach their children to know God, and to know themselves; when they do not breed them up in virtue, nor reprove them when they do amiss, they become corrupt in their understanding, and abominable in their doings, void of all knowledge and grace, and of reverence, or feeling of nature.

Ver. 13. *For this cause also thank we God, without ceasing, that when you received of us the word of the preaching of God, ye received it not as the word of men, but as it is indeed, the word of God, which also worketh in you that believe.*

As the minister's duty is to teach the word of God, and divide it aright, without deceit or guile, so ought the people to receive it with reverence, and to give obedience unto it. But herein have we not power of ourselves, our readiness cometh of God; unless it please God to work within us, and to remove the vail, and to mollify our hearts, whatsoever

we hear, it moveth us not, it helpeth not our unbelief, it bringeth us not to the obedience of Christ.

If an earthly prince speak, or send message unto us, we give all show of reverence, and hear him with all diligence. This word is not of flesh and blood; it proceedeth not from kings, or emperors, or from parliament, or from counsels of men; but from God the Father, and from Jesus Christ. When this word is read, princes and emperors stand up, and lay down their sword, and uncover their head, and bow their body, and do reverence, because they know it is the word of God, which God himself uttered, that it should be as the dew of heaven to moisten our souls; as a well of water springing up to everlasting life; as a savour of life unto life; and the very power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth. Without this word we can receive no comfort, we cannot see the light, nor grow in faith, nor abide in the church of God. It is the word of reconciliation. By it God maketh atonement between himself and the sons of men.

Therefore, when the Epistles, the Psalms, and the Gospel, are read in our hearing, let us remember whose word we hear. Let us think thus with ourselves: These are the words of our gracious God. My God openeth his mouth from heaven above. He speaketh to me, that I may be saved; he speaketh to me to keep me from error; to comfort me in the adversities and troubles of this life, and to lead me to the life to come.

What is the cause why so many so little regard the word of God, why they doubt it and suspect it; why they are so soon weary of it, and bear it not that reverence that belongeth to it? Because they think not, neither from whom it cometh, nor with whose blood it is sealed, nor to whose benefit it is written. Let us not be ashamed to give place to the

word of God, to awake our senses, and to submit them, and our wisdom, and learning, and bodies and souls unto it. Let us not harden our hearts. Let us humble ourselves before God, and say, "Behold, here am I; let him do to me as seemeth good in his eyes." (2 Kings, xv.)

Which also worketh in you that believe. Whosoever heareth the words of God and doth them not, shall be likened to a foolish man that builded his house upon the sand. "If ye know these things" (saith Christ, John, xiii.), "blessed are ye, if ye do them." The same word of God which Paul taught the Thessalonians, which was preached by Peter and the rest of the Apostles to the faithful, which Christ received of his Father, and delivered to his church, is this day, by the mercy of God, purely and truly set down unto you. By it you are required to amend your lives, and comforted in the promises of God to the forgiveness of your sins. If there be any, in whom it worketh not this effect, if there be any which (though they hear it) believe it not, nor are thereby renewed in their minds; it is a token, that they have not received the love of the truth of the Gospel; they despise the word of salvation, and it shall judge them in that day.

Ver. 14. *For, brethren, you are become followers of the churches of God, which in Judea are in Christ Jesus, because ye have also suffered the same things of your own countrymen, even as they of the Jews;*

Ver. 15. *Who both killed the Lord Jesus, and their own prophets, and have persecuted us; and God they please not, and are contrary to all men;*

Ver. 16. *And forbid us to preach unto the Gentiles, that they might be saved, to fulfil their sins always. For the wrath of God is come on them to the utmost.*

Wherein became they followers? In suffering as

they did. This is the badge and cognizance of the sons of God. Christ saith (Luke, ix.), "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross daily, and follow me." They followed others, not in pleasure and glory, but in trouble and persecution. For that was the way of the Prophets, and Apostles, and of Christ himself.

Isaiah the prophet was cut in sunder with a saw. What more cruel death? His body was rent, his bowels torn, and yet he not quite dead. In such sort it liked the cruel tormentors to sport themselves. Why? what had he done? He was a prophet. They needed no other matter against him. It was enough that they found him to be a prophet. Jeremiah was stoned to death—wherefore? Because he called the people to repentance, that they might be saved; because he was a prophet. Amos was slain with a bar: poor old man! no reverence given to his grey head, no regard or pity was taken of him. Wherefore? Because he rebuked iniquity; because he was a prophet. Zachariah was slain when he was in his prayers, and doing sacrifice in the holy place, between the entrance and the altar. Wherefore? Because he declared the truth; because he was a prophet.

This hath been the malice and hatred of the devil. The prince of the darkness of this world hath raged so even from the beginning. By this means he hath sought to deface the truth and glory of God, and to establish his own kingdom in shedding the blood and murdering the saints of God.

The churches of God in Judea were miserably vexed and afflicted, they were hated of all men, and counted unworthy of life. Wherefore? Because they turned to the true and living God, and did believe in the name of Jesus Christ. Therefore they were stript, spoiled, headed, quartered, drowned, burnt,

and put to most reproachful death. Who would become their followers? Who would willingly learn to be so persecuted, and made gazing-stocks to all the world? Yet this discouraged not the Thessalonians. They were a thousand miles distant from Judea, but were joined in the fellowship of the Gospel, and in brotherly love unto them. They heard of their mildness and of their constancy, and were stirred up by their example. They did hearken after them, and were careful for them, as for their brethren, and the members of the same body.

You have heard what numbers of late have been persecuted, and put to death, among us. Wherefore? Because they turned from idols to serve God, as he hath commanded, and did put their trust in him. You have heard how patiently and meekly they went to their death, and what a plentiful harvest God hath raised of their blood. For the death of his saints is precious in the sight of the Lord. Their blood cannot be spent in vain. We must remember their patience and zeal, and the cause why they suffered. We must not despise, or set light by the Gospel of Jesus Christ, for which they so joyfully gave their lives.

And it is not enough that we be mindful of such examples as we have had at home. We must also carefully consider of other churches abroad. God hath kindled a fire, he will have it burn. Oh! what torments do our brethren daily suffer! What cruelty is devised daily against them! I speak not of death only, but of rackings, and wonderful extremities more painful than death. Wherefore are these things done unto them? Because they are turned to the true and living God, and believe in the name of Jesus Christ. Some they hang by the hands, and draw up with a pully, and bind great weights of lead at their heels to rend them, and tear their bodies

asunder. Some they have tied unto great pieces of timber, and have put fire at the soles of their feet. They have opened their mouths, and made them draw in lawn into their body—a thing most cruel, and yet which they have practised; the manner whereof hath been thus reported: They lay it so far in the mouth, that a man's breath easily draweth it into his body, and so it is conveyed into the stomach. When it is well settled, then cometh the tormentor, and taketh the lawn by the other end, and rusheth it suddenly, with such a force, as it seemeth he doth pluck out the very heart and entrails—such a rare and strange kind of cruelty, as is not practised upon most notorious rebels and traitors. As for death, forty or fifty at one time have been heaped together, and burnt in one fire. They have set upon the servants of God, and compassed the church where they have assembled together to pray unto God, and murdered them in their innocency, while they lifted up pure hands unto God.

The French king, by the counsel of such as hate the Gospel of Christ, sent his cruel soldiers, and murdered his subjects at Valois. He overthrew their houses, burnt their towns, destroyed man, woman, and child; spoiled their corn, and turned their trees upside down. He wasted, defaced, and unpeopled it, not for that they were thieves or rebels, but because they believed in the name of Christ. Consider how many are murdered in Flanders, and in the kingdom of France. They are not so far from us, as Judea from Thessalonica. They join next unto us. God is blessed in his saints, and holy in all his works, no cruelty is able to quench his truth. There is no counsel, which shall prevail against the Lord. He giveth increase, and placeth children instead of their fathers. The more are slain by the enemies, the more spring

up by the working of his Spirit. The more are hewn down, the more multiply. We may not be strangers in this case. It behoveth us to consider the afflictions of our brethren. They belong unto us. We must pray to God for them, that he will put an end to their miseries; otherwise, we have not the spirit of God, we bear no love nor care for his house.

Of your countrymen. This was the greatest and heaviest part of their troubles. For what a heart's grief is it to the father, if his son rise up against him! or to the son, to see his father ready to betray him, and to seek his blood! Where this is done, he will say, O father, I am thy son; alas! what have I done to have thy displeasure? death is bitter, but thy displeasure is more bitter than death. It were a cruel thing that any man should kill another; what is it then, if thou shouldest kill thy own child? Yet if thou be so bent, take my life and spare my conscience; spare my soul, that I may deliver it up into his hands that hath given it me; I would be obedient unto thee, thou art my father, but I may not disobey God. He is the Father of fathers. He hath said (Matt. x.), "He that loveth father or mother more than me, he is not worthy of me." It is a miserable case when persecution groweth so hot, that the child is driven to forsake his father, or the father his child; yet so doth the world blind many, and Satan so possesseth their hearts, that he turneth their love into hatred, and shutteth their senses, and choketh and dammeth up the springs of nature. They become so blind and so insensible, that they neither feel their own flesh, nor know their own blood. They think, in so doing, they do God good service. They are enemies to the truth. They are the enemies of the cross of Christ, their end is destruction.

And forbid us to preach unto the Gentiles, that they might be saved. This is the end whereunto the

Gospel is given, that the people should be saved. St. Paul saith (1 Tim. ii.), "God willeth that all men shall be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth." Therefore our Saviour appointed his Apostles to this office of preaching his word, saying, "Go and preach the Gospel unto all nations. Go unto the lost sheep of Israel." He saith, "It is not the will of my Father, that one of these little ones should perish. Whosoever believeth and shall be baptized, shall be saved." St. James exhorteth the faithful; "Receive with meekness the word that is grafted in you, which is able to save your souls." By it we hear the sweet voice of our Saviour: "Come unto me all ye that travail, and be heavily laden, and I will refresh you." (Matt. xi.) By it we hear the merciful calling of God: "Turn unto me, and ye shall be saved." By it we are warned to depart from the company of such as are enemies to the truth, and to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness. "Save yourselves" (saith St. Peter, Acts, ii.) "from this froward generation." By it we are taught to believe, that Jesus Christ is the Son of God, that his name is Jesus, because he shall save his people from their sins, and that there is not salvation in any other besides him. For faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. This is, therefore, the duty of the preacher, to preach unto the people, that so they may be saved; that they may know the ways of God; that they may repent them of their sins, and be renewed unto godliness.

Who would think there were any that would hinder the course of the Gospel, or forbid to preach it unto the people? The Apostle here layeth that fault to the Jews, "that they forbid him to preach to the Gentiles." The same fault Christ found in the Scribes and Pharisees: "Woe be to you, inter-

preters of the law, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge; ye entered not in yourselves, and them that came in ye forbad."

Such there have been always, and such there are now. Oh! say they, why should the people know these things? what, should they meddle with the Scriptures? let them do their business, and apply their occupations. It is not reason nor fit, that every one should be learned. When they think they know somewhat, they become proud, and devise heresies and maintain them; as if God had not left them to instruct the people, or as if the holy Scriptures, and not the malice of Satan, were the cause of heresies.

But God hath said (Deut. xxxi.), "Gather the people together, men and women, and children, and thy stranger that is within thy gates, that they may hear, and that they may learn and fear the Lord your God, and keep and observe all the word of this law." The Prophet David thought it meet the people should know the Scriptures; therefore said, "Blessed is that man whose delight is in the law of the Lord, and in that law doth exercise himself day and night." And again, "Wherewith shall a young man redress his ways? In keeping thy words."

When Christ himself came first into the world to plant his church, he vouchsafed the poor and simple the knowledge of his truth, and shewed it first unto them. The first that had tidings of his birth were not Scribes and Pharisees, but a company of poor shepherds. The first that received his Gospel, and taught it in the world, were not doctors or learned men, but fishers, and toll-gatherers, and of base condition. The first that met him with triumph at Jerusalem, and sang Hosanna, were not bishops and priests, but babes and infants. They that followed him most and believed, were not the greatest men

of power and policy, but such as the Pharisees termed a cursed people, which knew not the law. The first that told the Apostles the resurrection of Christ, were not the sagest and wisest men, but two or three silly women.

The first that were converted to the faith after his resurrection, were not any of the great, learned, or otherwise esteemed and known among the people, but about three thousand poor, silly, simple men, so base, and so out of knowledge, that not one of their names could ever be known.

Why should any man resist the wisdom of God; and deny the people the bread whereon they should feed, the light by which they may safely walk, the hearing and reading of the word, by which they may be turned to God from idols, to serve the living and true God? They have cruel hearts, and are enemies to the glory of God, and to the salvation of his people, which in such sort deny them the knowledge of the Scriptures.

To fulfil their sins always. They have refused the word of reconciliation; they are not contented that they have stoned the prophets, and killed them that were sent to them; but they yet resist the holy Gospel, and devise means to keep all others from the comfort thereof. This is a token of God's heavy displeasure upon them, that they repent not of their former evils, but grow worse and worse.

When the Scribes and Pharisees seemed to mislike the cruelty of their fathers, and said, if they had been in their days, they would not have been partners with them in the blood of the prophets; our Saviour maketh their hypocrisy known, that herein they should be like to their fathers, for they should kill and crucify the prophets and wise men, and scourge them in their synagogues, and persecute

from city to city, and said to them (Matt. xxiii.), "Fulfil ye also the measure of your fathers."

The cause of this judgment of God, in giving over the wicked to increase the heap of their sins, the Apostle setteth down to the Romans, chap. i. "As they regarded them not to know God, God delivered them up to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient." For so he sometimes punisheth our sins, and suffereth the wicked to heap sin upon sin, that so their damnation may be the greater.

For the wrath of God is come on them to the utmost. Though God be patient and long-suffering, because he would have all men come to repentance, yet in whom his mercy taketh no place to work their amendment, upon them he poureth out his wrath and indignation to the utmost. He meaneth not, that all the whole nation of the Jews were so cast out of the favour of God, that never any of them shall be saved; for in another place he saith (Rom. xi.), "Hath God cast away his people? God forbid. For I myself am an Israelite of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin. God hath not cast away his people which he knew before."

But miserable shall be their end, and a terrible damnation shall they have, whosoever withstand the truth of God, and to the rest of their wickedness join such a hatred and despiteful contempt of the poor and simple sort of the people, that they keep them from the wholesome words of doctrine, and forbid such as are willing, to preach unto them. This is their condemnation; that light came into the world, and they loved darkness better than light. They persecute us (saith Saint Paul), and forbid us to preach unto the Gentiles, that they might be saved to fulfil their sins always; for the wrath of God is come upon them to the utmost.

Ver. 17. *Forasmuch, brethren, as we were kept from you for a season, concerning sight, but not in heart, we enforced the more to see your face with great desire.*

Ver. 18. *Therefore we would have come unto you (I Paul, at least once or twice), but Satan hindered us.*

He told them before how dearly and tenderly he loved them, exhorting, comforting, and beseeching every one of them, as a father his children; he taking care, lest by any means they should doubt of his great good will towards them; and therefore doth both witness the same, and shew them through what cause he hath staid from them: such a zeal and care had he over the people.

Oh! in what case, then, are they that are careless, and make no regard of the people of God! which hunt after many livings, and bend not themselves to do good; which serve their own belly, and seek to be rich, and eat up the people of God as if they were bread; they cannot say they have a desire to see the face of their flock, and that their heart is with them.

Howsoever they find time for other matters, they can never take time to know their sheep, and to do the work of their ministry among them. They care not for them, they think not of them, they plant not, they water not, they watch not, they give no warning of the dangers at hand, they teach them not to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, and righteously, and godlily, in this present world.

It were happy if all such were removed out of the church of God. They destroy the souls of many, and lead them to destruction by their negligence. What account shall they give unto God, for the

soul- of their brethren? Where shall they stand, or what shall they say, when he shall bid them make a st ait account of their stewardship?

This is the practice of Satan. He useth all means to snare us, and withdraw us from that blessed hope. Sometimes he letteth the increase of the Gospel, by raising up tumults, and disquieting the church of God, and stirring the hearts of such as are in authority to persecute by all means the teachers of the Gospel of Christ.

Again; when God giveth peace and quietness to his church, he leadeth the overseers of the people to a forgetfulness of their duty, to seek the pleasures and delights of this life, and to have no regard of the work of the Lord. Such occasions the devil seeketh, to hinder our salvation, and to withstand the truth and glory of God.

Ver. 19. *For what is our joy or crown of rejoicing? Are not even you it in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ at his coming?*

Ver 20. *Yea, ye are our glory and joy.*

The greatest comfort to him that laboureth, is, to see that his labour cometh to good effect, and worketh that which he purposed. He hath before approved his diligence, and shewed the mercy of God in making his word fruitful, by opening their hearts, that it might sink into them, and take root in them; therefore now he exhorteth them to continue steadfast, that so he may present them unto God, and be partaker with them of everlasting glory.

This ought to be the case of all such which are ministers: they should seek above all things to bring the people to such perfection of understanding, and to such godliness of life, that they may rejoice in

their behalf, and so cheerfully wait for the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.

CHAPTER III.

Ver. 1. *Wherefore, since we could no longer forbear, we thought it good to remain at Athens alone;*

Ver. 2. *And have sent Timotheus our brother, and minister of God, and our labour-fellow in the Gospel of Christ, to establish you, and to comfort you, touching your faith.*

I KNOW, your faith in Christ Jesus is many ways assaulted. The envious man will take all occasions to sow darnel among the Lord's corn. He will seek to take away the good seed that is sowed in your hearts. You are dear unto me. Your wounds are my wounds, and your grief my grief. Therefore, since I myself am hindered, that I cannot come unto you, to be with you in your afflictions, I send unto you my fellow-labourer in the Gospel. I have but one with me, whom I love tenderly, and trust him as mine own soul—him I send unto you.

I leave myself destitute, and without a companion among the infidels, here at Athens, in a city much given to idolatry, and which cannot abide the name of Christ. Thus have I burdened myself to relieve you, and taken from myself to comfort you. I have been careless of myself and careful for you, and for the church of God which is among you.

The Apostle had sent Timothy to other places, to the Corinthians and to the Philippians. He always found him constant in faith, and zealous to do good unto the saints; and now commendeth him to this congregation, and calleth him "brother, a minister of God, and his labour-fellow;" that so they might conceive his great care for them, which sent so

worthy a man unto them; and also that they would esteem him, and have him in reputation, to hearken unto Timothy, and to do in all things as he should direct them.

Such as Saint Paul nameth Timothy, should all they be, which are sent unto the people. They must hold the faith of Christ unfeignedly, and profess it boldly; they must be called and allowed of God to his service; and must not be idle, but painful, and labouring to build up the house of God, and to gather in his harvest; that they may truly be called the ministers of God and labourers in the Gospel.

They that are called to this service, must not think it enough, that they serve God, as men of other trades do; for princes, and all sorts of people, owe service and homage unto God, to serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. This service of godly conversation and obedience must ministers also most carefully perform. But the especial service which belongeth to their calling, is to carry the ark of the covenant before their people; to do their message truly when they are sent; to teach, to instruct, to exhort, to comfort, to rebuke in season and out of season; to plant, to weed, to graff, to shred, to hold up their hands and to pray for the people: to do this service for kings, for subjects, for rich, for poor, for the wise, for the simple, for the godly, and for the wicked; to establish them, and comfort them touching their faith.

Paul calleth himself often the servant of God and the servant of our Lord Jesus Christ. He rejoiceth in this service, and reckoneth it in part of his glory. If we consider the pains and travels which he took, we shall know, what diligence all others that are called to the same service ought to shew. Thus he writeth of himself (Rom. xi.): "I am debtor both to the Grecians and to the barbarians, both to the wise men and the unwise. Therefore, as much as

lieth in me, I am ready to preach the Gospel to you also that are at Rome." Again (1 Cor. ix.): "Though I be free from all men, yet have I made myself servant unto all men, that I might win the more. And unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I may win the Jews; to them that are under the law, as though I were under the law, that I may win them that are under the law. I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some." Again (2 Cor. iv.): "We preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Jesus' sake." Again (1 Cor. iv.): "We are reviled, and yet we bless; we are persecuted, and yet suffer it." I serve not myself, saith he, but God; I serve not to seek mine own affections, but to set forth his glory.

Thus in his own example he teacheth us, that in the service of the church of God we must endure all pains, and not refuse to follow our calling for any reproach, or shame, or villany, which may be wrought against us by men.

Ver. 3. *That no man should be moved with these afflictions; for ye yourselves know, that we are appointed thereunto.*

Think not that you shall enjoy the pleasures of this world, if you be the faithful servants of Christ. Christ shed his blood for thee, that thou shouldest not refuse to give thy blood for him. Drink the cup of bitter gall, whereof Christ began to thee, and carry thy cross, that thou mayest follow him. If thou be ashamed of the cross, thou art ashamed of Christ; if thou be ashamed of Christ, he will be ashamed of thee before his Father in heaven. The cross cannot hurt thee, for Christ hath sanctified it in his blood.

Behold not the sword which striketh thee, but think on the crown of glory, which thou shalt receive.

Gold is clearer after it hath been put into the fire: be thou gold, and the fiery persecution shall not hurt thee. Let not the fear of death put out thy faith. Trust in the Lord: be strong, and he shall establish thy heart. Be rooted and built in Christ, and stablished in the faith. Then shall thy heart rejoice, and no man shall take thy joy from thee.

Ver. 4. *For verily, when we were with you, we told you before that we should suffer tribulations, even as it came to pass, and ye know it.*

God giveth us warning to be ready to suffer afflictions for his name. (Eccles. ii.) "My son, if thou wilt come into the service of God, stand fast in righteousness and fear, and prepare thy soul to temptation." And in Proverbs, iii. "My son, refuse not the chastening of the Lord, neither be grieved with his correction. For the Lord correcteth him whom he loveth; even as the father the child in whom he delighteth." "As many as I love, I rebuke and chasten," saith Christ (Rev. iii.); therefore the Apostle telleth the Hebrews (xii.), "If you be without correction, whereof all are partakers, then are ye bastards and not sons." In the tenth of Matthew, our Saviour warneth his disciples hereof; "Behold, I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves."

Thus God schooleth and nurtureth his people, that so, through many tribulations, they may enter to their rest. Frankincense, when it is put in the fire, giveth the greater perfume: spice, if it be pounded, smelleth the sweeter: the earth, when it is torn up with the plough, becometh more fruitful; the seed in the ground, after frost, and snow, and winter storms, springeth the ranker: the nigher the vine is pruned to the stock, the greater grape it yieldeth: the grape, when it is most pressed and beaten, maketh the sweetest wine: fine gold is the

better when it is cast into the fire: rough stones with hewing are squared, and made fit for building: cloth is rent and cut, that it may be made a garment: linen is bucked, and washed, and wrung, and beaten, and is the fairer.

These are familiar examples to shew the benefit and commodity which the children of God receive by persecution. By it God washeth and scoureth his congregation. "We rejoice (saith St. Paul, Rom. v.) in tribulations, knowing that tribulation bringeth forth patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed." The power of God is made perfect in weakness; and all things turn unto good to them that fear the Lord.

Ver. 5. *Even for this cause, when I could no longer forbear, I sent him, that I might know of your faith, lest the tempter had tempted you in any sort, and that our labour had been in vain.*

Ver. 6. *But now lately, when Timotheus came from you unto us, and brought us good tidings of your faith and love, and that ye have good remembrance of us, always desiring to see us, as we also do you;*

Ver. 7. *Therefore, brethren, we had consolation in you, in all our affliction and necessity through your faith.*

Ver. 8. *For now are we alive, if ye stand fast in the Lord.*

Ver. 9. *For what thanks can we recompense to God again for you, for all the joy wherewith we rejoice for your sakes before our God,*

Ver. 10. *Night and day, praying exceedingly, that we might see your face, and might accomplish that which is lacking in your faith.*

The Apostle continueth in declaring his earnest affection towards them, and how greatly he rejoiced

to hear of their constancy in the faith, and of their love and agreement together; for he feared it might have happened to them as it had done to others. He preached to the Galatians, but they gave ear to false apostles, and went back from that he had taught them. "I am in fear of you (saith he), lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain." And, "Ye did run well; who did let you, that you did not obey the truth? It is not of the persuasion of him that calleth you." The devil hath bewitched you and beguiled your eyes.

Such is the subtilty and the power of Satan in the children of disobedience: Judas was an Apostle equal with Peter and the other Apostles; the devil entered into his heart and bewitched him, and then he became the child of destruction. Julian the apostate was a Christian, and a reader in the church; but became an enemy of Christ; and when he was stricken in the field, by a miracle from heaven, he threw up his blood in defiance of Christ; so had the devil bewitched him, and changed his heart to wickedness.

It might have been, that their weakness should in like sort have been overcome, when the tempter tempted them. And so the gold which he had left with them, might have been turned into dross, and the light into darkness, and the kingdom of God taken away from them. For then had his labour been in vain, and they had received the word to their own damnation. For it had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they have known it, to turn from the holy commandment given unto them.

The devil is the tempter. His strength and practice is not always by force of arms, but by subtle persuasions and other slights. He reasoneth with Eve, why she would not taste of the apple, which

was sweet, pleasant, and delicate, and telleth the poor woman, God did nothing but mock her; for God knew what day they should eat thereof, their eyes should be opened, and they should know as much as God. He came to Christ, and said, "Command that these stones be made bread;" and, "Cast thyself down, if thou be the Son of God; then thou shalt be worshipped, and taken for a great prophet."

He tempted David after this sort: Why wilt thou serve God? He hath advanced thine enemies, and hath forsaken thee, and left thee in misery. "I fretted," saith David (Psalm lxxiii.), "at the foolish: these are the wicked, yet prosper they alway and increase in riches. Certainly I have cleansed my heart in vain, and washed my hands in innocency, for daily have I been punished, and chastened every morning. Mine heart was vexed; so foolish was I and ignorant, I was a beast before thee." He tempted Job, the faithful servant of God, and told him, that he was righteous and holy, and gave alms, in vain; that God had no regard for his prayers, and would not hear them.

This tempter waiteth all occasions to draw us from our faith and steadfastness in the Lord. Yet is he never so busy, as when any persecution is raised against the truth. Then is he in his ruff: then playeth he his part, and leaveth nothing undone, whereby he may move us to forsake the truth.

Wilt thou (saith he) be so foolish to lose thy life, and knowest not wherefore? Art thou wiser than thy forefathers? Why shouldest not thou be contented to do as thy father, and mother, and friends, and kinsfolks? Thinkest thou they have not as good care of their souls as thou hast of thine? Wilt thou make them pagans and infidels? Dost thou think they are damned?

"Be wise, and cast not thyself away. Flesh is frail,

life is sweet, death is dreadful; but to die in the fire, to be burned alive, to see thy arms and thy legs quite burned from thy body, and that yet thou canst not die—this is most terrible, thou canst never abide it.

"Behold so many kings and princes, noblemen, cardinals, bishops, doctors, and learned men, and whole kingdoms and countries, of the contrary opinion. Be not wilful, think not thyself wiser than all the world. What were it for thee to come to the church, and to shew thyself obedient, and to do as others do? It is a small matter to look up, and hold up thy hands at the sacring. If it be an offence, thou shalt be excused, because thou art forced to do it by authority. God is merciful, he will forgive thee."

Thus and thus doth Satan tempt us, and sifteth us, to lead us from our steadfastness. These devices he practised of late days before our eyes, with many constant professors of Christian religion; but, through the mighty power of God, they quenched all his fiery darts, and through many tribulations entered into glory.

Thanks be to God, which doth make us able, through his grace, not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake. He is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above that we are able, but will even give the issue with the temptation, that we may be able to bear it. He hath bidden us call upon him in the day of trouble, and he will deliver us. "Commit thy way unto the Lord, and trust in him (saith the Prophet, Psalm xxxvii.), and he shall bring it to pass. I have set the Lord always before me, for he is at my right hand, therefore I shall not slide." And again, "The Lord is with me, therefore I will not fear what man can do unto me. It is

better to trust in the Lord, than to have confidence in princes." (Psalm xvi. cviii.)

When our Saviour foretold his disciples of the troubles to come, he also maketh comfort to them of the strength and the help which they shall receive of God, saying, "When they deliver you up, take no thought how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall say." (Matt. x.) He telleth them by whom they shall be persecuted: "Ye shall be betrayed also of your parents, and of your brethren, and kinsmen, and friends." (Luke, xxi.) And in what sort: "They shall lay hands on you, and persecute you, and deliver you to the synagogues, and into prisons, and bring you before kings and rulers." And for what cause? "For my name's sake." Then what the godly in this case must do: "Fear them not: he that endureth to the end shall be saved." Last of all, he promiseth to be with them, and to strengthen them: "This shall turn to you for a testimonial: lay it up, therefore, in your hearts, that you premeditate not what you shall answer: for I will give you a mouth and wisdom, whereagainst all your adversaries shall not be able to speak nor resist."

Thus were the things spoken of, long before, which we have seen lately done. Whosoever will set down the story thereof, now they are passed, must needs declare it in the manner as it was forespoken. Their own kinsfolks and friends betrayed many, and brought them to the bishops, who delivered them into prisons, for the name of Christ, and for the love of his truth. The blessed witnesses or martyrs of God feared not, but endured.

Many were simple, young men, young maidens, men and women of great age, labouring men, and men of occupations. Yet God gave them such a mouth and such wisdom, as all their adversaries

were not able to speak against it, nor resist it. Who readeth that Scripture diligently, and considereth this story of our time advisedly, cannot confess but that the light of God's Gospel is come among us, and that we are they upon whom the latter end of the world is come, and in whom he doth shew forth the great might of his power.

Therefore such temptations as Satan useth cannot make the man of God fall from his anchor-hold; his hope is safely laid up in his breast; he knoweth in whom he putteth his trust, and therefore he saith, I presume out of knowledge; I esteem not to know any thing, save Christ Jesus, and him crucified; I believe not in my fathers; I reverence them, and love them, but I believe only in God; I fear not the sword, I fear not what man can do unto me, but I fear Him that can kill my body and soul.

It is better for me to abide the fire, and lose my life, that I may live for ever, than to deny God for safeguard of my life, and be cast into hell-fire. If there be so many partakers of their errors, and so few that cleave to the truth, the multitude of them shall not save me; and it is no trial of God's truth, whether it be received of many or of few. Cardinals, and bishops, and doctors, may be wise and learned; so were Annas and Caiaphas, the high-priests, and Scribes and Pharisees, which did put to death the Lord of glory.

I dare not do ill, because other men do it. I may not tempt God. My conscience is truly assured by God's word what is idolatry, and the dishonour of God. If I should come into the church, and make such shows as you advise me, and be partaker with idolaters, I should do hurt to others in mine ill example; I should do against mine own conscience, which would be a heavy witness against me, both whiles I live in this world, and in the dreadful day of judgment.

Ver. 11. *Now God himself even our Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, guide our journey unto you.*

Ver. 12. *And the Lord increase you, and make you abound in love one towards another, and towards all men, even as we do towards you ;*

Ver. 13. *To make your hearts stable, and unblamable in holiness before God even our Father, at the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ with his saints.*

I have planted you, you are my children, whom I have begotten in Christ ; I love you, and have care over you ; I have an exceeding desire to see your face: but Satan hath withstood my purpose, and found means to keep me from you ; I commit my voyage to God, if it please him that I may come unto you, to rejoice with you, and comfort you.

He knoweth what is good for me, and what is profitable for you ; the cause is his own ; he will do all things to his glory ; he will tread Satan under our feet. We cannot purpose and dispose of ourselves. " I know that the way of man is not in himself, neineither is it in man to walk and to direct his steps." (Jer. x.)

The Lord increase you in all godliness, that you may abound more and more, even as you have heard of us how you ought to walk : you are but a little flock ; God increase your number, and make all them partakers of his kingdom with you, which hear of your faith and conversation in Christ.

To make your hearts stable and unblamable. That nothing move you or trouble you ; that your hearts and consciences be quiet ; that you may stand upright, and shew yourselves in great confidence before his judgment-seat ; that when you shall see God's hand stretched out, and his plagues prepared against the wicked, you be not afraid.

This is the haven of rest, whereto no man cometh, but he that hath a quiet conscience; this is the tabernacle of the Highest, wherein they shall dwell; this is the holy mountain wherein they shall rest, that walk uprightly, and work righteousness, and speak the truth in their heart.

Here let us consider the rages and tempests of a troubled mind, and of an unquiet conscience, which knoweth that God is an avenger of all wickedness, and that death is the due reward of sin, which acknowledgeth himself to be a sinner, and findeth no way how he shall escape hell-fire.

This man, when he thinketh with himself of these things, he cannot but be amazed and disquieted above measure. The sound of the trumpet is ever in his ears; he heareth the voice of the Judge, saying, Stand forth, sinner; now declare how thou hast used thy body, give a reckoning of thy whole life; then his conscience beginneth to quake and tremble. Then he needeth no witness to accuse him, nor judge to condemn him; he is both witness and judge against himself.

The danger hereof may somewhat appear in those which are taken and prisoned, and arraigned before a judge. When he knoweth himself guilty, heareth the evidence pronounced against him, seeth the judge severe to deal justice without mercy, and therefore is assured of death; what grief and torment feeleth he at heart! what would he not give, what would he not do, to escape the danger!

But the danger whereunto God judgeth us is greater, and the manner of his judgment is straiter. Here the judge may be deceived, he is but a man; but there God is the Judge, who is the searcher of the heart and reins, and no man shall be hid from his heat. Here nothing can be done without evidence, without witnesses and proof: before God, he

that hath offended shall accuse himself. This is the case of conscience; itself is witness, itself calleth for judgment to condemnation.

His conscience shall make the sinner say, "I have offended against God; I have despised his word, and would not give ear to learn it; I would not know the time of God's mercy, and of my visitation; I lived in fornication, and committed theft, and kept wrongfully other men's goods; I was disobedient to parents; nurtured not my children in the fear of God; kept not my heart from doing iniquity; I abused my goods, my wits, my senses, and the good grace of God.

"I have sinned against Heaven, and against God, and am not worthy to be called his son. The wrath of God is worthily fallen upon me; hell-fire is my meed; the mercy of God cannot save me, for my sin is greater than that it can be forgiven: mine own heart and conscience, heaven and earth, the angels and archangels, God himself, and Christ the Redeemer of them that believe in him, are against me; I cannot cast mine eyes to any place, but ever I see my damnation before me."

Then doth he tremble with agony, and stand in fear; his heart dasheth and beateth, as the waves of the sea; he feeleth uproar, war, lightning, thunder, death, and hell in his heart; he shall fly when no man followeth him; he shall say to the hills and rocks, "Fall on me, and hide me from the presence of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb."

Such is the terror of an unquiet mind. Though all the princes in the world would join themselves to do it, the wicked can never enjoy peace. God keep us far from such agonies, and give us pure hearts and clear consciences.

CHAPTER IV.

Ver. 1. *And furthermore we beseech you, brethren, and exhort you in the Lord Jesus, that ye increase more and more, as ye have received of us how ye ought to walk and to please God.*

Ver. 2. *For ye know what commandment we gave you by the Lord Jesus.*

We commend you not, nor use any force, but entreat you with all patience and meekness, that ye will love your own souls, and think and do those things which please God. You are they to whom the promise was made. God hath called you out of darkness into his marvellous light; he hath not dealt so with every nation, neither have they known his judgments.

We come not to you in our own name; we have charge to preach the Gospel to all nations; therefore we speak unto you in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ; we shew you the way, that you may walk in it; we declare unto you the will of God, that you may be saved. For "yet will the Lord wait, that he may have mercy upon you; and therefore will he be exalted, that he may have compassion upon you," saith the Prophet. (Isaiah, xxxviii.)

We have opened unto you the whole treasure of God's mercy, we have led you to the throne of grace, and made you see the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world; we have preached unto you remission and forgiveness of your sins through his name. If you have heard us and believe, you shall be saved; if any man preach unto you otherwise than that you have received, let him be accursed.

How you ought to walk, and please God. It is not enough that ye believe; ye must also walk and live according to knowledge. This is the will of God.

"For we are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works, which God hath ordained, that we should walk in them. For the grace of God hath appeared, that bringeth salvation unto all men, and teacheth us that we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this life; looking for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Saviour Christ." (Eph. ii. Titus, ii.)

In this sort hath our teaching been among you; that you might shew forth your faith by your works; that it availeth you nothing to say you have faith, if you have no works, because the faith that hath no works is dead.

This we are taught by the words of our Lord Jesus: he saith (Matt. vii.), "Not every one that saith unto me, Lord, Lord, shall enter into the kingdom of heaven, but he that doth my Father's will that is in heaven." Again, "Every tree that bringeth not forth good fruit, is hewn down, and cast into the fire. The servant that knoweth his master's will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." Thus hath our Lord commanded us to be like our Father which is in heaven, to let our light so shine before men, that they may see our good works. Thus the Apostle taught; thus the church of God this day teacheth; it requireth faith as the instrument and means to apply the merits and passion of Jesus Christ for our salvation, and good works as fruits and witnesses of our faith.

Whosoever learneth aright, and believeth the Gospel as he ought, groweth, and goeth forward from virtue to virtue. If he were ignorant before, he cometh thereby to knowledge; if he were weak, he groweth in strength; if he were wicked, he turneth unto godliness.

Ver. 3. *For this is the will of God, even your holiness, and that ye should abstain from fornication:*

Ver. 4. *That every one of you should know how to possess his vessel in holiness and honour.*

God requireth true and unfeigned holiness. "Wash you (saith the Prophet Isaiah), make you clean, take away the evil of your works from before mine eyes, cease to do ill." This is the commandment of God, that so we should be partakers of his heavenly nature. As He which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation, saith St. Peter.

Abstain from fornication. Nothing so much hindereth true holiness as fornication, uncleanness, wantonness, and such-like. Every sin that a man doth, is without the body; but he that committeth fornication, sinneth against his own body. God is the avenger of such; he will judge the adulterers and fornicators. Be not deceived. Neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor wantons, shall inherit the kingdom of heaven.

Know to possess his vessel. That is, his body. And the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost, as he saith to the Corinthians (i. 6.), "And therefore glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, for they are God's." In this body we shall rise out of our grave, and appear before the judgment-seat of God; in this body we shall sit upon the twelve seats, and judge the twelve tribes. God shall crown it with glory and honour. Keep this vessel clean, it is precious; keep it in honour, keep it in holiness. Make not the member of Christ a member of the devil. Shame not your bodies, shame not yourselves.

Ver. 5. *And not in the lust of concupiscence, even as the Gentiles which know not God.*

Give not yourselves over to filthy affections, as the horse and mule which have no understanding, and as

the Gentiles which have no fear of God's judgment: their heart and mind is unclean; they know not God; they know not themselves; they know not the difference of this life, and of the life to come.

Therefore they know not sin; or, if they know it, they refrain it not, but follow the lusts of their corrupt nature, and give themselves to wantonness, to work all uncleanness, even with greediness.

Thus the Apostle setteth down what is the fruit of ignorance, and whereto a man groweth, that knoweth not God. That devotion, therefore, which some say is the daughter of ignorance, hath no likeness with true holiness; "for this is life eternal (saith Christ, John, xvii.), that they know thee to be the only very God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ."

Ver. 6. *That no man oppress or defraud his brother, in any matter; for the Lord is an avenger of all such things, as we have also told you beforetime and testified.*

Let no man defraud his brother, neither by false weight, nor by false measure, nor by lying words. Let your measures, and weights, and words, be true; let your gains be just and true, that God may bless them. His blessing will make you rich, and whatsoever he blesseth not, shall waste and consume, and do you no good. Do unto others as you would they should do unto you. This is true dealing, and upright.

If thou speak more than is true, if thou take more than thy ware is worth, thy conscience knoweth it is none of thine. God will destroy all the workers of iniquity. He that delighteth in sin hateth his own soul. The mouth that accustometh to lie, slayeth the soul.

Defraud not thy brother; he is thy brother, whether he be rich or poor; he is thy brother, and the son of God. Wilt thou do wrong to thy brother? Wilt thou oppress the son of God, and that even in the sight of God? God is his father, he will not leave it unpunished in thee. If he be simple and unskilful, abuse not his simplicity. God is the God of righteousness. Deal justly, that thine own conscience accuse thee not.

Teach not thy sons nor thy servants to deceive others, and to gain by wickedness: after they have learned of thee to deceive others, they will deceive thee also. Job prayed daily for his children. Be thou also careful that thy children and servants deceive no man, nor hurt any. Their sins shall be laid to thy charge.

Why askest thou of God, that he will feed thee, and give thee thy daily bread, and waitest not upon his will, but feedest upon the bread of iniquity? This meat will not nourish thee; this wealth will not stand by thee; for God will not prosper it. The wise man saith (Prov. xx.), "The bread of deceit is sweet to a man, but afterwards his mouth shall be filled with gravel."

Ill-gotten goods have an ill end. God hath said by the Prophet Haggai, "Ye have sown much, but you have brought in little. Ye brought it home, and I did blow upon it." We have examples hereof daily. We have seen great heaps of wealth suddenly blown away, and consumed to nothing; great houses decayed, and the hope of the wicked quite overthrown.

Here will I speak somewhat of the unhappy trade of usury; because therein standeth the most miserable and shameful deceiving of the brethren. I will not speak all that may be said, for it would be too long and over-wearisome. I will have regard of that

shall be agreeable, and profitable, and behoveful for you to hear.

And that you may the better consider hereof, and see the whole matter of usury, I will shew you first what usury is; then, whence it springeth; and what are the causes of usury. Thirdly, what cometh of it; what hurt it worketh to the commonwealth; and I will lay forth such reasons, as may make any good man abhor it. Then I will declare what the holy fathers and the apostles and martyrs, and Christ, and God himself, have thought and spoken of usury.

Many simple men know not what is usury, nor ever heard of the name of it. The world were happy if no man knew it; for evil things do less harm when they be most unknown. Pestilences and plagues are not known, but with great misery. But that you may learn to know it, and the more to abhor it, this it is:

Usury is a kind of lending of money, or corn, or oil, or wine, or of any other thing, wherein, upon covenant and bargain, we receive again the whole principal which we delivered, and somewhat more, for the use and occupying of the same. As if I lend one hundred pounds, and for it covenant to receive one hundred and five pounds, or any other sum, greater than was the sum which I did lend. This is that which we call usury; such a kind of bargaining, as no good man, or godly man, ever used; such a kind of bargaining, as all men that ever feared God's judgment have always abhorred and condemned. It is filthy gains, and a work of darkness. It is a monster in nature, the overthrow of mighty kingdoms, the destruction of flourishing states, the decay of wealthy cities, the plague of the world, and the misery of the people. It is theft, it is the murdering of our brethren, it is

the curse of God, and the curse of the people. This is usury.

By these signs and tokens you may know it; for wheresoever it reigneth, all those mischiefs ensue. But how, and how many ways it may be wrought, I will not declare. It were horrible to hear; and I come now to reprove usury, and not to teach it.

Let us see then, what is the cause hereof, and whence it groweth; who is the mother, the nurse, or the breeder of usury; for it groweth not every where, nor among all men. Many hate it and detest it, and had rather die than live of such spoil. It is not of God; for God straitly forbiddeth it; neither is it found among the children of God; for love seeketh not her own profit, but to do good to her neighbour.

Whence, then, springeth usury? Soon shewed. Even thence, whence theft, murder, adultery, the plagues and destruction of the people do spring. All these are the works of the devil, and the works of the flesh. Christ telleth the Pharisees (John. viii.), "You are of your father the devil, and the lusts of your father you will do." Even so may it truly be said to the usurer, Thou art of thy father the devil, and the lust of thy father thou wilt do, and therefore thou hast pleasure in his works.

The devil entered into the heart of Judas, and put in him this greediness and covetousness of gain, for which he was content to sell his Master. Judas' heart was the shop, the devil was the foreman to work in it. Saint Paul saith (1 Tim. vi.), "They that will be rich, fall into temptation and snares, and into many foolish and noisome lusts, which drown men into perdition and destruction; for the desire of money is the root of evil." And St. John saith (1 Ep. iii.), "Whosoever committeth sin is of the

devil." Thus we see that the devil is the planter and the father of usury.

Covetousness, desire of money, unsatiable greediness, deceitfulness, unmercifulness, injury, oppression, extortion, contempt of God, hatred to the brethren, and hatred of all men, are the nurses and breeders of usury. It springeth from Satan, and groweth, and is watered and fed, and nourished, by these cruel and damnable monsters.

Let us see further, what are the fruits which come of usury. For perhaps it doth some good, and you may think that many are the better for it. These, therefore, are the fruits: It dissolveth the knot and fellowship of mankind; it hardeneth man's heart; it maketh men unnatural, and bereaveth them of charity and love to their dearest friends: it breedeth misery, and provoketh the wrath of God from heaven: it consumeth rich men, it eateth up the poor; it maketh bankrupts, and undoeth many households. The poor occupiers are driven to flee, their wives are left alone, their children are helpless, and driven to beg their bread, through the unmerciful dealing of the covetous usurer.

When David layeth out the wickedness of the country where he was persecuted, he saith of them (Psalm liv.), "Usury and deceit departeth not from their streets; one seeketh to spoil and eat up another." These are the commodities and the fruits of usury. Such is usury in the midst of a city; and such good it worketh, as fire doth, when it is set to the roof of a house; or as the plague doth, when it is taken to the midst of the body, and toucheth the heart.

We have heard whence usury springeth, and what hurt it doth; which whosoever considereth, may find cause enough to loath it and forsake it. One asked of Cato, "What it was to commit usury?" "What is it (saith he again) to kill a man? He

that is an usurer, is a murderer." The same Cato saith, "Our fathers punished a thief, with payment of the double of that he had taken; but the usurer was always condemned to pay four times the value." They were wise men: they thought that an usurer was much worse than a thief.

For a thief is driven by extremity and need; the usurer is rich, and hath no need. The thief stealeth in corners, and in places where he may be unknown; the usurer, openly and boldly at all times, and in any place: the thief, to relieve his wife and children; the usurer, to spoil his neighbour, and to undo his wife and children: the thief stealeth from the rich, who have enough; the usurer, from the poor that hath nothing: the thief fleeth, and will be seen no more; the usurer standeth by it, continueth, and stealeth still; day and night, sleeping and waking, he always stealeth.

The thief repenteth of his deed, he knoweth he hath done wrong, and is sorry for it; the usurer thinketh it is his own, that it is well gotten, and never repenteth nor sorroweth, but defendeth and maintaineth his sin impudently. The thief, if he escape, many times becometh profitable to his country, and bestoweth himself painfully in some trade of life; the usurer leaveth his merchandise, forsaketh his husbandry, giveth himself to nothing whereby his country may have benefit: the thief is satisfied at length; the usurer hath never enough.

The belly of the wicked will never be filled. As the sea is never filled with water, though all the streams in the world run into it; so the greediness of an usurer is never satisfied, though he gain never so unreasonably. The sea is profitable; the usurer is hurtful and dangerous. By the sea we may pass and come safely to the haven; but no man passeth by usury without loss or shipwreck.

Now hear what the godly and learned fathers of the church have thought of usury. No doubt, they were godly men, and wrote hereof, as God had inspired them, and as others before them had done. Augustine saith, "What shall I speak of usury, whereof the laws and judges require, that restitution be made? is he more cruel, which stealeth something away from the rich man, or he that killeth a poor man with usury?" Mark this: An usurer (saith Augustine) is cruel. Why? He killeth. Whom? The poor man, whom, in charity, he is bound to relieve.

Ambrose hereof saith, "He that lacketh wherewith to keep life, payeth you usury; what heavier case may there be? He seeketh to be healed, and you poison him; he asketh you bread, and you give him a knife; he desireth you to set him at liberty, and you bring him to further bondage." And again, "Thou usurer growest wealthy by other men's heaviness; thou makest gains of their tears and weeping; thou art fed with their hunger; thou coinest thy money of the skins of those men whom thou destroyest: how thinkest thou thyself to be rich, and yet beggest an alms of him that is poor?" And the same father saith further, "Whomsoever it is lawful to kill, thou mayest lend him thy money to usury." For he that taketh usury killeth without a sword. These be holy fathers, and worthy of credit; they shew us that usury is as bad as to kill and murder a man wilfully.

Chrysostom likewise: "God hath forbidden that no man shall take usury, in this sensible or common money. Why? Because either of them is much hindered. He that oweth money is made poorer; and he that lendeth it, by this kind of enriching himself increaseth the number of his sins." Again, he saith, "Even as little leaven leaveneth the whole

lump of dough; even so, usury, when it cometh into any man's house, draweth all his substance, and changeth it into debt."

He that is an usurer, wisheth that all others may lack, and come to him, and borrow of him; that all others may lose, so that he may have gain. Therefore, our old forefathers so much abhorred this trade, that they thought an usurer unworthy to live in the company of Christian men; they did excommunicate him. They suffered not an usurer to be a witness in matters of law; they suffered him not to make a testament, and to bestow his goods by will. When an usurer died, they would not suffer him to be buried in places appointed for the burial of Christians; so highly did they mislike this unmerciful spoiling and deceiving our brethren.

But what speak I of the ancient fathers of the church? There was never any religion, nor sect, nor state, nor degree, nor profession of men, but they have disliked it. Philosophers, Greeks, Latins, lawyers, divines, catholics, heretics, all tongues and nations, have ever thought an usurer as dangerous as a thief: the very sense of nature proveth it to be so: if the stones could speak, they would say as much.

Therefore, our Saviour saith (Luke, vi.), "Do good and lend, looking for nothing again." He saith not, Lend, and look not for your principal again; but, look for no gain thereby. Look not to receive more than thine own for the use and occupying of it. Defraud not another; thou wouldst not another should defraud thee. Oppress him not; have pity on his wife and children: thou wouldst not have thy wife and children undone.

In Leviticus, xxv. God saith, "If thy brother be impoverished, and fallen into decay, thou shalt take no usury of him, nor vantage; but thou shalt fear thy

God, that thy brother may live with thee." God saith, "Thou shalt take no usury;" and he hath power and authority to command. And in Exodus, xxii. "If thou lend money to my people, to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him, ye shall not oppress him with usury." Shew them mercy for my sake; they are my people. I can enrich him, I can impoverish thee. I set up and throw down whom I will. When thy neighbour needeth thy help, and seeketh comfort at thy hands, afflict him not as an enemy, oppress him not like a tyrant.

Ezekiel the Prophet setteth down the wrath of God against usurers (chap. xviii.): "He that hath given forth his money upon usury, or hath taken increase, shall he live? he shall not live, saith the Lord; he shall perish in his own sin; his blood shall be upon his head." Therefore, when he reckoneth the offences of Jerusalem, and declareth the heavy plagues that are prepared against that wicked city, he saith, "Thou hast taken usury and increase, and thou hast defrauded thy neighbours by extortion, and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord God; behold, therefore, I have smitten mine hands upon the covetousness that thou hast used. Thou hast done injury to my people, that thou mightest make thine own gain. Thy wrongs and oppressions done by usury rise up into heaven; therefore I will gather thee, and blow the fire of my wrath upon thee," saith the Lord.

Thus hath God spoken, even the Lord of heaven and earth, which can scatter thy gold in the wind, and blow it to nothing. Thus he speaketh to thee that hearest and readest his word, which knowest that his will is, thou shouldest not lend thy money to usury. Thou dost oppress (saith he). Whom? Thy brother, for whom Christ vouchsafed to shed his blood. And what brother? Him that was poor, which came to thee for need, to seek thy help.

How? Wickedly, closely, falsely, craftily, deceitfully, like an hypocrite, under colour to do him good. Wherewith? With thy money, thy gold and silver, which God hath given thee to relieve the poor and needy withal.

God hath said, Thou shalt not take usury; and what art thou that despisest the voice of the Lord? whose words wilt thou hear, that wilt not hear the word of God? remember the words; you cannot forget them. Thou shalt not take usury of thy brother; he is poor, and fallen in decay; thou shalt not be an usurer unto him; thou shalt not oppress him with usury, for it is cruelty and abomination in the sight of God; therefore will God pour out his wrath, and consume the usurer; he shall not enter into the tabernacle of the Highest; he shall have no part in the kingdom of Christ and of God, but shall be cast into the outward darkness.

But some will say, all kinds of usury are not forbidden. There may be cases where usury may stand with reason and equity; and herein they say so much as by wit may be devised, to paint out a foul and ugly idol, and to shadow themselves in manifest and open wickedness. Whatsoever God saith, yet this or that kind of usury, say they, which is done in this or that sort, is not forbidden. It profiteth the commonwealth, it relieveth great numbers; the poor should otherwise perish, no man would lend them.

By like good reason, there are some that defend theft and murder: they say, there may be some case, where it is lawful to kill or to steal; for God willed the Hebrews to rob the Egyptians, and Abraham to kill his own son Isaac. In these cases, their robbery, and the killing of his son, were lawful. So say they; even so by like reason do some of our countrymen maintain concubines, courtezans, and brothel-houses, and stand in defence of open stews.

They are (say they) for the benefit of the country, they keep men from more dangerous inconvenience; take them away, it will be worse. Although God say (Deut. xxiii.), "There shall be no whore of the daughters of Israel, neither shall there be a whore-keeper of the sons of Israel;" yet these men say, all manner of whoredom is not forbidden. In these and these cases it is not amiss to allow it.

God said to Saul (1 Sam. xv.), "Go and strike Amalek, and destroy ye all that pertaineth to them, and have no compassion on them, but slay both man and woman, both infant and suckling, both ox and sheep, both camel and ass:" so strait and precise was God's commandment. Forth marcheth Saul, setteth upon his enemies, God assisteth him, and giveth him the victory. When he took Agag prisoner, and saw him to be a goodly tall gentleman, he had pity on him and saved him alive; and the best and fairest of the sheep and oxen, and other cattle, he did not destroy, although he knew well that God had commanded him to kill man and beast, every one without exception.

Then came Samuel unto him, and said, Oh, why hast thou not done as thou wert commanded? Here, let us mark the wicked answer of Saul, in defence of his wilful disobedience. It had been great pity to have slain Agag, so comely and tall a gentleman; I have taken him, and kept him prisoner. And if I should have destroyed this goodly cattle, they had come to nothing: it was better to save them for the victualling of my soldiers; and the fairest of them may be offered in sacrifice. So brake he the commandment of God, under pretence of doing honour to God.

But Samuel said, "Hath the Lord as great pleasure in burnt offerings and sacrifices, as when the voice of the Lord is obeyed? Behold, to obey is better

than sacrifice; and to disobey his holy will, is to renounce and forsake him."

So may we say to the usurer: Thou hast devised cases and colours to hide thy shame; but what regard hath God to thy cases? what careth he for thy reasons? the Lord would have more pleasure, if, when thou hearest his voice, thou wouldst obey him; for what is thy device against the counsel and ordinance of God? What bold presumption is it for a mortal man to control the commandments of the immortal God? and to weigh his heavenly wisdom in the balance of human foolishness? When God saith, "Thou shalt not take usury," what creature of God art thou which canst take usury? When God maketh it unlawful, what art thou, O man, that saith it is lawful?

This is a token of a desperate mind. It is found true in thee, that Paul said, "The love of money is the root of all evil." Thou art so given over unto the wicked mammon, that thou carest not to do the will of God.

Wilfulness and presumption, are tokens that such men are impudent, and past shame. He that offendeth of simplicity, may find mercy; but they which of pride and boldness go against the known truth, and do that thing which they know to be ill, and devise shifts to colour that which all reason and learning of God and man, and nature itself, have condemned, they are fallen into temptation and snares, and into foolish lusts, which drown them in destruction.

God is the Lord, we are but servants; he hath made us, and not we ourselves; we are but as clay in his hands; we cannot repeal the law that God hath established, we must obey it. We may not do the things which seem good in our own eyes, they may deceive us; but we must do whatsoever God biddeth us to do, and forsake to do those things which he forbiddeth.

Thus much for an entry to those which can bring so good reasons for so ill a matter.

Many defend their usury, by that liberty which they think they have, to use their goods in such sort, as seemeth best to themselves, and is most to their advantage: May I not, say they, do with mine own goods what I will? This would they not say, if they were of Him, which hath said by his holy Apostle (1 Peter, iv.), "Let every man as he hath received the gift, so minister the same one to another, as good disposers of the manifold grace of God."

It is the law of nature, that no man abuse the things that are his, to the hurt and hindrance of another. May a man take his own dagger, and therewith commit murder; or may a man take off his own fire, and therewith burn his neighbour's house? He that said, "Thou shalt not kill," hath also said, "Thou shalt not steal; thou shalt not commit usury; thou shalt not defraud thy brother in bargaining."

He is not unrighteous, that he will judge the murderer, and will not condemn the usurer. In that day the usurer shall know whose money it was, wherewith he defrauded his brother. His money shall not help him; he shall have no shifts to convey himself from the wrath of God; he and his money shall perish together.

But the usurer will say, "The poor man came to me; I was not in haste to seek him; he moaned his case to me; I took pity of him, and lent him money. Since then, he and all his have been the better." Here you shall see the great kindness and pitiful heart of this rich usurer. He draweth his purse, giveth out his goods, and helpeth the poor, and the poor is much eased by him.

But, alas! what help is this? even such as he findeth, that in the midst of his fit of an ague drinketh a great draught of cold water; no doubt he is re-

freshed and cooled, and for that present time much better; but after a while when his heaves renew, the heat increaseth, his heart panteth, his pulse beateth, his mouth is dry, his tongue burneth, he is more terribly tormented than ever before.

So fareth it with him that borroweth money upon usury. He looketh in his hand, and seeth somewhat—it is not his own; yet is he refreshed therewith, and much eased; the year passeth; the day of payment draweth on; the creditor calleth for money; then, then the heats, and fits, and agonies begin to grow. Then must pot and pan trudge to redeem his body; then he feeleth more cruel torments than ever before.

Thus doth the gentle usurer help to relieve the poor in time of his necessity. As if a man would cure a sore finger by cutting off the arm; or, as if he would cure the blemish of the eyesight, by the pulling out the eyes; or, as if he would quench thirst by giving poison to drink; or, as if, to save one from drowning in a boisterous tempest, he would cast him over the boat into the sea.

The scorpion embraceth a man sweetly with his legs, but in the mean while striketh him deadly with his tail. His face looketh amiable, his tail poisoneth. So an usurer looketh fair, and giveth good words, but at the end he undoeth.

Who is stung by an adder, he perceiveth no hurt, but feeleth a gentle beating of his veins with some delight, whereat he rejoiceth. After this he falleth into a slumber; then the poison worketh, overcometh him, and killeth him. Even so, he that borroweth upon usury, findeth himself wonderfully amended, and rejoiceth; but he is stung, and hath a deadly stroke. The poison will grow over him; he shall die in a slumber, and be undone before he is aware.

So necessary is an usurer for to relieve the poor and needy, as rust is to help iron, and as the moth is to help a garment; it eateth him through from one side to another. Therefore saith Ambrose, "Such are the benefits that you rich men bestow; you give out little, and require much again: such is your kindness, that you undo them whom ye help."

And thus much of the ease that poor men find in borrowing upon usury; they are bitten and stung, and eaten up, and devoured by it. Most men confess that this kind of usury is forbidden, because it relieveth not, but spoileth and consumeth. God take the liking of it out of all men's hearts! then shall they be the better able to judge of the other sorts which they yet think allowable.

What if one rich man lend money to another; what if a merchant take money to usury of a merchant, and both be the better, and both be gainers? Here is no sting nor biting: what shall we think of this? What if a thief or a pirate take usury of a pirate or a thief, and both be partakers of the gain, and be both of them holpen? Let no man mislike the comparison; for, as I said before, a pirate or a thief is not so sinful as an usurer. Here say you, he that lendeth is a gainer, and he that borroweth is a gainer. It doth good to both. If both be gainers, who is the loser? for usury never passeth without working loss. Take this as a rule, there is never usury without loss.

Here I pray you to lend me your minds, and consider what I say. A merchant taketh up of his neighbour a hundred pounds, and must answer again a hundred and ten pounds; he bestoweth it all in corn, and buyeth for his hundred pounds a hundred quarters of corn: he sendeth it to the market; the people have need of it, and buy it. If he sold it for eight groats a bushel, he might make up his hundred

pounds, and be a gainer: but unless he make up a hundred and ten pounds to discharge his usury, he must needs be a loser, and undone.

But undone he will not be; he will rather undo many others, therefore he setteth the price at three shillings the bushel, and so maketh his money, and payeth the usurer, and saveth himself, and is no loser. Who then payeth the ten pounds? who is the loser? Any man may see. The poor people which buy the corn; they find it, and feel it in every morsel they eat.

Thus if the merchant borrower be not hindered by the usurer, yet the people that buyeth his wares are plagued. Thus it is no hard matter to find, that howsoever usury be used, it is always dangerous, and beguileth the people, and is therefore the destruction and overthrow of the commonwealth.

But, saith he, why should I not make money to yield me gains as well as my wares? I lend my shop for a year, or two, or three, so many pieces of velvet, satins, taffeties, grogram, camlet, holland, &c. and for the use he shall pay me by the year forty pounds, and in the end restore me my shop, so many pieces of velvet, so long, so broad, of the same making, so good, so fine as were the others. This, saith he, is lawful, therefore the other is lawful.

No, no; this is not lawful; it is not lawful so to set out thy shop; it is usury, it is forbidden. But he that taketh the shop shall be a gainer, who shall be the loser then? They that buy the wares must needs buy at the dearer price.

We may not allow one ill thing by the allowance of another. We should rather say, usury taken upon wares is not lawful, therefore usury for bare money is less lawful. Jerome upon Ezekiel saith, "Some think there is no usury but in money. This did the holy Scriptures foresee, and therefore taketh away

the increase or gains in any manner of thing, and requireth that thou receive no more than thou didst deliver."

An occupier waxeth old; his occupying is done; he hath in stock two hundred pounds: he cometh to a young man, wise, of good credit, and of honest dealing, and saith, I give thee this money freely, it shall be thine for ever, upon this condition, that thou give me twenty marks by the year during my life. This may be done; it is no usury. Wherefore? it is a plain gift, with a condition; the principal is gone from me for ever; I have no right unto it; it is none of mine; if I die to-morrow before I receive any penny, my executors cannot claim any thing; but in usury it is otherwise; the usurer requireth his whole sum again, and somewhat more for the use and occupying. Therefore this is a gift, and not usury.

Again: I lend my neighbour twenty pounds until a day; he hath it freely and friendly without any usury; yet I say to him, "Neighbour, you must needs keep to your day, for the next day afterI must discharge a fine I stand bound for a payment; I have no more but this which you borrow; if I miss, I forfeit five pounds; I pray you be careful for it." The day cometh; my neighbour cometh not; I lack my money, and because I lack it, I lose five pounds. He cometh afterward, and offereth me mine own money. Then say I, "Neighbour, I have lost five pounds by your negligence and slackness; I hope you will not suffer me to be a loser for my gentleness." This is interest, it is no usury.

Here by the way you may learn wherefore it is called interest, because he may say, "It behoved me, it stood me upon to have it, and now by your default I sustain loss." It is good to know the one from the other. This kind of dealing is interest, and not

usury. In usury I seek to be a gainer, in interest I seek only to be no loser; gain or profit I seek none. And hereof I may lawfully seek to be answered; it standeth with equity and conscience, and good reason.

This is interest, and no usury, that a man who requireth no gain, should seek to save himself harmless. Bear patiently with me, if I be long. My desire is, you should understand this whole matter, and be able to know one thing from another; that so, no man may excuse his usury by name of interest, and others be not offended, nor reckon all men to be usurers, which lend forth their money, or any ways dispose of their stock.

A poor orphan left in his cradle hath a hundred pound stock. This stock may be put out to usury, and the usury is allowed. This is a deed of charity; it is no usury, as shall appear. For, if the hundred pounds should lie still without increase, and be bestowed from year to year to the use of the child, the whole stock would be spent, before the child should come to years. But if the stock be put to occupying, and into an honest man's hands, something will grow to the relief of the orphan, and yet his stock remaineth whole. This is charity to relieve the infant, that cannot relieve himself. The like is in using the stock of a man that hath not his wits, and is not able to dispose of his goods.

Or if a merchant by sickness, or maim, or any other hindrance, be not able to follow his business, he desireth another to use and occupy for him, and to do with his stock as it were his own, only to maintain him with the increase thereof. This is not usury. Why? because he that taketh the stock of the orphan, or of the madman, or of the diseased merchant, is not bound to answer all adventures and casualties that happen. As if to like use, I take a stock in cattle, and they die without my default; or

a stock in money, or wares, and the wares be burnt by fire, or the money stolen without my default, I am not bound to answer the principal, therefore it is no usury.

But he that taketh money to usury, whether he gain or lose, or whatsoever happen unto him, he must answer the whole stock he borrowed. And this is it that undoeth so many, and maketh them bankrupts. But this happeneth not in this case. He that occupieth the orphan's money or stock is charged only to use it as his own, and no otherwise. If it perish, or decay, or miscarry without his default, he is not bound to answer it; therefore, as I said, it is no usury.

Yet say they further for defence of usury: It is suffered in other countries; in France, Spain, Italy, Rome, &c. the laws permit it. And what law doth suffer it? I trow, not the law of God, for that law straitly forbiddeth it. But what speak I of the law of God? The civil law condemneth usury, the canon law condemneth it, the temporal law condemneth it, and the law of nature condemneth it. And how is that sufferable by any law, that by so many laws is condemned? or how is he worthy to live among men, that despiseth the authority of so many laws? or what will you judge of that man, that will be tempered and ordered by no law, neither by civil, nor by canon, nor by temporal, nor by law of nature, nor by law of men, nor by law of God. I say not, how may we think him to be a man of God? but, how may we think such a one to be a man? for it is the part and duty of a man to be ruled by law and reason.

But it is every where, and therefore to be suffered. Too true, that it is common every where. Would God it were false! It undoeth all the world. So the devil is every where, and suffered; so are the stews suffered in France, Spain, Italy, Lombardy,

Naples, Venice, and in Rome. Rome is called the holy city; the most holy hath his seat there, and yet suffereth he the stews in Rome. So were the Canaanites among the people of God, and suffered; but they were as goads in their sides and as thorns in their eyes.

As these were suffered, and as the stews are suffered, and as the devil is suffered, so, and no otherwise, are usurers. Such good and no better do they, for they are the children of the devil; their houses be the shops wherein the devil doth his work of mischief; they be Canaanites, and enemies of God's people; they be goads in our sides, and sharp thorns and prickles in our eyes. God grant that the law may espy them, and the people abhor them, and they may repent and loath their wickedness.

Some other are bold to take authority for usury from Christ himself. He saith (Matt. xxv.), "The kingdom of heaven is as a man, that going into a strange country, called his servants, and delivered to them his goods, and unto one he gave five talents, and to another two, and to another one; and said unto them, Occupy till I come." The first did so; the second accordingly. They increased his stock, and are commended for their usury. The third wrapped his talent in a napkin, and kept it together.

His master returned, and chid him, and said, "Wherefore gavest not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have required it with vantage?" Therefore usury is allowed by the mouth of Christ. The two first are commended, not for any thing else, but for the gain they made by usury. The third is rated, and rebuked, not for theft, nor adultery, but because he laid not out his stock to usury.

What! and is usury allowed? and allowed by the witness of Christ? How can that be? for Christ, as

we heard before, doth plainly forbid it. How is it then? what is the meaning of this parable? This it is: when Christ delivered his Gospel unto his disciples, he gave them charge to be diligent, and to multiply and increase the number of them that should believe. To this purpose he saith, Be as careful in this business for the glory of God, and the salvation of your brethren, as worldly wise men shew themselves in seeking wicked mammon.

Behold the usurers, they occupy their stock, and make it grow; and so of five pounds make ten, and of ten make twenty pounds; and so they become rich. So deal you in the gifts and knowledge that God hath bestowed on you; give them to the exchangers; put them out to usury; increase the Lord's stock. If they be diligent and faithful in the things of this world, how much more ought you to be so in heavenly things!

This, therefore, is the meaning: covetous men, and the children of this world, be wise in their generation; you are the children of light; be you also wise, and do you so likewise in your office and service, as you see them do. So he saith (Matt. vi.), "Behold the fowls of heaven; learn how the lilies of the field grow." What of this? The lilies are but grass; the fowls of the air are but birds. The mercy of God in his providence and care, wherein he giveth us all things needful, is made plain by example of these, and thereby our distrust and overmuch carefulness reproved. So doth Christ speak this parable of the usurer, that as he is diligent in doing ill, so we should be painful and ready to do well.

But shall usury therefore be lawful, because Christ draweth a comparison, or maketh an example, by an usurer? If it were so, we should do many things otherwise than well. For in the Scriptures we are oftentimes required to take example of those things

which are ill. In the sixteenth of Luke, Christ biddeth his disciples take example of the unfaithful steward, to be provident and careful as he was. Doth he therefore commend the falsehood of the steward? or shall falsehood therefore be lawful?

St. Paul saith (1 Thess. v.), "The day of the Lord shall come, even as a thief in the night." Is theft therefore lawful? St. James saith, "The devils believe and tremble." Take example of the devils; they believe, but their bare vain and dead faith, in which they can do no good, cannot serve them. Even so shall not your faith, if it be dead, and void of all good works, save you.

God himself, to reprove the unthankfulness and forgetfulness of his people, which did so often forsake him, and followed Baal and Ashtaroth, saith in this manner unto them, "What nation did ever forsake their gods?" Doth he in this speech approve that the idols of the heathen are gods? or, because God taketh example of idolatry, shall idolatry therefore be lawful? He biddeth his servants to be as faithful, and willing and ready to serve him the God of heaven and earth, as the Gentiles were in service of their idols, the work of their own hands.

As God did will the Israelites to take example of the idolaters, and as Christ biddeth take example of the false steward, and as James, of the devils, so is this parable an example of that which is commendable; that is, the diligence of the servants: usury is no more allowed by this, than idolatry, and falsehood, and the devil is by the other.

Some will say, "I have no trade to live, I must needs give my money to usury, or else I must beg:" this is that I spake of: this sheweth that despair and mistrust in the providence of God is the mother of usury. If this were cause why he should be an usurer, if this be well spoken for defence of

his wickedness, why may not the thief, or the bawd, or the enchanter, by like answer, excuse themselves, and stand in defence of their doings?

Augustine therefore saith, "The usurers are bold to say, they have no other trade whereby to live; so will the thief tell me when I take him in his theft; so will he say that breaketh into other men's houses; so will the bawd say, that buyeth young maidens to use them to filthiness; so will the wicked enchanter, that selleth his sin. If we reprove any of all these, they will answer, that this is their maintenance, and that they have not any other way to live." But Augustine saith, "As if they were not therefore most worthy to be punished, because they have chosen a trade of wickedness to live by, and will maintain themselves by that thing wherewith they displease Him by whom all are maintained." How much better would it be with them, if they did serve God truly in such place and calling wherein they might most set forth his glory, and do such things as should be profitable to themselves and others?

The servant of God knoweth there is no want to those that fear him. He knoweth the Lord hath care over him, and therefore casteth his care upon the Lord. He saith as the Prophet, "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall want nothing." And, "The Lord is the defender of my life, of whom then shall I be afraid?" "I trusted in thee, O Lord, and said, Thou art my God, my times are in thy hand." Psalm xxiii. xxvii. xxxi.

Thus much I thought expedient to speak of the loathsome and foul trade of usury. I know not what fruit will grow thereby, and what it will work in your hearts. If it please God, it may do that good that I wish. I have done my duty: I call God for a record unto my soul I have not deceived you. I have spoken unto you the truth. If I be deceived in this matter,

O God, thou hast deceived me. Thy word is plain; thou sayest, "Thou shalt take no usury;" thou sayest, He that taketh increase shall not live. What am I, that I should hide the words of my God, or keep them back from the hearing of his people?

The learned old fathers have taught us, it is no more lawful to take usury of our brother, than it is to kill our brother. They that be of God hear this, and consider it, and have a care that they displease him not. But the wicked that are no whit moved, and care not what God saith, but cast his word behind them; which have eyes and see not, and ears, yet hear not; because they are filthy, they shall be filthy still. Their greedy desire shall increase to their confusion; and as their money increaseth, so shall they increase the heaps of their sins. Pardon me if I have been long or vehement: of those that are usurers I ask no pardon.

I hear that there are certain in this city which wallow wretchedly in this filthiness without repentance. I give them warning in the hearing of you all, and in the presence of God, that they forsake that cruel and detestable sin. If otherwise they continue therein, I will open their shame, and denounce excommunication against them, and publish their names in this place before you all, that you may know them and abhor them, as the plagues and monsters of the world, that if they be past all fear of God, they may yet repent and amend for worldly shame.

Tell me, thou wretched wight of the world, thou unkind creature, which art past all sense and feeling of God, which knowest the will of God, and doest the contrary, how darest thou come unto the church? it is the church of that God which hath said, "Thou shalt take no usury;" and thou knowest he hath so said. How darest thou read or hear the word of God? It is the word of that God which condemneth usury;

and thou knowest he doth condemn it. How darest thou come into the company of thy brethren?

Usury is the plague, and destruction, and undoing of thy brethren; and this thou knowest. How darest thou look upon thy children? thou makest the wrath of God fall down from heaven upon them; thy iniquity shall be punished in them to the third and fourth generation; this thou knowest. How darest thou look up to heaven? thou hast no dwelling there; thou shalt have no place in the tabernacle of the Highest; this thou knowest. Because thou robbest the poor, deceivest the simple, and eatest up the widows' houses, therefore shall thy children be naked, and beg their bread, therefore shalt thou and thy riches perish together.

But Christ saith (John, v.), "The hour shall come, and now is, when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear it shall live." Zaccheus was a receiver of tribute, and was rich when he received Jesus to abide in his house. "He stood forth, and said unto the Lord, Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give unto the poor; and if I have taken from any man by forged cavillation, I restore him fourfold. Then Jesus said unto him, This day salvation is come into this house, forasmuch as he also is become the son of Abraham." (Luke, ix.)

God may make his word work so in the hearts of usurers, that they may also receive Jesus, and forsake usury, and restore fourfold if they have deceived any, and so may also receive salvation. Let us increase in that usury which is to the glory of God. He hath given us knowledge, and many excellent graces; let us put them forth, let us occupy that talent which he hath left us. He will return; the day of his coming is at hand. He will require his talents; we must answer them. Let us restore them with

increase, that our service may be allowed, and we received into his tabernacle.

Ver. 7. *For God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness.*

Ver. 8. *He therefore that despiseth these things, despiseth not man, but God, who hath even given you his holy Spirit.*

Let every man possess his vessel in holiness and honour, for this is the will of God; hereto are ye called. "I am the Lord your God," saith he (Lev. xi.); "be sanctified therefore, and be holy, for I am holy." So our Saviour to his disciples (Luke, vi.), "Be merciful, as your Father also is merciful." Unmercifulness, cruelty, uncleanness, fornication, usury, and such-like, are not of God. They answer not their calling that commit any manner of sin. "If any man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour, sanctified and meet for the Lord." (2 Tim. ii.) It behoveth every man, when he is in secret and alone, to bethink himself whereto God hath called him. The magistrate thus: "I am called to do justice, to be merciful to the widow, to have pity upon the fatherless; I am the minister of God, for the wealth of them that do well, and to take vengeance on him that doth evil."

The minister and preacher thus: "I have charge given me to lead the people of God in the way of righteousness; I am called to do the work of an evangelist, to preach the word in season and out of season, to shew the people their offences, and to reprove them with all earnestness, to teach them that they deny all ungodliness, and turn wholly unto God; "for necessity is laid upon me, and woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." (1 Cor. iv.)

The subject must think with himself: "I owe obedience to my sovereign, I must be subject, not be-

cause of wrath only, but also for conscience sake. If I resist, I resist the ordinance of God, and shall receive to myself damnation."

It behoveth all men, when they feel themselves led to any evil purpose, to bethink themselves, "Alas! what mean I? why should I do it? This is not the will of God; God hath not called me to uncleanness, but unto holiness; God is my God, I am his creature, I must serve him with my heart. The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears open to their prayers; but the face of the Lord is upon them that do evil."

He therefore that despiseth these things, despiseth not man, but God. Alas! what are we? we are but unprofitable servants, we are the voice of the crier in the wilderness. By us it hath pleased God to make his name known through all the world; we are your brethren, and your servants for Christ's sake; we are your helpers; by whom you are called to the faith; we preach not ourselves, but Jesus Christ; we speak unto you in the name of God.

If you despise us in doing this service toward you, you despise not us, but you despise God, who hath sent us; and God can in due time avenge your unthankfulness.

Who hath given you his holy Spirit. You have received the spirit of wisdom and understanding; you know these things are true, you cannot deny them. If you shall now offend, you shall offend against God's Spirit, which is given unto you.

Ver. 9. *But as touching brotherly love, you need not that I write unto you, for ye are taught of God to love one another.*

Love is the bond of unity, of perfection, of knowledge, of wisdom, and of all godliness. Paul, the more to set forth the sweetness and comfort thereof,

calleth it "brotherly love." Brethren are bound to love one another. God and nature, and bringing up, do bind them. Many brethren have endangered themselves to save their brethren. It were a monster in nature, that one brother should kill another. You are all brethren, and have one Father, even God. How then can you hate and trouble your brethren?

Hereto Christ calleth us (John, xiii.): "A new commandment give I you, that ye love another; as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one to another." Hereof the Prophet David saith (Psalm cxxxiii.), "Behold, how good and how comely a thing it is, brethren, to dwell even together." There is peace, there is comfort, there is heaven, there is God himself among them. This is the duty of the children of God, to love together as the parts and members of one body, as brethren, and as the sons of one Father.

Here let us consider one great disorder among us that are Christians. If an action or matter at law grow between man and man, then forthwith is the bond of brotherly love broken, they are no longer friends. If he stand against him in suit of law, he will have no more to do with him, he will not pray with him, nor drink in his company, nor talk together with him. Whensoever he seeth him, his heart riseth at him, as if he did see his enemy. This should not be so; it is a disorder in Christian behaviour.

Next after the Gospel, the law is the greatest comfort that God hath given to the sons of men. It remedieth injuries, and giveth to every man that is his. He that goeth to a judge, goeth to him that is the minister of justice, and that sitteth in the room of God to do right; for the seat of justice is the seat of God. If there were no law to be ministered,

but every man might do what he would, and reckon all his own, whatsoever he could get or come by, what a life would it be! How should any man be master of that he hath? Who can imagine what injuries, cruelties, murders, and streams of blood would follow? Thanks be unto God, who in mercy hath given us a law and justice to guide us by.

Let us be content to seek help at this law without wrath or malice; let us come to it, as we would come to our Father; let us ask counsel at it, as we would at the mouth of God. As every man thinketh it lawful to use his own, or to require his own, so let every man be content to leave that he holdeth, when law saith, it is none of his.

The law is no breach of charity, it is the bond and knot to keep men in love. A son may attempt law with his father, yet do it in such duty as becometh a son. A subject may attempt law with his prince, and yet love and reverence his prince as becometh. Who useth the law otherwise, doth abuse it. All strife and contention must be laid aside. Love may avoid wrong, love may require right, love may stand forth and seek defence before a judge.

Love is patient and gentle; it envieth not, it doth not boast itself, it is not puffed up, it disdaineth not, it seeketh not her own things, it is not provoked to anger, thinketh not evil, it rejoiceth not in iniquity, but it rejoiceth in the truth; it suffereth all things, it believeth all things, it hopeth all things, it endureth all things. Such is the nature of love, such it is, wheresoever it is, when it seeketh right, when it defendeth itself against challenge of doing wrong.

Ver. 10. *Yea, and that thing verily you do unto all the brethren which are throughout all Macedonia; but we beseech you, brethren, that you increase more and more.*

You love the brethren, not only those that are with you, and whom you know; but all, whatsoever they be, and in what place soever, though ye know them not. Some love none but such as are of their sort, and devotion, and sect, and fellowship. If any be of another mind than they are of, they cannot love them. This love is not of God, it is carnal, and proceedeth but from the flesh. Whosoever carrieth the name of Christ, is our brother; we must love him for Christ's sake. Christian love doth love those that are enemies, and do not love us; it blesseth them that speak ill of us, and prayeth for them that persecute us.

Oh! that these words of Paul might truly be spoken of us, "As touching brotherly love, we need not write unto you." Oh! that God would touch our hearts with his holy Spirit, that we were all so knit together, and loved one another, as he hath commanded us! Then should we feel that peace that passeth all understanding; then would it appear, how joyful a thing it were for brethren to dwell together in unity; then should we taste of the comfort of the sons of God.

And, alas! what is our life, or what is our profession, without love? what is the sun without light? what is the fire without heat? "Though I speak with the tongues of men and angels (saith the Apostle, 1 Cor. xiii.), and have not love, I am as sounding brass, or as a tinkling cymbal. And though I had the gift of prophecy, and knew all secrets and all knowledge, yea, if I had all faith, so that I could remove mountains, and had not love, I were nothing."

That you increase more and more. Men of this world seek to increase in their wealth and riches. They never think their store so great, but it may abide to have more laid to it. Wicked men stand not at a stay, they cease not to do ill, they heap sin

upon sin, and draw iniquity with cords of vanity, and sin with cart-ropes, until they come to the height and extremity of wickedness. Do you increase in every thing that is good. "The kingdom of God is not in word, but in power." (1 Cor. iv.)

A child that stayeth at one stature, and never groweth bigger, is a monster. The ground that prospereth not, and is not fruitful, is cursed. The tree that is barren, and proveth not, is cut down. This must all know, men and women, and babes and infants: they must all walk on still in the way of godliness, and increase and go forward therein. Unless we go forward, we slip back. If we wax weary to do the work of God, God will forsake us.

Ver. 11. *And that ye study to be quiet, and to meddle with your own business, and to work with your own hands, as we commanded you;*

Ver. 12. *That ye may behave yourselves honestly towards them that are without, and that nothing be lacking unto you.*

Let no man among you be a busybody in other men's matters. Be not eaves-droppers, and hearkening what is said or done in your neighbour's house. Wide ears and long tongues dwell together. They that love to hear all that may be told them, do also love to blab out all they hear.

Study to be quiet, and meddle with your own business. The church of God is as the body of man. In a man's body every part hath his several office; the arm, the leg, the hand, and foot do that whereto they are appointed, and, doing the same, they live together in peace. But if the arm would take in hand to do that is the duty of the leg, or the foot that is the part of the hand, it would breed great disorder in the whole body. So if every man in the church of

God seek to do that to them belongeth, the church shall flourish, and be in quiet.

But when every man will be busy, and take upon him to look into other; when every private man will govern, and the subject take in hand to rule the prince; all must needs come to wreck and decay. Busy bodies ever find fault with their brethren and neighbours, with the state, the clergy, the commonwealth, the church, the government, and with the prince: they are an unquiet kind of men, ever looking for that they may mislike, and never contented. From these men come privy whisperings, slander, backbiting, mutinies, conspiracies, treasons, deposing of princes, and utter decay of commonwealths. These are the fruits of curiosity.

And to work with your own hands. God hath ordained that all sorts of men should labour, and eat their bread in the sweat of their brows. And here the Apostle doth not only charge them to work, but that they work with their own hands. Thou that hast hands, and settest them not to work, thou that abusest the grace of God by thy idleness, shalt give an account thereof.

What filleth your prisons? What dubbeth and enricheth your gallows, but idleness? When your children come to these places, and see they must live no longer, whereof complain they, but of idleness? then they curse the time, and their father and mother, that brought them up in idleness.

Though kings and princes, and counsellors, and preachers, and magistrates, dig not and plough not, nor do any handy work, yet they break not therefore the commandment of God; they break not this rule of the Apostle. The head walketh not as the feet, nor travaileth as the hands, yet is it not idle.

There is no labour comparable to the labour of a prince; day and night, sleeping and waking, he is

full of cares and full of pains. The nobleman and magistrate, if he regard his country, be careful for the laws, aid the poor, repress tyranny, comfort the weak, punish the wicked, is not idle. The minister, if he apply his book, be diligent in prayer, exhort, and teach publicly and privately, is not idle. These labours are greater than all the labours of the body.

Ver. 13. *I would not, brethren, have you ignorant concerning them which are asleep, that ye sorrow not, even as others which have no hope.*

Ver. 14. *For if we believe that Jesus is dead, and is risen; even so, them that sleep with Jesus will God bring with him.*

Herein standeth the comfort of Christian religion; were it not for the hope of the second life, the godly in this world were in worse case than the dumb and brute beasts. When Christ appointed his disciples to go and preach, he said, "I send you as sheep in the midst of wolves." They will scourge you; you shall be hated of all men. As the Gospel increased in any place, these words were fulfilled; the godly were put to death for the name of Christ; the father did see his son slain before his face, and the son his father cruelly tormented. Hence grew great mourning and heaviness.

"Oh!" said they, "he was a reverend sage father; oh! he was a wise young man, learned, zealous, and a great stay in the church; why would God take him before his time? There is not now any one left, whom we may behold, or hear, or follow; we are left comfortless and without hope."

After this sort it is likely the Thessalonians mourned, when they beheld the persecution of the church of God among them. Herein they grew towards mistrust, and to be like the heathen, which had no hope.

St. Paul thought good to reform this error; and, because this abuse grew of ignorance, for that they knew not the happy estate of such which die in the Lord, he saith, "I would not have you ignorant what is become of them, and what God hath done for them. He hath tried them as gold, and hath made them worthy for himself; therefore you ought rather to rejoice, there is no cause at all of mourning."

When Christ saw his disciples heavy and sad, because of his departure, he said (John, xiv.), "If ye loved me, ye would verily rejoice, because I said, I go to the Father, for my Father is greater than I. I shall sit at the right hand of my Father in glory; then shall every knee bow unto me, and every tongue shall confess my greatness; therefore if ye loved me, you would rejoice in my behalf. It is ignorance that maketh you heavy, because you know not whither I go."

When Joseph was sold into Egypt, good father Jacob thought he was dead, and therefore mourned day and night. Nothing could comfort him. "Alas! (saith he,) that I have lived to see this day; O Joseph, my son, my son Joseph, oh that I might give my life to redeem thee! now shall my hoary head go down to the grave in heaviness." But when he heard that Joseph lived, and did see him with his eyes; when he did see that he was a prince, next in place to the king, and had all the country at commandment, then he knew he had mourned without a cause; then his heart leaped within him, his eyes gushed out with water, he wept for joy: ignorance, as we see, made him heavy; knowledge of the truth as it was, rejoiced his heart, and made him glad.

There is great error, and darkness, and ignorance in man's life. We rejoice when we have cause to mourn, and mourn many times when we have cause

to rejoice. Therefore he saith, "I would not have you ignorant; be not deceived; God hath given you eyes to see the right way; God hath given you ears to hear counsel, and a heart to know reason, and to understand and judge; God hath given you the Scriptures, and by them the knowledge of his will; he hath given you a face to look up to heaven, and the spirit of life hath he poured into you, that you should not by any means be deceived.

That ye sorrow not, as others that have no hope. He doth not forbid natural affection. Our parents and our children are dear unto us. They are our flesh and blood, and the chief and principal parts of our body. Any part of our body cannot be cut off, but we shall feel it. The father, if he feel not the death of his son, or the son, if he feel not the death of his father, and have not a deep feeling of it, he is unnatural.

David mourned for Jonathan; the whole land mourned for Josias. Paul saith, "God have mercy upon Epaphroditus (he was sick, very near unto death); and not on him only, but on me also, lest I should have sorrow upon sorrow." If God had taken Epaphroditus out of life, no doubt Paul would have sorrowed. What need more examples? Christ mourned for Lazarus, and shed tears for him. "Then said the Jews, Behold how he loved him!" (John, xi.)

We are not, therefore, forbidden to mourn over the dead; but to mourn in such sort as the heathen did, we are forbidden. They, as they did neither believe in God nor in Christ, so had they no hope of the life to come. When a father saw his son dead, he thought he had been dead for ever. He became heavy, changed his garment, delighted in no company, forsook his meat, famished himself, rent his body, cursed his fortune, cried out of his goods. "O my dear son! (saith he,) how beautiful, how

learned, and wise, and virtuous wast thou! Why shouldst thou die so untimely? why have I offered sacrifice, and done service to my gods? they have made me a good recompense. I will trust them no more; I will no more call upon them." Thus they fell into despair, and spake blasphemies.

Therefore saith Paul, "You may mourn, as did the holy men of God, but in such sort as the unfaithful sorrow for their dead you may not mourn. You are the sons of the holy fathers; fashion not yourselves, therefore, like to the heathens; do not as they did, neither in feasts, nor in marriages, nor in your attire, nor in your mourning, nor in your pastimes; but behave yourselves as becometh the children of the Most High.

But why may not Christians mourn, and continue in heaviness? Because it is no new thing for a man to die, because he goeth the way of all flesh. Again, they that depart this life are not dead; they are not gone for ever, as the heathen imagined; they are laid down to take rest quietly for a time. The death of a godly man is nothing else but a sleep. So saith our Saviour of Lazarus (John, xi.), "Our friend Lazarus sleepeth; howbeit Jesus spake of his death." So it is said of Stephen (Acts, vii.), "And they stoned Stephen, who called on God, and said, Lord Jesus, receive my spirit. And he kneeled down, and cried with a loud voice, Lord, lay not this sin to their charge; and when he had thus spoken, he slept."

Whosoever dieth in the peace of conscience, he may say, "I will lie down and take my rest." Thus doth the man of God repose himself; for Christ is unto him, both in life and in death, advantage. He saith with the Apostle, (Rom. xiv.), "Whether we live, we live unto the Lord; or whether we die, we die unto the Lord: whether we live, therefore, or

die, we are the Lord's." He goeth into his grave as into a bed; he forsaketh this life, as if he lay down to sleep. He shall shake off his sleep, rouse himself, and rise again.

As we wake out of sleep, we know not how, so shall we rise again, though we know not how. As we are much refreshed, and our bodies strengthened by sleep, so shall we rise again in much more strength, and our corruption shall put on incorruption, and our mortality immortality. So often then as we go to our beds, let us think of our resurrection from death. Who is sorry to go into his bed? What father lamenteth to see his child lie quietly and take his rest? Why then should he so mourn for his death? wherein God dealeth mercifully with him and doth translate him to the glory of the sons of God, where is no death, nor fear, but we shall be made like to the angels of God.

The body rotteth in the ground, yet God preserveth it, that it shall not perish. His spirit shall return to it again, and it shall live. God is able to bring this to pass; he hath promised so to do; he hath done it already, and will do it again. (Luke, vii.) "When Christ came near to the gate of the city of Nain, there was a dead man carried out, the only begotten son of his mother, which was a widow; and much people of the city was with her: and when the Lord saw her, he had compassion on her, and said unto her, Weep not. And he went and touched the coffin, and they that bare it stood still; and he said, I say unto thee, young man, arise. And he that was dead sat up, and began to speak, and he delivered him to his mother."

Lazarus was laid in his grave; he had been four days dead; his body did stink. Yet when Christ cried with a loud voice, "Lazarus, come forth; then he that was dead came forth, bound hand and foot

with bands, and his face was bound with a napkin: Jesus said unto them, Loose him, and let him go." (John, xi.) St. Matthew saith, "The graves did open themselves, and many bodies of the saints which slept, arose and came out of the graves after his resurrection, and went into the holy city, and appeared unto many." These few stories witness unto us the rising again of our bodies unto life. But what do I speak of the bodies of men? they are the houses of God, the temples of the Holy Ghost; God hath appointed unto them a kingdom.

Who considereth not the swallows and other birds? they sleep all the winter long: but when the spring cometh, they come to life again, and are seen abroad. What creature so little, so vile, and so little worth as the fly? yet by those so base and contemptible things, doth God teach us to know ourselves and our estate. The greatest part of the winter they are as dead; they creep into chinks and corners, as into their graves, and lie there, without life, without feeling. Prove it who list, he shall see it so. The body is dead, the wings moulted: yet the very same fly, so little and so vile, shall be restored again, at the spring, and shall live in the warm weather, and have the same wings, and the same feet, and the same body.

If we be hard of belief, to give credit to the word of God, these are manifest proofs to teach us the resurrection of our bodies. If God do so much for the flies, which are so vile a creature, how much rather will he quicken us again whom he hath chosen out of this world to live with him for ever?

The word of God is almighty. He shall but speak, and it shall be done. The trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall return to life. "I am sure (saith Job) that my Redeemer liveth, and that I shall rise out of the earth in the latter day, and shall be covered again with my skin, and shall see God in my flesh,

whom I myself shall see, and mine eyes shall behold, and none other for me:" this is my hope, laid up in my bosom.

St. Paul willed Timothy never to forget his doctrine, "Remember that Jesus Christ, made of the seed of David, was raised again from the dead according to my Gospel." (2 Tim. ii.) This is the foundation, the beginning, and the ending of religion. "If the spirit of Him that raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies, because that his spirit dwelleth in you." (Rom. viii.)

This is an article of our faith. We believe the resurrection of the body, even of this body, in which we live, and which we carry about with us. All flesh shall see the salvation of our God. This is the hope of Christians, the resurrection of their flesh. "Set your affections on things which are above, not on things which are on the earth; for ye are dead (saith the Apostle, Col. iii.), and your life is hid with Christ in God. When Christ, which is our life, shall appear, then shall ye appear with him in glory."

Therefore let not your hearts be dull through unbelief. As God was able to save the bodies of his servants, that they were not hurt in the fire; as he was able to keep Jonas safe in the whale's belly; so can he preserve our bodies safe in the earth; yea, much better, because the fire naturally consumeth, and the fishes' belly destroyeth those things which they ravine, but the earth naturally preserveth that which is earthly.

As our God is of power to divide the waters, to make the sea stand like a wall, and give passage to his people; as he can change the course of the heavens, and make the sun go back; as he can draw water out of the hard rocks; so is he of power to raise our dead bodies again unto life. If he made

the earth, the water, the air, the heavens, and all creatures in them of nothing, he is much more able to restore again these bodies which have been. "We look," saith Paul (Phil. iii.), "for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ, who shall change our vile body, and make it like his glorious body, according to the working whereby he is able to subdue all things to himself."

The Prophet Isaiah comforteth the people of God in their afflictions (chap. xxvi.): "Thy dead men shall live, even with my body shall they arise. Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust; for thy dew is as the dew of herbs, and the earth shall cast out the dead." Again: "The earth shall disclose her blood, and shall no more hide her slain." Therefore saith our Saviour (John, vi.), "This is the Father's will which hath sent me, that of all which he hath given me I should lose nothing, but should raise it up again at the last day."

Again he saith (John, v.), "The hour shall come in the which all that are in the graves shall hear his voice; and they shall come forth that have done good, unto the resurrection of life; but they that have done evil, unto the resurrection of condemnation." And again (John, xi.): "I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead shall live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die."

For if we believe that Jesus is dead and is risen, that he was delivered to death for our sins, and is risen again for our justification; if we believe that he is ascended up into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God his Father, he will also raise up our mortal bodies, and bring us with him. "Now Christ is risen from the dead, and was made the first fruits of them that sleep." (1 Cor. xv.) He is our head, we are his body; we are flesh of his flesh, and bone

of his bone. He hath given us his Spirit to dwell in us. "But if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ, the same is not his." (Rom. viii.) Christ our Head liveth. His body then cannot be dead. "Where I am," saith he (John, xii.), "there shall also my servant be." Wherefore, if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall live also with him. (Rom. vi.)

What then shall become of the infidels which have no faith, which have not the Spirit of God? Shall not they rise again? Yes, verily; they shall rise, but not with Christ; they shall not rise with the resurrection of the just; some shall rise unto life, some unto death; some to salvation, others to damnation; some to glory, others to shame. "We must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil." (2 Cor. v.)

The wicked shall rise up again with their bodies, and their portion shall be with the devil and his angels; they shall come forth of their graves to the resurrection of condemnation; their body and soul shall be cast into hell-fire, their worm shall never die, their fire shall not be quenched. It had been better for them, they had never been born.

Ver. 15. *For this say we unto you, by the word of the Lord, that we which live, and are remaining in the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them that sleep.*

Ver. 16. *For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, and with the voice of the archangel, and with the trumpet of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first.*

This that we declare unto you is not of ourselves; it is the truth of God, it shall stand good, and be found true for ever. God will raise our bodies out

of the grave, and restore them from death to life. You may not reason how, or in what order this shall be done, or who shall be the first, or the second, or the third that shall rise up in the resurrection. Such questions are unfit, and not to be moved. "We shall all be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye." (1 Cor. xv.)

At that hour some shall be alive, and some shall be dead; for he shall come to judge both the quick and the dead. We that are remaining in the coming of the Lord, shall not prevent them that sleep; neither is their part better in the resurrection, that shall then be found alive; nor their part worse, that have been dead many years before. For they which were dead shall as soon be partakers of the glory of the sons of God as the other.

Touching the state of men that shall live in the end of the world, Christ saith (Matt. xxiv.), "As the days of Noah, so likewise shall the coming of the Son of man be." I doubt not but you remember the story, what dreadful plague of rain and tempest fell, when all the world was drowned and destroyed with water, vice and ungodliness increased, and all flesh had corrupted his way upon earth. They had no shame, there was no fear of God before their eyes. God's wrath was kindled against them.

He sent Noah, a preacher of righteousness, to reform them, to tell them of the destruction at hand, that they might repent and be saved. But they regarded it not; they laughed Noah to scorn, and grew desperate, and continued in sin. Suddenly all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened. As they were eating and drinking, buying and selling, building, purchasing, stirring, and travelling; as they were in the midst of their joys, and travels, and pleasures, the rain came upon them, and the flood grew so

great, that it destroyed the whole world, except Noah and a few of his company. Their lands, their goods, cities, castles, nor any other their pleasures or wealth, could save them: so shall it be in the coming of Christ.

As it was in the days of Lot, and as it befell to Sodom and Gomorrah: they lived and increased in filthiness; their hearts were blind, and regarded no counsel; their bodies were filthy; their souls, their lives, their houses, and cities, were full of filthiness: the angel of God departed from them, Lot went out from among them, and fire came down from heaven, and consumed them to ashes, and carried them down quick into hell: there was no father to lament his child, no child left to lament his father:—so shall it be at the coming of Christ. He shall come as a thief suddenly, when no man looketh for his coming. He shall come at such season, when men's hearts will be asleep, and think not of him.

St. Peter (2 Ep. iii.) saith, "There shall come in the last days mockers, which will walk after their lusts, and say, Where is the promise of his coming? for since the fathers died, all things continue alike from the beginning of the creation." They scorn the threatenings of God's judgments. When shall the world come to an end? We have winter and summer, rain, snow, day and night, as before. The sun keepeth his course, the floods run, the trees bear fruit, all things are as they have been. Oh! saith Peter, know this, that God hath made the heaven and earth, and all the furniture in them; they are his creatures, he doth hold them up, and preserve them by the power of his word. When God shall withdraw his word, they shall decay, and have an end.

As for our Lord, he shall come, and not tarry; at his coming heaven shall depart away as a scroll that is rolled, the element shall melt with heat, and

the earth, with the works that are therein, shall be burnt up and consumed before his face. Deceive not yourselves with lying words; for when you say, Peace, peace, and all things are safe, then shall sudden destruction come upon you. "Then two men shall be in the fields; the one shall be received, and the other refused. Two women shall be grinding at the mill; the one shall be received, and the other refused." (Matt. xxiv.) So shall also the coming of the Son of man be.

The number of the faithful that shall remain at his coming shall not be many. So saith Christ (Luke, xviii.), "When the Son of man cometh, shall he find faith on the earth?" St. John, prophesying of that day, saith (Rev. vi.), "The sun was as black as sackcloth of hair, and the moon was like blood." The beauty of the church shall be defaced, the light of the Gospel shall be put out; then shall few be left of those that shall behold the glory of God. These shall give witness unto the truth.

And albeit they be but few, yet are they enough to condemn the ungodliness of the wicked. We shall not go in routs, for we shall be but few; we shall then be in the body, and live in this world, and look up, and see these things; yet when the Lord shall come, we shall not prevent them that sleep. Although we live, and they were dead, yet shall they be as ready as we.

Why? *For the Lord himself shall descend with a shout*, &c. Here is laid before us, the true manner of the terrible judgment of God. For our better understanding, let us compare heaven with earth, and the judgment of God with the judgment of men. The judges sit on high, accompanied with noblemen and justices, attended on with constables and bailiffs, and the state and presence of the country. The thief is brought forth, pinioned and bound

in chains and fetters; the poor wretch standeth in great fear; his conscience accuseth him, and saith, Thou didst steal, thou art worthy to die. The voice of the judge is as a blast of thunder, the face of the judge terrible to him as hell-fire.

But the innocent that is wrongfully imprisoned, and hath not offended, he seeth himself clear, his conscience excuseth him, and therefore rejoiceth at the coming of the judges. He thought it long before they came. These, saith he, will strike off my shackles, and set me at liberty; their voice unto him is as the voice of life; he beholdeth them, and they are as the angels of God.

Such shall be the show and sight of the Son of God; he shall come down with majesty from heaven, the trumpet of God shall sound and be heard from the one end of the heaven to the other; and whosoever shall hear it, shall quake for fear. Then shall he be the Judge over all flesh; then he shall shew himself to be King of kings, and Lord of lords; then shall he not come in humility, meekness, and mercy, but with dread and terror of judgment and justice. Not with twelve poor Apostles, but with twelve thousand angels, to attend upon him. Not in the preaching of the Gospel, and calling sinners to repentance; but, in the sound of a trumpet, wherewith all the corners of the earth shall be amazed. Then shall he not say, "Come unto me all ye that travail, and be laden, and I will refresh you; I am sent to the lost sheep of Israel." He shall not say, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do:" but, "You have been ashamed of me and of my word before men; therefore now will I be ashamed of you before my heavenly Father."

Then shall they that despise the word of God know what they despised, and the blasphemers shall reap the fruit of their blasphemy. Then the careless

shepherd, which hath not fed the Lord's sheep, but neglected them, and left them at all adventures, which hath betrayed his flock, and given them to be a prey unto the wolf, shall receive a just reward for his treason; then the adulterer, oppressor, and usurer, shall have their life laid open before them; then shall every eye see him; "they shall see Him whom they pierced through;" they shall see his wounds which they did not regard; they shall see his sword ready drawn to slay all his enemies, and shall fall down for fear of Him that sitteth upon the throne, and of the Lamb.

But the hearts of the righteous shall rejoice; they shall lift up their hearts, and see Him in whom they have trusted. Then they shall say, "This is the day which the Lord hath made, let us rejoice, and be glad in it. Come, let us rejoice unto the Lord; let us come before his face with praise; let us sing loud unto him with psalms." Such shall be the state, and countenance, and honour, and majesty of our God, when he shall come down from heaven for our deliverance.

And the dead in Christ shall rise first. The earth shall open, and yield forth her dead bodies; that so they may be ready, with us that remain, to go before the presence of our Judge. *Which are dead in Christ.* Who are they? They whom he chose out of this world, and which have chosen God for their portion; whom God hath sealed unto the day of redemption, which have said, "Christ is to me both in life and death advantage. And I live, not I now, but Christ liveth in me." And again, "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's:" which say, "I have bound myself to serve the Lord all the days of my life."

They are dead in Christ, which commend themselves wholly unto him, and say, "O Lord, in thee

have I trusted, let me never be confounded. I desire to be loosed, and to be with Christ. Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord of truth." To be short, whosoever liveth in the Lord, he dieth in the Lord. He in whom Christ liveth, which hath a taste and feeling of Christ in his heart; he that rejoiceth in Christ, and looketh for that blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ; he is a sheep of his pasture; he is a member of his body; he is the apple of his eye; he liveth and dieth in Christ. Blessed is he that so liveth and so dieth; for he shall rise with Christ in the resurrection of the righteous, and shall have his part in the land of the living.

Ver. 17. *Then shall we which live and remain, be caught up with them also in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air; and so shall we ever be with the Lord.*

Ver. 18. *Wherefore comfort yourselves one another with these words.*

We which shall see all these things, shall also be caught up ourselves. But here you must note, that Paul speaketh not this of his own person, and of them that lived in his time, as if they should continue alive unto the end, or that the world should have an end before they should die; but he sheweth what shall be the state of such whosoever shall then remain alive. And again, mark that he saith not, we which live and remain shall die forthwith, or, our bodies shall be turned into dust, and so our souls alone go to meet the Lord; but, whether we be standing or sitting, doing well, or ill occupied, "we shall be caught up." For the trumpet shall suddenly blow, and then the dead shall rise, and we shall be changed. So saith St. Paul (1 Cor. xv.), "Behold, I shew

you a secret thing: we shall not all sleep, but we shall be changed." In a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, shall they that are dead arise, and we shall be changed. Thus our mortal body shall be changed, and shall put on immortality; this corruptible body shall be changed, and put on incorruption. Christ will change our earthly bodies to the likeness of his glorious heavenly body. Then shall our flesh be pure, and heavenly, and spiritual, and we shall be able to behold the glory of God. "Then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory. O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

To meet the Lord in the air, &c. This is a comfortable end of all troubles and persecutions which the godly suffer in this life, that they be received into the glory of God, and that both their body and soul do live with him, and enjoy his presence for ever. Then shall they eat of the tree of life, which is in the midst of the paradise of God; they shall hunger no more, nor thirst any more, neither shall the sun light on them, nor any heat. God shall wipe away all tears from their eyes. Then shall they feel those joys, which eye hath not seen, nor ear hath heard, nor hath entered into the heart of man. Such an end shall they have, whosoever fear the Lord.

Comfort yourselves one another with these words. You see the turmoils and troubles of the world, what vexations and afflictions Satan raiseth up against all those that will live godly. Open and notorious sinners are forborn. Theft, adultery, usury, extortion, wilful murder, rebellion, treason, are many times pardoned and unpunished; but true religion, which is the turning from idols to serve the true and living God, and faith in Jesus Christ, that by him we shall be delivered from the wrath to come, findeth few friends, and seldom escapeth without strange and most cruel torments.

What is this, but to crucify the Lord of glory, and to set Barabbas, a murderer, at liberty? David saith (Psa. ii.), "The kings of the earth band themselves, and the princes are assembled together against the Lord, and against his Anointed." They seek to spoil the vine of the Lord, and to destroy his little flock; they use all means to put out the light of the Gospel. But be you of good cheer, continue you steadfast in the truth, your redemption is even at hand. You shall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and so shall abide with him for ever. Let every neighbour comfort his neighbour, and every father his child; let us all comfort one another with these words.

CHAP. V.

Ver. 1. *But of times and seasons, brethren, you have no need that I write unto you.*

Ver. 2. *For ye yourselves know perfectly, that the day of the Lord shall come, as a thief in the night.*

Ver. 3. *For when they shall say, Peace and safety, then shall come upon them sudden destruction, as the travail upon a woman with child, and they shall not escape.*

When the disciples came unto Christ apart, and said (Matt. xxiv.), "Tell us when these things shall be, and what sign shall be of thy coming and of the end of the world?" he answered, "Take heed lest any man deceive you. It is not for you to know the time, or the seasons, which the Father hath put in his own power. For of that day and hour knoweth no man, no, not the angels which are in heaven, neither the Son himself, save the Father." Vex not your spirit in vain. Seek not for that you may not know; you shall not be able to find it.

Therefore saith Paul, I need not to write of times

and seasons in which these things shall be done. Yourselves have been taught the word of God; you have learned what his will is; you know the day of the Lord shall come upon you as a thief: and how cometh a thief? not in the daytime; not when a man hath company about him; not when he is watched; but in the night, in the darkness, when all light is out; when the good man of the house taketh his rest; when the servants are asleep.

Even so, when the light of the truth is taken away, when the heart of the good man of the house is at rest, and his eyes are darkened, that they cannot see, and all his senses drowned in worldly pleasures, when we care for nothing, and think of nothing; when we say peace and safety; then will the Son of man come to judgment; then shall destruction suddenly fall upon us: therefore let us be ready, for in the hour that we think not, will the Son of man come.

Mark, that Paul saith, "Ye have no need that I write unto you, of times and seasons; and that our Saviour saith, It is not for you to know the times, or the seasons." What may we think then, of them that write books and almanacs; and say, such a year and at such a time, Christ shall come; and with these speeches fray and mock the world? Paul was the apostle of Christ; an elect vessel of the Holy Ghost. He said, "I have no need to write of it; you cannot know it." What need is there now that such books and pamphlets should be written? why should the world be troubled with such vanities?

Spare me your patience, and give me leave a little, to deal with these wizards. Tell me thou that dost measure and behold the compass of heaven, and markest the conjunctions, and oppositions, and aspects of the stars; and by that wisdom canst foretel the things that shall be done hereafter; where learnest thou this skill? how comest thou by this deep

knowledge? Paul was taken up into the third heaven, and heard words which cannot be spoken; which are not lawful for man to utter: yet he knew not this secret, nor might not know it.

What art thou then? art thou greater than the Apostle of Christ? hast thou been taken up into some place higher than the third heaven? hast thou heard such words as are not lawful to utter? If it be so, why dost thou utter them? wilt thou take that upon thee, which the holy Apostle dareth not? art thou of God's privy council? the angels and archangels know not hereof; and shall we think that thou knowest it? art thou wiser than an angel? Consider thyself; thou art a miserable man; thy breath fadeth as the smoke; thou art nothing but dust and ashes; thou canst not attain to the knowledge hereof.

And what is that which thou boastest? the knowledge of that terrible day, when all flesh shall appear before the Judge; even of that time, which God hath put in his own power. O vain man, thou knowest not thine own day; thou knowest not when thy soul shall be taken from thee. By what helps and means camest thou unto this knowledge? by reading the writings of the Apostles? by reading the Gospel of Christ, or any part of the word of God? No; God wot, thou hast no great skill in this learning: thou hast it from Manilius, Maternus, Albumazar, or Haly. What is Manilius, Maternus, Albumazar, and Haly? What are they, but heathens, painims, and infidels? Were they not void of all knowledge of God? were they not the enemies of the cross of Christ? these never believed in God, how could they then know that day, when he would judge the world? Let thy common reason reform thee. Can Saturn and Mars know this, when the angels of God cannot know it?

To what end write they thus, to give a token of

their knowledge? nay, hereby they proclaim and publish their folly and want of knowledge. These two hundred years there have ever been some, which have adventured to tell such news, and to say, In this year or that year, you shall have doomsday. Such a day will Christ come to judgment, and the world shall have an end. They have appointed many such years, and days, and hours. The years be gone, the days be past, and the hours be slipt away, but the world abideth, and giveth witness of their folly.

But the meaning of these men is good; hereby they move the people to repentance. For when men think the end of the world is at hand, they will bear the less affection to the things of this world. This is not the way to teach repentance, and amendment of life. The people may not be taught by lies and fables. If this had been good for them, God himself would have used it. God grant them grace to repent, which thus presume of knowledge, and reach so high, and yet know nothing.

Let us yet reason further with them. How have they this knowledge? of certainty, or by conjecture? If of certainty, then it must needs be so, it cannot fail, nothing can let it. But you will say it is a conjecture: it may be so, and it is likely; for such a day, shall be a conjunction of Saturn and Mars in a firy house, and therefore all things shall be consumed with fire. Alas! what hath Saturn or Mars to do with the day of the Lord? they are but creatures, they are no gods.

They are stars made to give us light; why should they lead us into darkness? In the day of the Lord they shall be melted, and perish with fire. Why then trouble they the world with such vanities, and set those things down for truth, whereof they have no certainty, but only a guess and conjecture?

And what time chose they to cast abroad this

news? The same in which the Gospel, through the mercy of God, is well known of most men. Even now tell they these tales, when all men know, that Christ saith, "The angels in heaven know not of that day and hour." The angels behold the face of God, and stand in his presence, yet know they not the day of the Lord. This is a secret which God revealeth not unto any.

Children can reprove this folly in them, and say, "Seek not to know the secrets of God, nor what manner of thing the heaven is." Know thyself, that thou art but a mortal man, crawling on the ground like a worm. He that will stare upon the sun, may be blind, and lose his eyes. God hath given thee knowledge in measure; thou canst not know as much as thou wouldst. Know that is fit for thee to know, and speak that is lawful to be spoken. Think of the commandments of God to follow them. Search not into his works, to be curious in them: for he that is curious in searching the majesty of God shall be oppressed and confounded by his glory.

Thus much we may well know, that the Lord will come; that all flesh shall appear before him; that the world, the heaven, the earth, the sun, and the moon shall have an end; that the day of the Lord shall come suddenly, as a thief in the night. This warning, God hath given us, that we should not be taken unawares, but that we repent, and stand in readiness, and watch and pray, that we may be caught up into the clouds, to meet our Redeemer.

Ver. 4. *But you, brethren, are not in darkness, that that day should come on you, as it were a thief.*

Ver. 5. *Ye are all the children of light, and the children of the day; we are not of the night, neither of darkness.*

Ver. 6. *Therefore let us not sleep, as do others; but let us watch and be sober.*

Ver. 7. *For they that sleep, sleep in the night, and they that be drunken, are drunken in the night.*

Ver. 8. *But let us, which are of the day, be sober, putting on the breastplate of faith and love, and the hope of salvation for an helmet.*

Ver. 9. *For God hath not appointed us unto wrath, but to obtain salvation, by the means of our Lord Jesus Christ;*

Ver. 10. *Which died for us, that, whether we wake or sleep, we should live together with him.*

Your conversation is in heaven, from whence you look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ. Ye were once darkness, but now you are light in the Lord; walk as children of light, approving that which is pleasing to the Lord. That day shall be dreadful, and come suddenly upon the wicked; but to you it shall not seem sudden, which fear the Lord, and put your trust in him, and take all care to be in readiness at his coming. Arm yourselves strongly; the enemy seeketh to overthrow you. Your enemy is the devil, with all his force. Your strength standeth not in your own prowess or manhood, but in the mighty power of God. Put on, therefore, the breastplate of faith and love. He that believeth shall be saved; he that abideth in love, abideth in God; and whosoever putteth his trust in him shall not be confounded.

Here I may take occasion to say somewhat of the troubles of war; how Satan seeketh by it to disquiet the church of God. Who hath not heard what force is this day raised in this realm? who hath not heard of it? but let it not trouble you; God will turn all to his glory. I love not to speak of such things, yet somewhat I must speak thereof, the time enforceth me.

This is the first disturbance and breach of that blessed peace, in which God hath so long and so quietly preserved this realm, since the time that Her Majesty came to the crown. It giveth great occasion to the enemy to break in upon us; it is the spoiling of our country. The barbarous soldiers rush into men's houses, and take out what they list; they draw their sword, bend their force, join themselves to war against the Lord, and against his Anointed. They have torn and defaced, and burnt in fire the holy Bible, the Gospel of our salvation, and would set up the loathsome service of the mass.

What! hath the word of God offended? why should it be torn in pieces? why should it be burnt? what word is in it, which is not the word of life? it is the power of God unto salvation, to them that believe. And where should the word of God have place, where should it be heard, but in the church of God? O cursed hands, that so despitefully rent it! Woe worth that unhappy fire that burnt it!

As for the mass, would God, they that so much desire it, knew what it is! Would God they knew how the people of God are mocked by it; and how the precious blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ is blasphemed by it! would God they knew how grievously God is offended with them in this thing, wherein they think they please him so highly! But the mass and God's word cannot dwell in one house together, the one is so contrary to the other.

God forgive them, and lay it not to their charge, for they know not what they do. They are driven on to work the things which others have most wickedly devised. There is no doubt but God will confound their enterprise; for this is his own cause; this quarrel is picked against his church, and against the knowledge and setting forth of his Gospel, and therefore against the setting forth of his glory.

Only let us lift up our hands unto heaven, and call for help from above. Let us say unto him, "Rise up for our succour, and redeem us for thy mercies' sake." Let us say, "They have cast thy sanctuary into the fire, and razed it to the ground, and have destroyed the dwelling-place of thy name. Arise, O God; maintain thine own cause; remember thy daily reproach by the foolish man." (Psalm lxxiv.)

Let us say, Save, O Lord, queen Elizabeth, thy servant, establish that good thing which thou hast begun; open the eyes of all people, that they may see thy saving health, and enjoy it through hearing thy Gospel, which thou hast made known unto us; save thy people which trusteth in thee, and break the cords of the wicked in sunder.

Let us comfort ourselves with these words, that "God hath not appointed us to wrath, but to obtain salvation, by the means of our Lord Jesus Christ." He hath overcome the world. Let us be of good cheer; and let us walk as the children of light; let us walk honestly, as in the day. Then, whether we wake or sleep, whether we live or die, we shall live together with him.

Ver. 11. *Wherefore exhort one another, and edify one another, even as ye do.*

This is the bond of true love and Christian friendship, that every man be careful of his brother as of himself; that every man exhort and teach the things that are good, and rebuke others in ill; that every man seek to bring home the lost sheep, and to restore him to his master. Therefore Christ saith (Matt. xviii.), "If thy brother trespass against thee, go and tell him his faults, between him and thee alone; if he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother; for what knowest thou whether thou shalt save thy brother?" "Brethren (saith St. James, chap. v.), if

any of you hath erred from the truth, and some man hath converted him, let him know that He which hath converted the sinner from going astray out of his way, shall save a soul from death, and shall hide a multitude of sins.

Therefore saith the Apostle, *Exhort one another, and edify one another.* Let the father exhort the son: O son! walk uprightly before God; live honestly and virtuously in the sight of all men; do those things that are good; thou art the child of God, be holy in spirit, and holy in body, because he is holy.—Say to the adulterer, O brother! be not deceived. Whosoever is an adulterer, hath no inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. God hath said of them that are such, "They shall not enter into my rest."—Say to the swearer, Oh! take not the name of God in vain, for God will not hold him guiltless that taketh his name in vain. "He that sweareth, and nameth God continually, he shall not be faultless. A man that useth much swearing shall be filled with wickedness, and the plague shall never go from his house" (Eccles. xxiii.), nor from his cattle, nor from his corn, nor from his servants, nor from his children, nor from himself. His house shall be full of plagues.

Say to the usurer, Oh! hear the voice of the Lord. Thus saith the Lord, before whom thou shalt stand to give an account of those things which thou hast done in this life: "Thou shalt not give thy money to usury." He that careth not for these words, but doth otherwise, shall not escape unpunished.—Say to the rich man, Oh! put not your trust in riches; lay up your treasure in heaven; lay it up in the bosom of the poor, and it shall make intercession for thee. Put thy trust in the living God, which giveth us abundantly all things to enjoy. Thy house, thy land, thy money, thy gold and silver, shall not

continue; thou shalt go the way of all flesh, and thy riches shall not be able to deliver thee in the day of wrath.

Say to the learned man, to the wise man, and to the man whom God hath endued with worldly power: What hast thou that thou hast not received? Be not high-minded; it is the gift of God; it is not thine; thou shalt give a reckoning of all that thou hast received. Abuse it not to the dishonour of God; it is of charity that I speak unto thee; thou art my brother; God hath a care over thee; it is his will that one of us should exhort another. Oh! why should thy life give offence to any man? why should the name of God be ill spoken of through thee? He hath made thee to be a vessel of honour; thou belongest to his fold; why shouldest thou be lost, and perish in thy wilfulness?

Ver. 12. *Now we beseech you, brethren, that ye know them which labour among you, and are over you in the Lord, and admonish you;*

Ver. 13. *That ye have them in singular love, for their works' sake. Be at peace among yourselves.*

They which exhort you, and warn you, and are over you in the Lord, they be shepherds, and husbandmen, and watchmen for you; they feed the Lord's flock, plough the Lord's ground, and watch the tower of the God of Hosts. You are God's sheep, ye must be fed, else you cannot live. You are a field, you must be ploughed, else you will be overgrown with brambles, and stand unfruitful, and lie waste. You are the Lord's tower, you must be watched, else the enemy will break in upon you, and so you shall be destroyed. They labour and travail in your behalf; they must give an account for your souls; they are ambassadors sent from God; they come to tell you the truth; they preach not them-

selves, but Christ Jesus; they speak to you in the name of the Lord.

Although you reckon them fools, unlearned, and simple, they are the messengers of the great King, even of Him that is Lord of all. St. Paul saith (1 Cor. xi.), "It pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe." The heavenly treasure is brought to you in poor, broken, earthly vessels. The vessels are simple, but the treasure is heavenly. The messenger is weak, but his word is the word of life, which can cast down every high thing that is exalted against the glory of God.

Whatsoever they seem to you, they are the eyes of the church, and the mouth of God. Christ saith unto them whom he appointeth to this ministry (John, xx.), "As my Father sendeth me, so send I you." They have the same commission, be they never so poor. "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me," saith Christ. (Luke, x.)

Some there are, that thus say: Oh! that I might hear Christ, or Peter, or Paul! I would verily believe what they should preach.—This is fondness, and curious vanity; for whensoever thou dost hear the minister of God break unto thee the word of life, and teaching thee the truth of the Gospel, thou hearest Paul, and Peter, and Christ himself. If thou despisest the word of God spoken unto thee by him, and the grace which God offereth thee by him, thou despisest Christ himself, and heapest up the heavy displeasure of God against thee.

God will give thee over unto a reprobate mind; thou shalt have eyes, yet shalt not see; thou shalt have ears, yet shalt not hear; thou shalt die in thy sins; it shall be easier for Sodom at that day, than for thee. Therefore acknowledge them, give credit to their message, they watch and take pains for you.

What shall we say of them that labour not? that do neither teach, nor exhort, nor reprove, nor correct? that have no care to do their message, and no regard to the people? What may I say of such? God himself saith (Isa. lvi.), "They are dumb dogs, and cannot bark; they lie and sleep, and delight in sleeping; they all look to their own way, and to their own advantage, and every one for his own purpose." Christ calleth them thieves and robbers; they are unsavoury salt, profitable for nothing, but to be cast forth, and trodden under the feet of men. "Woe is unto me" (saith Paul, 1 Cor. ix.), "if I preach not the Gospel." Woe to the servant that wrappeth his talent in a napkin, and increaseth not his master's gain. God grant such idle and slothful ministers grace to know their office, and to do it. If not, God give the people grace to know them, and shun them, and fly from them.

That ye have them in singular love for their works' sake. He telleth Timothy (1 Tim. v.), "The elders that rule well are worthy of double honour, especially they which labour in the word and doctrine." Reverence them, and love them; love them for your own sakes, you have life and comfort by them; honour them for their office sake; they are your fathers; they have begotten you in Christ; they carry the keys of the kingdom of heaven; they are the stewards of God's house, and the disposers of his mysteries. Honour them, and love them for God's sake.

He hath sent them, and hath put his word in their mouth. He hath said to them, Go ye into all the world, preach the Gospel unto every nation; go speak to the heart of Jerusalem, that they may feel the weight of thy words, and repent. Love them therefore, for they love you in Christ, and are ready to give their lives for your sake. The Galatians so

reverenced and loved St. Paul, that he saith (Gal. iv.), "Ye received me as an angel of God; for I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your eyes, and have given them me."

Be at peace among yourselves. You are the sons of God. God is the God of peace. Discord, contention, and unquietness, are fit for the children of Satan. Live in godly unity, as becometh the children of peace.

Ver. 14. *We desire you, brethren, that ye admonish them that are unruly, comfort the feeble-minded, bear with the weak, be patient towards all men.*

Ver. 15. *See that none recompense evil for evil unto any man, but ever follow that which is good, both towards yourselves, and towards all men.*

There are some which walk among you inordinately; they break the bond of peace; they sow divisions and discord between the brethren; they draw disciples after them, and disquiet the church of God; they command that hath been forbidden by God, and forbid that God hath commanded. Warn them that are such; say unto them, as did St. Paul to the Corinthians (1 Ep. xi.), "We have no such custom, neither hath the church of God." Woe to him by whom offence cometh.

Say unto them, as Joshua said to Achan: "Inasmuch as thou hast troubled us, therefore God will trouble thee this day." After this sort admonish them, and lay open their wilfulness and blasphemy before their eyes, that they may see the blindness of their hearts, and in what sort their life is disordered, and so repent, and be saved.

But what greater disorder can there be, than that of theirs, who have this day assembled themselves in force and in armour, which have lifted up their sword

against their sovereign, and disturbed the peace of this realm, and have misled the people, and sought to overthrow the church of God? Let us admonish them, if we may speak with any that are so ill disposed, and shew them the danger that hangeth over their heads.

Let us say to them, Thou hast done wickedly in the sight of God; thou hast resisted the ordinance of God, because thou hast resisted the power which he hath ordained; thou hast stricken with the sword, therefore shalt thou perish by the sword; thou hast disquieted the Israel of God, therefore God shall disquiet thee.—Such rebels are unruly; they rise up against their prince, as did Dathan and Abiram against Moses; they advance themselves against God, as did Lucifer, therefore shall they be cast down alive into hell.

Comfort the feebleminded, and those that be heavy in heart, which suffer imprisonment, and live in poverty, and are grieved, and cannot help themselves. Say unto them, as St. James, "Blessed is the man that endureth temptation; for when he is tried, he shall receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised them that love him." Say unto them, as St. Peter (1 Ep. ii.), "This is thank-worthy, if a man for conscience toward God endure grief, suffering wrongfully." Comfort them with the words of the Prophet (Psa. cxxvi.), "They that sow in tears, shall reap in joy." Comfort them with the words of Christ (Luke, vi.), "Blessed are ye which weep now, for ye shall laugh."

See that none recompense evil for evil to any man. Though you suffer many things at the hands of the wicked, yet you may not be followers of that evil which is in them. "Avenge not yourselves, but give place unto wrath; for it is written, Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord; therefore if

thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." (Rom. xii.)

Herein shall it appear, if we love our neighbour as ourself; if we patiently abide injuries, and seek to do good to them that grieve and oppress us: "I say unto you," saith Christ (Matt. v.), "love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them that hurt you, and persecute you; that you may be the children of your Father that is in heaven; for he maketh his sun to arise upon the evil and the good, and sendeth rain on the just and unjust."

Ver. 16. *Rejoice evermore.*

The joy of the wicked shall have an end; they rejoice in their goods, in their wisdom, in their peace, and worldly safety, and in the multitude of their children, or descent of their pedigree. This joy is transitory; it fadeth and abideth not. "The world passeth" (saith St. John, 1 Ep. ii.), "and the lust thereof." They rejoice in their wickedness; the lute and harp, tabret and pipe, and wine, are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of the Lord; they eat up the people as it were bread; they do whatsoever they can devise against the servants of God; but the latter end of their joy shall be heaviness; as it is said (Luke, vi.), "Woe be unto you that laugh now, for you shall weep and lament."

But the joy of the righteous is everlasting; their heart shall rejoice, and no man shall take their joy from them; they have comfort in this, that their names are written in the book of life; they know the Lord is at hand, therefore they are careful for nothing, but rejoice always in the Lord. St. Peter therefore saith, "You are kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, which is prepared to be shewed in the last time wherein ye rejoice, though

now for a season (if need require) ye are in heaviness through manifold temptations." Again: "Ye rejoice with joy unspeakable and glorious, receiving the end of your faith, even the salvation of your souls." This is the happiness, the joy, and the comfort that the godly have, and shall continue with them.

Ver. 17. *Pray continually.*

It is the part of a good Christian and a wise man to know himself, and to know the nature of this flesh, which we bear about with us, which fighteth always so mightily against the spirit; to know the waywardness and crookedness of our heart, and the weakness and vanity of our mind. Many are so far from this, that they think all their ability is of themselves. "I have (saith he) judgment, I have the light of reason, I have sense, I have understanding and counsel, and the ordering of mine own way." Thus say they that neither know God nor themselves.

But we must humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and acknowledge that we are nothing. We must confess with St. Paul (Rom. vii.), "I know that in me, that is to say, in my flesh, dwelleth no good." And again (Rom. ix.), "It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that sheweth mercy." Our Saviour saith (John, iii.), "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that is born of the Spirit is spirit." And God saith (Gen. viii.), "The imagination of man's heart is evil, from his youth." He hath made us, and not we ourselves; he knoweth us, and not we ourselves. This is his saying and his judgment of us: this we find true. For our will is froward, and our understanding blind; therefore saith the Prophet (Jer. x.), "O Lord, I know that the way of man is not in him-

self, neither is it in man to walk and direct his steps." And Solomon (Prov. xx.), "The steps of man are ruled by the Lord; how can a man then understand his own way?" And the Prophet Jeremiah (chap. xviii.): "Behold, as the clay is in the potter's hand, so are you in my hand, O Israel. I mould you, and form you to my glory."

When the Apostle putteth the Corinthians in mind of that good success which God gave unto his ministry among them, he saith (2 Cor. iii.), "Such trust have we through Christ, to God; not that we are sufficient of ourselves, to think any thing as of ourselves: but our sufficiency is of God." Christ shewed this to his disciples (John, xv.): "I am the vine, you are the branches; He that abideth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit; for without me ye can do nothing." To the Colossians saith Paul (chap. ii.), "It is God which worketh in you both the will and the deed, even of his good pleasure." It is God that disposeth our goings, and turneth our hearts, as seemeth best to him. He is able to make, of the stones in the streets, children unto Abraham; he is able to take away our stony heart, and to give us a heart of flesh.

The consideration hereof leadeth us to seek help and comfort, by prayer, at the hand of God; and then, because we stand in continual need of God's help, either to give us something that is good, or to deliver us from that is evil, the Apostle biddeth us pray continually. The ears of the Lord are open to the prayers of the righteous.

Therefore Christ saith (Matt. vii.), "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." God will give you your heart's desire. "Let us therefore go boldly to the throne of grace, that we may receive

mercy, and find grace to help in time of need." (Heb. iv.)

David prayed unto God; "Open thou mine eyes, lighten my darkness; direct my feet into the way of peace; incline my heart, O Lord, unto thy testimonies; stablish, O God, that which thou hast wrought in us; take not thy holy Spirit from us; be thou our helper in troubles; oh, forsake us not utterly." He found no way to attain unto knowledge of the will of God, unless God would open his understanding, and endue him with his Spirit. Faith is the gift of God, or else was the Apostle's prayer in vain, "Increase our faith." Our Saviour teacheth us to pray in this manner, "Hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done;" because without the grace and mercy of God, we can do nothing to the setting forth of his glory.

Ver. 18. *In all things give thanks; for this is the will of God in Christ Jesus towards you.*

These three are the badges or cognizance of a Christian soldier: to rejoice in the mercy of God; to be fervent in prayer; and to give thanks to God in all things. The heathens, which have no part in the kingdom of Christ, are thankful for their life, and liberty, and wealth, and glory, and worldly prosperity: but Christians ought to be thankful in persecution, in thraldom, in adversity, in shame, in misery, and in death itself.

Who would think that a lion, which, by nature, is fierce and cruel, should yield forth honey? yet Sampson found honey in the body of a lion. Who would think it likely, that a man should be preserved in the belly of a fish? Jonas was swallowed up of a whale, and yet not hurt. Who would think that a man might be saved in the midst of burning fire? yet

the three servants of God walked in the fire safely, and came safe forth again.

"We know (saith the Apostle, Rom. viii.) that all things work together for the best, unto them that love God." The Apostles rejoiced in their persecutions, that they were counted worthy to suffer rebuke for Christ's sake. And Paul, speaking of this perfection in the godly, saith (Rom. v.), "We rejoice under the hope of the glory of God; and not so only, but also we rejoice in tribulations."

Who hath not heard of the patience of Job? His herds of cattle were driven away, his houses consumed with fire, his children slain, his body stricken with a scurf or manginess, his wife loathed him, and his friends forsook him: what did Job in all these miseries? what thought he, or what spake he? let his patience in suffering, and his words of thanksgiving, teach us how to bear adversity. "The Lord (saith he) hath given, and the Lord hath taken it: blessed be the name of the Lord." Again, "Though be slay me, yet will I trust in him."

Who is able to express the manly comfort of his heart, which said, "I will trust in him though he kill me; he is my God; I am his creature: his will be done. I will always give him thanks, and praise his holy name?" By these we are learned to give thanks in poverty, in afflictions, in misery, and in all things, though they are heavy and grievous unto us.

What are we then, that are neither thankful for riches, nor for health, nor for our pleasures, nor in the abundance of all things? yea, which abuse the good gifts of God to dishonour God, who hath given them unto us? The earth is the Lord's, and all that therein is: the world, and they that dwell therein. He openeth his hand, and filleth all things living with his good blessing. Let us look up into the heaven; there is God the Father of lights, from whom

every good and perfect gift cometh; there is our Redeemer Jesus Christ, in whom are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge.

When we turn in our beds; when we see our fare, and the furniture of our table, when we see our servants and children about us, when we see our money and houses and lands, let us think with ourselves, how many good men, and faithful servants of God, lack the same, and have not received these blessings in such measure as we. In all these things God speaketh to us, and saith, "I have given them thee; thou hast them at my hands; use them well, and be not unthankful."

If I would stand herein, and declare what causes we have to give thanks unto God, I should never make an end. There is no beast on the ground, no fish in the sea, no bird in the air, no star in the heavens, no leaf of the tree, no corn of the field, no sand on the shore, no drop of water, no sparkle of fire, but God created them all, for the sons of men.

So much are we bound always to give thanks unto God; and to say, as the Prophet (Psalm viii.), "O Lord, our Lord, how excellent is thy name in all the world!" Let us confess before the Lord his loving kindness, and his wonderful works before the sons of men.

But who is able to render thanks sufficient to God, for that he giveth us the knowledge of his Gospel, and maketh us know the secrets of his will? This is a great blessing, and far above all the other comforts of this life. They that have not this are in darkness, and in the shadow of death. To be short; even in death, we have to praise God; we must say, I thank thee, O God, for thou hast delivered him from the body of this death; thou hast translated him unto

thyself, that so he may remain with thee in thy glory. Thus, whithersoever ye turn, what state, or part of life or death soever ye consider, whether it be trouble or peace, things present or things to come, heaven or earth, life or death, you shall always find causes to be thankful.

Ver. 19. *Quench not the spirit.*

He meaneth by the spirit, the gifts and graces of the Spirit. The spirit of God is the spirit of wisdom and the spirit of truth. "No man (saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. xii.) can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost." Again (Rom. viii.): "The Spirit helpeth our infirmities." And again: "The same Spirit beareth witness with our spirits, that we are the children of God." It is he that leadeth us into all truth, that openeth our hearts to understanding, and guideth our feet into the way of peace.

Oh! (saith he,) despise not the wisdom of the Spirit; refuse not his help, but seek it, that you may be strengthened; comfort yourselves in his testimony of your adoption; quench not the light he hath kindled in your hearts; disdain not his leading; abuse not his mercy; abuse not the time of your visitation; let not so great mercy of God be bestowed on you in vain; fulfil not your own wills, abstain from fleshly lusts, walk in the spirit, desire the best gifts, "and let every man, as he hath received the gift, so minister the same to another, as good disposers of the manifold grace of God." (1 Pet. iv.)

Ver. 20. *Despise not prophesying.*

Prophesying is the preaching and expounding of the word of God; and he is called a prophet, and doth prophesy, that openeth unto us the will of God. This is not meant of fond and vain and lying prophecies, as were those of Merlin, and such-like, which

tell you tales of lions, and bears, and goats, of the sun, of the moon, and many devices. Such prophecies must be despised, they are works of darkness, and forged by the devil to make uproars, and to beguile the people.

But despise not prophesying: that is, despise not to hear the word of God; turn not away thine ear from understanding. God giveth power to his word, that it may work according to his good pleasure. It will let thee see the weakness of thine error, and settle thee in the way wherein thou shouldest walk. If it had been dangerous for the people to hear the preaching of the Gospel, he would not have sent his Apostles unto all the world. If Lydia should not have liked to hear Paul prophesy, how might she have known God?

If those great numbers which heard Peter and were converted, had despised prophesying, and would not have heard him open the Gospel unto them, they had never considered the great mercy of God, nor sought to be instructed in their salvation. Faith cometh by hearing. This hath been the means by which Christ hath given knowledge to kings, and princes, and all nations. "It hath pleased God (saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. i.), by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe."

Despise not then to come to the church of God, to pray in the congregation of the faithful, to hear the Scriptures of God read and expounded: it is the blessing of God offered unto thee. Where there is no prophecy the people perisheth. He that despiseth it shall be despised of the Lord; he shall be cast into darkness, because he would not delight in the light.

Ver. 21. *Try all things, and keep that which is good.*

Try all things. God hath given you the spirit of discretion and of judgment. Be wise, and know what

is that good and acceptable will of God. Be not deceived with words of man's wisdom; let not the baseness or simplicity of any, cause you to refuse the message which he bringeth, and carry not yourselves to liking of all that whatsoever shall be told you of such as bear great show and countenance. This was it that deceived the people of God; they gave ear to false teachers, which led them to worship the works of their own hands; therefore they said unto the stone, Thou art our father, thou hast delivered us; they fell down before it, worshipped it, believed in it, they slew the Prophets of God, and stoned to death such as were sent unto them.

The Scribes and Pharisees seemed so grave and wise, that the people thought nothing good but what they allowed: they were altogether appliable to believe, to do, to speak, and to think whatsoever the Pharisees willed them. Christ saith unto them (Matt. vii.), "Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves." St. John (1 Ep. iv.) therefore saith, "Dearly beloved, believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God; for many false prophets are gone out into the world." And further directeth us, how we should try them: "Hereby shall ye know the Spirit of God: every spirit that confesseth that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh, is of God." Again, hereby you may try them: "Whosoever transgresseth, and abideth not in the doctrine of Christ, hath not God. He that continueth in the doctrine of Christ, he hath both the Father and the Son. If there come any unto you, and bring not this doctrine, receive him not to house, neither bid him God speed."

Hereby St. Paul required the Galatians to try between him and the false apostles: "If any man preach unto you otherwise than that ye have received, let

him be accursed. For now, do I preach man's doctrine or God's?" The Sadducees erred touching the resurrection, because they searched not the Scriptures. God teacheth us by the Prophet Isaiah (chap. viii.) to make trial of teachers and doctrines: "When they shall say unto you, Inquire of them that have a spirit of divination, and at the soothsayers, which whisper, and murmur, Should not a people inquire at their God? from the living to the dead? to the law and to the testimony? If they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them." Paul putteth Timothy in mind wherefore he left him at Ephesus, "to command some, that they teach none other doctrine;" and to warn both the teachers and the hearers, "that they give no heed to fables and genealogies, which are endless, which breed questions, rather than godly edifying, which is by faith."

Thus are the people of God called to try the truth, to judge between good and ill, between light and darkness. God hath made them the promise of his Spirit, and hath left unto them his word. They of Berea, when they heard the preaching of Paul, searched the Scriptures daily, whether those things were so, as he taught them, and many of them believed. So do you give heed to instruction, and yet receive not all things without proof and trial, that they are not contrary to the wholesome doctrine of the word of God.

Keep that which is good. When you have tried and found out the truth, be constant, and settled in it. A wavering-minded man is unstable in all his ways. Follow the truth, and be not carried about with every wind of doctrine. The devil will come in the name of God, and change himself into an angel of light. Let him not take the love of the truth from you; let him not remove you from faith and a good

conscience; return not like swine unto your mire. God hath purged your hearts, and made them clean. Except they be preserved and kept occupied, the unclean spirit will return, and enter in, and dwell in you; so the last state of you shall be worse than the first.

We have great cause to hearken diligently to the Apostle, *to keep that is good.* We see this day great confusion in all places. Satan would fain entangle us again with the error of the wicked, and seeketh to draw us from our steadfastness. Now is the time wherein God maketh some trial of his servants; now iniquity seeketh to have the upper hand. They seduce the people, and say, Here is Christ, there is Christ; here is the church, there is the church.—God give us his holy Spirit, to guide us in judgment, that we may discern the truth from falsehood, and know the blessed and gracious will of God, that we may walk in his ways, and serve him in reverence and fear all the days of our life.

In this world, as there is a Jacob, so is there an Esau; as there are many that love Christ with an unfeigned heart, so are there many that serve antichrist; and as there be many true professors of the truth of God, so are there many despisers of the same. This we may see here at home within this realm. We may see it, and mourn and lament for it in our hearts.

Their practices are opened; they have broken out into open rebellion, to the breach of the peace both of God and man: they say with their lips, God save Queen Elizabeth; yet they hold up their sword against her. Alas! what hath she deserved at their hands? She hath always dealt mercifully, without cruelty, without shedding of blood. God preserve her, that she may long reign over us, and bring all her enemies to confusion!

What pretence make they for this their doing, that hereby they seek to have religion reformed? Thanks be to God, religion is reformed far better than our fathers knew it these many hundred years. If those which lived before us might have seen and heard, as we see and hear, they would have rejoiced, and thought themselves happy.

But they would have the mass. What find they or see they in it, wherefore they should so desire it? Try all things, saith Paul; therefore, examine and try the mass. What do we learn by it? what doctrine, what godliness in life, what comfort for salvation? It is a dumb and deadly service; the people are forced to be at it; it is the very key of their religion: the people are bound to be present at mass; yet they neither receive any thing, nor eat, nor hear, nor understand any thing. You are wise, you have reason, you are the children of God; be you judges herein, and judge uprightly; for it is God's cause. Will they call this the Lord's supper? is this the sacrament of our redemption? is this that which Paul received of the Lord, and delivered unto the church? is this the shewing forth of the Lord's death until he come?

They would have the Pope's authority restored. What is the Pope? They say, he is the successor of Peter. What, doth the Pope as Peter did? or what, did Peter as the Pope doth? He is a mortal man. And cursed are they of God that put their trust in man. He feedeth not the flock, he teacheth not the simple, he strengtheneth not the weak. I will say no more. God make him a servant of Christ, and a faithful disposer of the mysteries of God.

They are offended at the marriage of the ministers of the church: yet Gratian, their great master, saith, "The marriage of priests is not forbidden by any authority, either of the law, or of the Gospel, or of

the Apostles." The holy fathers that lived in the Apostles' time, and shortly after, report, that Peter and all the other Apostles, excepting only John, were married, and had wives; the Prophet Isaiah was married, and yet he saw the Lord sitting upon an high throne; Moses was married, and yet he saw God face to face.

Will they reform the Prophets and the Apostles? will they account that to be unholy, which the Apostle calleth honourable in all men? Ignatius, the scholar of St. John, saith, "I wish to be found meet for God, as was Peter and Paul, and the other Apostles that were married."

They paint their banner with the cross and fierce wounds. Why bring they those arms against us? Do not we believe the cross of Christ? do not we rejoice and comfort our hearts by the remembrance of his wounds? do not we read and shew forth to the people the story of his passion? God knoweth it, and you can bear us witness, and they cannot deny it, that we make this work of our redemption, wrought by the passion of our Saviour Christ, the chief and principal rock and foundation of our faith.

Therefore say we with the Apostle, "God forbid that we should rejoice in any thing, but in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ." Nay, rather, they are become our enemies, because we believe in Jesus Christ crucified; because we say, as God's word teacheth, that Jesus Christ is the only advocate to the Father for our sins; and that "he hath with one offering consecrated for ever them that are sanctified;" and that "the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanseth us from all sin." (Heb. x. 1 John, i.) For this cause are they become our enemies.

Let us nothing fear their treacheries and attempts; let us keep that is good, and hold it fast until death. Now we have tasted the word of God, and have re-

ceived the comfort of the Gospel, let us not despise it, nor be weary of it; let us pray unto God, that he establish the love of his truth in us; and that he will open the eyes of their hearts, and bring them to be partakers of those mercies, which yet through ignorance they have despised.

Ver. 22. *Abstain from all appearance of evil.*

Keep yourselves not only from doing those things which are evil, but also from all appearance of evil. Offend not the conscience of thy brother, that he may have no occasion to think evil of thee. Commit not adultery, and withdraw thyself from the company of such unthrifty and light and suspected persons. Be not like to them that are such. Lay not out thy money to usury, nor do any thing whereby others may think so of thee. Beware of uncharitable conveyance of thy money. Be not idolaters, and leave off to do any thing that may bring you into suspicion of idolatry.

Give not that honour unto any creature which is proper to God; have no fellowship with their works; bear no appearance of liking their evil; go not as they go; live not as they live. St. Paul reproveth the Galatians (chap. iv.), "Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain." So doth he the Colossians also (chap. ii.), "If ye be dead with Christ from the ordinances of the world, why, as though ye lived in the world, are ye burdened with traditions? as touch not, taste not, handle not? So do the idolaters; you should not be like unto them."

They are the children of darkness, you are the sons of light; they will not be like unto you, and forsake their false gods. Why should you become like unto them, and forsake the God that made the heavens and the earth? You cannot make them

ashamed of their errors, and embrace the truth. Why then should you betray the truth, and be partakers with them in error?

The Christians in old time began to wear garlands, made of bay. What harm might be in that? what is a garland, but a furniture for the head? what is bay, but a little tree or bush? Yet the fathers that lived with them to teach them, said it was not lawful, not for that the thing itself was ill of itself, but for that they would not seem to follow idolaters. It had some appearance of evil; it was a ceremony and solemn fashion among the heathens; they would not be emboldened; and it would offend the hearts of many of the faithful, to see Christians follow the fashion of the heathen.

When King Antiochus sent unto Jerusalem, and to the cities of Judah, that they should follow the strange laws of the country, many chose rather to die than to be defiled with unclean things, and to break the holy covenant, which God had given them.

Darius made a decree, whosoever should ask a petition of any god or man for thirty days, save of the king, he should be cast into the den of lions. Daniel would not be kept so long from the service of God; he would not dissemble, he would not hide his zeal, nor shew any appearance of ill; he prayed, and praised God, as he did before, and opened his chamber windows, that it might be seen. (Dan. vi.)

Polycarpus might have saved his life, if he would have dissembled; he would not, he could not; he saw it would have been an appearance of evil, and a discourage unto the brethren; therefore spake boldly, "I am a Christian." And being required to speak ill of Christ, said, "I have served Christ these fourscore and six years, and he did never any thing hurt me; how may I speak ill, and blaspheme my King, which hath given me salvation? This is my faith,

Christ is my God; this is my religion; I am not ashamed to suffer death, rather than I will deny Him, who suffered death in his own body to save me."

"It is good (saith St. Paul, Rom. xiv.) neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak." Again he saith (1 Cor. viii.), "Now when ye sin so against the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye offend against Christ; wherefore if meat offend my brother, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I should offend my brother." He that hath once made a shipwreck, standeth watchful ever after, not only to escape that rock or sand whereat he had loss before, but all other the like rocks and sands whatsoever.

Therefore, "Abstain from all appearance of evil;" be not like the wicked of this world; you are the salt of the earth; you should not be partners of their corruption, but powder and season them; you are the light of the world; you may not be partners in their darkness, but lighten and guide them. Dissemble not. Serve God in the simplicity of your heart, and in the sight of all the world. Let it be written in your forehead what you think in your heart. Why should any man be ashamed of God's truth?

Ver. 23. *Now the very God of peace sanctify you throughout; and I pray God, that your whole spirit, and soul, and body, may be kept blameless unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

Our God is the God of peace; he giveth peace and quiet to his church: he doth muzzle the lion, amaze the tyrant, make blunt the sword, and quench the fire prepared against his servants: he giveth his sons peace and quietness among themselves; he abhorreth discord and malice between brethren. "God is love (saith St. John, 1 Ep. iv.), and he that

dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God in him; he that loveth not his brother, abideth in death." (1 Ep. iii.) God hath made us all members of one body. There is no respect of persons with him, no difference of learned and unlearned, wise or foolish, rich or poor.

His will is, that all should be as one, of one mind, and that we shall all think one thing, and speak one thing, that we should be one fold under one Shepherd, and with one mouth glorify the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. For this peace Christ prayed, "Sanctify them through thy truth;" bless them, take away all bitterness and swelling from among them; make them citizens of thy heavenly Jerusalem, that they may live in peace, and love one another, and delight one in other; "that they all may be one, as thou, O Father, art one in me, and I in thee." (John, xvii.)

God is the God and giver of peace. Whence then cometh division and dissension of minds? what is the cause that the whole world is so shaken with sects and troubles? All are not the children of peace. Christ himself, the Lamb of God, in whose mouth there was no guile, came unto his own, and his own received him not. Cain is always against Abel. Esau will never love Jacob. The darkness and the light can never agree. This is the cause of all unquietness and trouble. "These things," saith Christ to his disciples (John, xvi.), "have I spoken unto you, that in me ye might have peace; in the world you shall have affliction." The wicked shall not only hate, but betray, and cause them to die, which profess the name of Christ. Whosoever killeth you, will think he doth God service; and these things will they do unto you, because they have not known the Father nor me.

The setting forth of the Gospel of Christ is that

which the world cannot abide: it revealeth things that were hidden; it discloseth the covetousness of those who kept the people in ignorance, to make gain and merchandise of their souls; it overthroweth mighty buildings and holds of merits, of pardons, of masses, of purgatory, which, by the policy, and wisdom, and power of this world, were exalted against God. This is the only cause of all this strife and trouble.

We have need of peace, of the peace of conscience, within ourselves; of peace, from the rage and fury of the world; and of peace and love among those that are of God's household. Let us seek peace at the hands of God, and he will stablish us in the peace of his Gospel, and so give us the rest and peace of our souls.

Sanctify you throughout. The God of peace bless you, and keep you under the shadow of his wings; that your whole spirit, and soul, and body, may be kept blameless, unto the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ. Here mark, that the Apostle divideth man into three parts, *the spirit, the soul, and the body*; so that he seemeth to make the spirit one thing, and the soul another. How is it then, that we divide man into two parts, the soul and the body; and say, that he doth stand but of two parts? there is no difference; the matter is all one: for Paul divideth the soul into two parts: the first is reason and understanding, which he calleth the spirit; the other is will and affection, which he calleth the soul.

For as God hath given us reason to see what is good, so hath he given us will to seek after that which is good. Reason hath eyes, will is blind, and cannot see the way: therefore will must be led and guided by reason; reason must go before, will must follow after: therefore reason is compared to the husband, and will to the wife. If will take in hand

to rule reason, it is no less disorder, than if the wife will adventure or take upon her, to rule her husband; therefore in this place reason, which is the principal part of our soul, is called the spirit; and will, which is the other part, is called the soul. So the spirit is not a several substance; but the soul and spirit are one soul, even as the body and flesh are one body.

Thus, therefore, Paul prayeth for the church: "The God of peace sanctify you throughout, that your spirit, your reason and understanding, your soul, your will and affection, your body and your flesh, may altogether be pure and holy; and that they may be found innocent and upright in the day of the Lord."

Ver. 24. *Faithful is He which calleth you, which will also do it.*

He hath begun a good work in you; he will finish it. He will lead you from virtue to virtue, from strength to strength, from glory to glory. He hath called you, he will also keep you faithful, until the day of the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ. You are Christ's sheep: no man shall take you out of his hands. He hath not lost one of all them, whom his Father had given him; he knoweth his sheep; none shall be confounded that put their trust in him. There is no condemnation to them that be in Christ Jesus. He is faithful, he will perform this unto you; not for your merits, but for his own name, and for his mercy's sake. Because he is faithful, he will not despise the work of his own hands.

Ver. 25. *Brethren, pray for me.*

I wrestle not with flesh and blood, but with the prince and power of darkness. My enemies are strong; they are the enemies of the cross of Christ. I am weak, and of no resistance; our sufficiency is

of him; without him we can do nothing; pray for me, that he will put his word into my mouth, that I may be a vessel of his glory, to preach forth the glad tidings of his Gospel; that I may be a faithful minister of the New Testament; that I may disclose the mystery of our redemption; that his holy Spirit will assist me, and make my travails fruitful.

Ver. 26. *Greet all the brethren with a holy kiss.*
Ver. 27. *I charge you in the Lord, that this Epistle be read unto all the brethren the saints.*

Salute one another in token of true and unfeigned love, and withhold not this Epistle from any of the brethren; it is written for their sakes; let them hear it, that they may take comfort by it.—How agreeth Paul in this charge with them, that in no case would have the people read the Scriptures? that say ignorance is the mother of devotion? It is the word of God the Father; why should not the people of God understand it? It is the water that springeth up to everlasting life; why should the people of God be driven away, and not suffered to drink thereof? It is the light of the world; why should the people be hoodwinked, and kept that they should not look up and see it? why should they sit, and perish in the darkness of death?

It is the will of God, that all the people should know him, from the least to the greatest among them. St. Paul saith (Rom. xv.), "Whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for our learning, that we, through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope." Christ saith (John, xvii.), "This is life eternal, to know thee to be the only very God, and whom thou hast sent, Jesus Christ." Let us not forget these words of Paul: "*I charge you in the Lord*, by his death, by his cross, by his blood, by the day of his appearance,

that this Epistle be read to the learned and unlearned; to the wise and simple; to the masters and to the servants; to all our brethren; to all the sons of God."

Ver. 28. *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.*

God open your eyes, that you may behold the way of righteousness, and direct you, that you may walk in it. Through his grace you have received the word, and it hath been fruitful in you, and by the same grace you shall continue in it for ever. His grace, and blessing, and mercy, be with you all. Amen.

THE SECOND EPISTLE

OF THE

APOSTLE ST. PAUL

TO THE THESSALONIANS.

CHAPTER I.

PAUL, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, unto the church of the Thessalonians, which is in God our Father, and in our Lord Jesus Christ.

In the former Epistle he wrote somewhat touching the latter day, and the coming of our Lord to judgment, and saith, that that day shall come as a thief in the night; and therefore exhorted them to watch and pray, and to prepare themselves to be in a readiness. The false apostles did fondly and maliciously mistake his words, and devised means thereby

to disquiet the minds of the faithful, and to trouble the church of God.

Thus could the prince of darkness, the old serpent and deceiving spirit, turn the truth of God into occasion of slander. In the mean while the Apostle was far off from them at Athens; but when he heard of their case, he sent unto them this other Epistle, wherein he declareth more plainly that matter which before seemed doubtful, and seeketh to satisfy their hearts, and to remove them from all that error which they had conceived.

In discourse hereof, he taketh occasion to speak of antichrist, of whom we hear much, and have had warning often. He telleth us, that he shall come in working of signs and wonders; that he is the man of sin, which shall thrust himself into the place of Christ. He sheweth who is antichrist, and how we may know him; what things he shall do, what credit he shall have in the world, and by what power he shall be overthrown and confounded.

After this he speaketh of idleness, and of bodily labour; and requireth every man to live in the sweat of their brows, and in painful travail, as God hath ordained. Other comfortable and necessary doctrine is delivered in this Epistle, as will appear. The whole matter of the Epistle is so fit for these days in which we live, as if it were purposely written for us; for we live in the latter age of the world, and it cannot be, but the end of all things is at hand, and that the glorious appearing of our Lord shall be shortly.

Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus. This Epistle was sent, not only from Paul, but also from Timothy and Silvanus. These three were all guided by one spirit, and had all one like care for the church of God: therefore he writeth thus: Paul, and Silvanus, and Timotheus, the servants of God, chosen from our mothers' womb, and appointed to publish the

Gospel of Jesus Christ, and to carry his name before kings and princes; and especially I Paul, which am your father, and have begotten you in Christ, which was sometimes a blasphemer, and did persecute the faithful, whom it pleased God to make a chosen vessel for himself; which am also hated of my brethren and kinsmen after the flesh, for the Gospel's sake; and which am ready to give my life for your behalf.

Unto the church of the Thessalonians, which is in God our Father, &c. You are (saith he) the beloved of God, you are his people, and he hath assured his mercy unto you; you have the promise, and the earnest of the life to come.—Here let us mark the state of that country as it was then, and compare it with itself as it is now. Then it was the church of God, for otherwise St. Paul would not so have called it: according to the grace of God given unto him, he laid the foundation, he planted and watered their hearts, and God gave the increase.

So that they received the word in much affliction, and the word of the Gospel sounded from them, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but their faith towards God was spread also abroad in all quarters. In such sort were they a vessel sanctified unto honour, full of blessing, and full of the mercy and grace of God.

But what is become of that country? In what case standeth the church of Thessalonica at this day? It is now the synagogue of Satan, under the tyranny of the Turk, and such as are enemies of the cross of Christ. Such a change hath the right hand of the Lord wrought in that place which hath sometimes been his holy tabernacle. I thought good to mark this, that we might understand how vain a thing it is, to put confidence in cities or churches, or in the names of our fathers.

The church of Thessalonica, whose foundation was surely built by St. Paul himself, for which he was so careful, unto which he wrote special letters, to commend their increase in godliness, and their steadfastness in the Gospel, is forsaken and laid waste. If the work which the Spirit of God wrought by the Apostle be decayed, whose work may we think shall stand?

Jeremiah spake unto the people of the Jews, saying (chap. vii.), "Trust not in lying words, saying, The temple of the Lord, the temple of the Lord, this is the temple of the Lord." That temple God himself commanded to be built, the form and fashion thereof God himself devised and appointed; therein he placed his tabernacle, and set up his mercy-seat; therein he shewed forth his majesty, and the glory of his countenance. Yet all this notwithstanding, God said by the Prophet, Trust not in these words, they be lying words, and will deceive you.

As the Prophet spake of the temple at Jerusalem, so may it be said of any other church throughout the world; so may it be said of the church of Rome. We may say, Trust not in lying words, saying, The church of Rome, the church of Rome. Say not thus with yourselves, The church of Rome is built upon a rock, so surely that it cannot be moved, or that no wind can shake it; say not, the faith of that church can never fail. These be lying words; trust not in them; for Christ never spake any such thing of the church of Rome; it never had promise of more special privilege than was given to the church at Thessalonica. Read the Scriptures, behold the words of our Saviour, and consider them; you shall find no speech made of the church of Rome, nor any promise, or piece of promise, wherein he bindeth himself more to the church of Rome, than he hath done to other churches, or to this of Thessalonica.

Thessalonica was beautiful in the sight of God; the Lord of Hosts had pitched his tents round about her; the name of the Most Holy was placed in the midst of her; she enjoyed like spiritual peace and prosperity, as did the Jerusalem of the Almighty; she was a city fenced within itself; but the Lord hath taken away the light of his countenance from her; she hath forsaken the ways of righteousness, she hath left off to serve the Lord, and is become the place which the Lord hath forsaken; there is scarce any remnant left there of those which call upon the name of our salvation, and love the Lord Jesus with an unfeigned heart.

This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes. And is his hand shortened, that he cannot, or is his zeal abated, that he will not, in like severity, deal with such as forsake him? If he spared not the natural branches, if Jerusalem were overthrown because of her iniquities, it cannot be, that he will spare other places that do the like, but that they shall also be cut off.

This is it that our Saviour hath said in the Gospel of St. Matthew (ch. xxi.), "Therefore I say unto you, the kingdom of God shall be taken from you, and shall be given to a nation, which shall bring forth the fruits thereof." Such terrible and dreadful examples hath God laid before our eyes, to keep us in his fear, and in the awe of his judgments.

Ver. 2. *Grace be with you, and peace, from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.*

This is the salutation of Paul in all his Epistles; to say, I wish that the blessing, and favour, and love of God may light upon you: but for the better consideration hereof, and that we may know how earnestly we ought to pray unto God for this grace and peace the Apostle wisheth to the churches, let

us look into ourselves, and see how miserable we are, if we be left void of this grace; and if God take his holy Spirit away from us, by nature what are we other, than the bond-slaves of sin? We are not able to lift up our eyes unto heaven, nor to believe in God, nor to praise him, nor to call upon his name; we are not sufficient of ourselves to think any thing as of ourselves.

Unless he open our lips, we cannot shew forth his praise; unless he heal our deafness, we cannot give ear to his word; unless he give us understanding hearts, we cannot take knowledge of his will. "Destruction and unhappiness," saith the Prophet David (Psa. xiv.), "are in their ways, and the way of peace have they not known; there is no fear of God before their eyes;" speaking of such as had not received the favour and grace of God to guide and direct them. And by the Prophet Malachi God uttereth his displeasure against them, saying, "I have no pleasure in you, saith the Lord of Hosts; neither will I accept an offering at your hands."

Therefore the Apostle prayeth, that they may receive such measure of God's grace as may quench in them the fiery darts of the wicked, and enable them to hold fast that worthy thing, that is committed unto them, and may keep them holy and undefiled, against the glorious coming of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

Ver. 3. *We ought to thank God always for you, brethren, as it is meet, because that your faith groweth exceedingly, and the love of every one of you towards another aboundeth.*

Ver. 4. *So that we ourselves rejoice of you in the church of God, because of your patience and faith in all your persecutions and tribulations that ye suffer.*

God hath wrought this good work of faith, and love, and patience in your hearts; he will make it prosper and increase: it is he which hath put this fire in you, and he will make it burn: he hath laid his leaven in the dough, or meal of your heart, and will make it heave, and work, until all be leavened: he will make you abound more and more, and will bring to a good end the thing he hath begun.

Your faith groweth exceedingly. That is, the will of God, that we wax and increase in all holiness. Hereby we know, whether we be of God or no; we may not stand at a stay, but must be renewed. One saith, "Whosoever mendeth not himself in the practice of virtue, he groweth worse." God hath placed us in a race to run; we must so run, that we may attain the prize: we are grafts of the Lord's planting; we must grow to the height and breadth of a tree, and bring forth fruit: we are pilgrims and strangers, and pass by the wilderness of this world, into our heavenly resting-place; we may not stay by the way, but must remove our tents, and continually march on forward until that day come, when we shall enter into the land of promise.

So that we ourselves rejoice of you in the church of God, &c. Your faith is not only true and pure, but settled and constant; for you continued steadfast in the midst of persecution; you have been tormented, and suffered afflictions in your body by the hands of tyrants; yet could they never remove you from the faith in our Saviour Jesus Christ, nor from your obedience to the will of God. You know, "that all which will live godly in Christ Jesus shall suffer persecution." (2 Tim. iii.)

Yet are you comforted, and say as the Prophet David (Psa. cxviii.), "The Lord is with me, therefore I will not fear what man can do unto me." You cannot forget who it is that said (Matt. x.), "Who-

soever shall confess me before men, him will I confess before my Father which is in heaven. But whosoever shall deny me, I will also deny him before my Father which is in heaven. He that loseth his life for my sake, shall find it; he that endureth unto the end, he shall be saved." And again (Matt. v.); "Blessed shall ye be when men revile you, and persecute you, and say all manner of evil against you for my sake falsely. Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven. For so persecuted they the Prophets which were before you."

Ver. 5. *Which is a manifest token of the righteous judgment of God, that ye may be counted worthy of the kingdom of God, for the which ye also suffer.*

Ver. 6. *For it is a righteous thing with God, to recompense tribulation to them that trouble you.*

Ver. 7. *And to you which are troubled, rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall shew himself from heaven, with his mighty angels,*

Ver. 8. *In flaming fire, rendering vengeance unto them that do not know, and which obey not the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ:*

Ver. 9. *Which shall be punished with everlasting perdition, from the presence of the Lord, and from the glory of his power;*

Ver. 10. *When he shall come to be glorified in his saints, and to be made marvellous in all them that believe, because our testimony toward you was believed in that day.*

Many are the troubles which the righteous men do suffer, but the Lord will deliver them. After Paul and Barnabas had preached the glad tidings of the Gospel, they confirmed the disciples' hearts, and exhorted them to continue in the faith; and said (Acts, xiv.), "that we must through many afflic-

tions enter into the kingdom of God." We must not therefore be afraid for any terror of them which trouble us for righteousness sake; but rather, looking over and beyond them, we must rejoice, and give thanks to God, who hath made us worthy not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake. "For we know, that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be destroyed, we have a building given of God, a house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens." (2 Cor. v.)

These persecutions and tribulations which you suffer, are a manifest token (saith the Apostle) of God's love towards you. For "whom the Lord loveth, he chasteneth, and he scourgeth every son that he receiveth." (Heb. xii.) The prophets, and apostles, and martyrs, which were not only reviled and scourged, but beheaded, cut in pieces, drowned in the waters, consumed in the fire, or by any other devices of tyrants cruelly put to death, did by this way receive the manifest token of their happy and blessed estate, and by this way did enter into the kingdom of God. Athanasius, an ancient father, reckoneth the suffering of persecution to be a special note of a Christian man, saying, "It is the part of Christians to be persecuted; but to persecute the Christians, it is the very office of Pilate and Caiaphas."

The Lord is not unjust, but all his works are righteousness and truth. Their little and short tribulation in this life prepareth an eternal and exceeding weight of glory unto his servants. Though they sow in tears, they shall reap in joy; they shall be taken up into heaven, and shall see God face to face, and shall be crowned with glory and honour. As for the ungodly, it is not so with them; they may flourish for a time, and have great power and authority in this world; but the Lamb shall overcome them, and their end shall be according to their

works. David saith (Psa. xi.), "Upon the ungodly he shall rain snares, fire and brimstone, storm and tempest. This shall be their portion to drink."

When the Lord Jesus shall shew himself from heaven. There are many which are ashamed of Christ and of his word, in the presence of such as are enemies to the cross of Christ, and have countenance and authority in this world. But a time shall come, when Christ will shew himself from heaven, accompanied with his holy angels; then will he also be ashamed of them, and put them from his presence; then will he render vengeance to them that have hated his truth; they shall then know whose members they have killed, and whose word and Gospel it was, which they so despitefully reproached; then the smoke of their torments shall ascend evermore, and they shall have no rest day nor night.

In this manner shall God triumph in victory over the wicked, by judging them to everlasting destruction, and will shew himself wonderful in giving rest, and joy, and glory, and everlasting blessedness, to all those which love his truth, and believe in him.

Ver. 11. *Wherefore we also pray always for you, that our God may make you worthy of this calling, and fulfil all the good pleasure of his goodness, and the work of faith with power.*

Ver. 12. *That the name of our Lord Jesus Christ may be glorified in you, and you in him, according to the grace of our God, and of the Lord Jesus Christ.*

God bless that good thing which he hath begun in you, and keep you steadfast in the truth, that you look not back now, after you have put your hand to the plough, and that you give no place to their dangerous and subtile persuasions, who persecute you; take heed to yourselves, and beware, that you put

not the word of God from you. He hath shewed you his goodness and mercy, in that he hath delivered you from the power of darkness, and hath translated you into the kingdom of his dear Son.

I make my prayer to God without ceasing for you always, that he will make you worthy of this heavenly calling, and that he will ever more and more fill you with the riches and abundance of his goodness and mercy, that through him you may be made perfect in all good works.

CHAP. II.

Ver. 1. *Now I beseech you, brethren, by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, and by our assembling unto him,*

Ver. 2. *That ye be not suddenly moved from your mind, nor troubled, neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as it were from us, as though the day of Christ were at hand.*

You are the children of those fathers which have fallen from their steadfastness, and have been led into error; beware, lest you also be carried away with every blast of false doctrine. The devil is subtile, his baits are pleasant, you are weak and simple, he will soon deceive you. Here let us consider how easily man may be deceived, that so we may know the corruptions and weakness of our nature, and therefore what cause we have ever to walk warily, to take heed to our steps, and to pray unto God, that he will incline our hearts unto his testimonies. When I say man may be deceived, I mean not boys, or children, or fools, or the simpler sort of men; but the learned, the wise, the politic; the kings and princes of the world; the teachers and rulers also of the people.

When Adam was yet in paradise, and made the ruler over all the beasts of the field, and was full of

the graces and blessings of God, he soon departed from the counsel of God, and gave ear to the serpent; so easily was he deceived. Israel was as the apple of the Lord's eye, a people whom the Lord loved, and to whom he gave their heart's desire. He delivered them from Pharaoh, and with an outstretched arm led them through the Red Sea. Who would think so great mercies would ever be forgotten? or that such a people, so well instructed in the knowledge of God, and so often put in mind of their duty, should either the most part, or all of them, turn from God? Moses was absent but awhile; he went aside to receive the tables of covenant; in the mean time they made unto themselves a molten calf, and worshipped it; they offered unto it, and said, "These be thy gods, O Israel, that have brought thee out of the land of Egypt." So easily were the wisest of them, and Aaron, and the whole multitude, deceived. (Exod. xxii.)

Their children after them forsook the Lord, and served Baal and Ashtaroth: "They said to a tree, Thou art my father; and to a stone, Thou hast begotten me; they have turned their back to me, and not their face," saith God by the Prophet. (Jeremiah, ii.) And was this the offence but of some small number of them? were they but few, or of the baser and simpler sort, whom the wicked spirit had thus seduced, to make them forsake the true and living God, and to give the glory due unto him, to dumb creatures, and to the works of their own hands? No; they departed from God in great multitudes, with full consent and unity; they warranted their doings by antiquity, and by the custom of their fathers before them.

The Prophet saith, "According to the number of thy cities were thy gods, O Judah; and to the number of the streets of Jerusalem, have ye set up altars

of confusion, even altars to burn incense unto Baal." (Jer. xi.) And in another place he saith, "A great multitude, even all the people that dwell in the land of Egypt in Pathros, answered Jeremiah, saying, The word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hear it of thee; but we will do whatsoever thing goeth out of our own mouth, as to burn incense to the queen of heaven, and to pour our drink-offerings unto her, as we have done, we and our fathers, our kings and our princes, &c." (Jer. xliv.)

Thus even among that nation, which God hath chosen unto himself, the apostacy was so great, the departure from true holiness was so universal, that not only every city, but every street, was defiled with their idolatry. And, besides the women which burnt incense to other gods, a great multitude, yea, all the people with one consent, cried out against their preacher, refused to hear the word of God, and maintained their superstition.

The like may be said of the Scribes and Pharisees. They were wise, they were learned, and carried great show of holiness; yet they loved darkness better than light; they were blind leaders of the blind; they despised the commandments of God for their own traditions; and not only they, but "Herod, and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and people of Israel, gathered themselves together" against the Lord, and against his Christ. What should I speak of those churches which the Apostles of Christ planted, and watered, and confirmed in the truth? At Corinth, Paul preached the Gospel; they received it gladly; he thanked God on their behalf, "that in all things they were made rich in him, in all kind of speech, and in all knowledge;" yet soon after they abused the holy mysteries, they denied the resurrec-

tion of the dead, they became carnal, and had envying, and strife, and contention among themselves.

The Galatians rejoiced so much in him, that he writeth thus of them: "I bear you record, that, if it had been possible, you would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me;" yet they did not abide in the truth, but gave ear to false apostles, and were deceived; therefore he reproved them, saying, "O foolish Galatians, who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth? Are ye so foolish, that after ye have begun in the spirit, ye would now be made perfect in the flesh? Ye did run well; who did let you, that ye did not obey the truth? I am in fear of you, lest I have bestowed on you labour in vain." (Gal. iii. 4, 5.)

This frailty and weakness of our corrupt nature hath shewed itself forth, and hath appeared in all ages. We and our fathers have gone astray, and have followed after lies. "The Lord hath looked down from heaven upon the children of men, to see if there were any that would understand, and seek God. All are gone out of the way, they are all corrupt, there is none that doth good, no, not one," saith the Prophet David. (Psa. xiv.) Therefore the Apostle beseecheth the church at Thessalonica, that they settle themselves upon a sure foundation, and that they be not removed from the truth; he putteth them in mind what they have heard, and of whom they have heard it, and exhorteth them to continue steadfast therein.

Neither by spirit, nor by word, nor by letter, as it were from us. Let no man entice you from the love of the truth, nor withdraw you or remove you from that blessed hope unto which you be called, neither by pretence of revelation, which any would seem to receive from the Spirit of God; nor by pretence of any word of mine, as if I had so spoken; nor by any

letter given unto you in my name, as if I had so written.—In these words he doth not only strengthen them against such practices of crafty and false teachers, but giveth them therewithal a testimony of their constant abiding in the truth of the Gospel.

Otherwise, if the seducers had prevailed; and if the Thessalonians had yielded unto them, and received their error, he would then have framed his speech unto them after this manner: Oh! suffer yourselves to be advised. You do not run well, you have lost the highway. Give place to the spirit of God; submit yourselves under his mighty hand; refuse not the calling whereby he hath called you. I could speak such things, wherewith you would be better pleased; but your case is such, it requireth rather free, and plain, and sharp reprehension, whereby you may be brought to consider, and amend your errors, than fair and smoothed speech, which might hold you still in your folly.

Seek, therefore, the kingdom of God, and the glory thereof, and seek not yourselves. Weigh truth and falsehood in an indifferent balance, so shall the heavier weight of the one soon bewray the lightness of the other. What thing in the world, so massy and so weighty as is the truth? Harden not your hearts, as did your fathers in the wilderness. It is no sin to yield unto God; it is no shame to lay apart all affection, and to change your mind to the denial of all ungodliness, and embracing of true holiness. The wise man saith, "There is a shame that bringeth sin, and a shame that bringeth worship and favour." (Eccl. iv.)

In this sort it is likely the Apostle would have spoken, if need had so required; but now, seeing them forcibly assaulted, and that yet they strived with such good courage, against the persuasions of the wicked; he commendeth their steadfastness, and exhorteth them by these words, not to yield unto

their persecutors, nor to go from their faith in Christ Jesus.

Neither by spirit, that is, by revelation of the Spirit. The Spirit of God wrought mightily, and bestowed sundry and great gifts upon men. Christ said to his disciples (Matt. x.), "When they deliver you up, take ye no thought, how, or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that same hour, what ye shall speak: for it is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father which speaketh in you." And again saith he (John, xiv.), "I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever; the Spirit of Truth, whom the world cannot receive, because the world seeth him not, neither knoweth him; but ye know him, for he dwelleth with you, and shall be in you." The Holy Ghost shall be with you to assist you, to teach you all things, to direct your counsels, to lead you into all truth, and to preserve you from all error.

Now, as the Spirit of God was among the faithful, and distributed to every man several gifts, as it seemed best to profit withal; so did the spirit of Satan wait upon the wicked, and possessed their hearts and bodies, and caused them to imagine and to do those things which were unseemly. He used them as instruments to disquiet the church of God, and to cast into it the seeds of error, of untruth, and dissension.

Of such spirits St. John giveth warning, saying (1 Ep. iv.), "Believe not every spirit, but try the spirits, whether they are of God; for many false prophets are gone into the world." At what time Ahab would not believe the answer which the Prophet Micaiah made him, there came forth a spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said (1 Kings, xxii.),

"I will go out, and be a false spirit in the mouth of all his prophets."

This spirit ever walketh up and down, seeking whom he may devour, and blindeth the minds of many, that the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ may not shine unto them. Take heed that you be not deceived by any such, which shall seek to abuse you, by pretence of revelation. Though they shall take upon them to tell you of the day or hour of the coming of our Lord, believe them not; for the false spirit is in the mouth of such prophets.

Nor by word; or, if any shall report, and go about to persuade you, that I have so spoken or taught in the congregations, or will boldly countenance out such matters, and tell you, saying, "I was present; I heard his words, and remember them." This was the doctrine which Paul preached; refuse him that is such a one, for he bringeth not the truth unto you, but deceiveth you with lying and vain fables.

Nor by letter, as it were from us. Again, it may be they which lie in wait to destroy you, for their better way, will counterfeit letters, and send them unto you in my name. This is a token in them that they be past shame; be not you carried away by any such pretence, from that which we have preached unto you. We have not taught you that the day of Christ is at hand; oh, then, be not so soon removed away unto another gospel, by them which trouble you, and intend to pervert the Gospel of Christ.

Many such sleights and false devices have been used by deceiving spirits, to blind the eyes of the simple. There have been some, which have set abroad their own fantasies under the names of Adam, the first man that God created upon the face of the earth, and of Cain and Seth. Others have called their

own dreams the gospel of Thomas, and of Bartholomew, and of Barnabas, and of the Apostles of Christ. St. Augustine saith of the Manichees, "The Manichees read secret hidden Scriptures, written, I know not by what coblers of fables, under the name of the Apostles." Such writings were never written by them, whose name they bear, but were wickedly and falsely counterfeited under their names, by sundry heretics.

This is that, whereof our Saviour gave us warning (Matt. xxiv.), "Take heed that no man deceive you: for many shall come in my name, saying, I am Christ; and shall deceive many." Again, he saith, "If any shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there, believe it not; for there shall arise false Christs and false prophets." Into what shape cannot he transform himself? In whose name will not he craftily set forth his errors which dareth falsely set himself in the place of the Son of God? This hath evermore been the practice of that old serpent, to change himself into the likeness of an angel of light, and, under the credit of holy men, to deceive the world with unholy and unwholesome things.

Since the time that the church of God hath departed from her first faith, and would no longer be guided by the voice of the Gospel, what, and how great forgeries have there been wrought? what epistles, and canons, and decretals, have been devised, to maintain several parts of false religion, and published under the name of Clemens, Clitus, Anacletus, and of others, whereof these holy fathers never thought! Thus have they cloaked themselves under the covert of the Apostles, and of the fathers of the primitive church, and have sought to win credit in the world, by false show of antiquity.

It is certain that the Son of Man shall come with his holy angels, and shall reward every man according

to that he hath done in this life; then will he give sentence against the wicked, and will place the faithful at his right hand. In that day "the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, and the elements shall melt with fervent heat; the earth also, and the works that are therein, shall be utterly burned. In that day, we which live and remain, shall be caught up together with them (that are dead in Christ) in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air." (2 Pet. iii. 1 Thes. iv.) "But of that day and hour knoweth no man; no, not the angels of heaven, but my Father only," saith our Saviour Christ, Matt. xxiv.

Now it remaineth, that we see, by occasion of this practice of the false prophets, or false apostles, of whom St. Paul here warneth the Thessalonians, how the wicked abuse the holy Scriptures, and understand them contrary to their meaning. St. Peter said (2 Ep. iii.), "The day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night," even as Paul had written to this people; as also it is spoken in the words of Christ, "They shall see the Son of Man come in the clouds with power and great glory." The false apostles use the same words, and wrest them to evil purpose, and take upon them to judge of the end of the world, and at what time the coming of Christ should be.

Christ said (John, ii.), "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again." There arose certain, that did bear false witness against him, saying, "We heard him say he would destroy this temple, made with hands." They remembered that temple was forty and six years a-building, and thought it impossible that he could rear it in three days. They took his words otherwise than he meant; they thought of the material temple of stone in Jerusalem, and he spake of the temple of his body.

Again Christ saith (Matt. xvi.), "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church." These

are the words of Christ, spoken unto Peter, after he had witnessed of him, that he is Christ, the Son of the living God. Hereof they say, "Peter is the rock, and the bishop of Rome is Peter's successor; he is the rock upon which the church is builded, and shall stand steadfast for ever." But they understand the words contrary to the meaning. For, alas! who would conceive that God would build his church upon a man, or upon any creature? Christ only is that rock whereupon his church is settled. "Other foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

Therefore Chrysostom expoundeth those words, "I will build my church upon this rock," that is, "upon this faith and confession." Likewise St. Augustine, "Upon this rock which thou hast confessed, upon this rock which thou hast known, saying, Thou art Christ the Son of the living God, will I build my church;" that is, "I will build my church upon myself, which am the Son of the living God; I will not build myself upon thee, but I will thee upon me."

Christ saith (John, iii.), "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." These words are most true; for by our own nature we be the vessels of God's wrath, and the children of damnation; unless we be regenerate, and born anew of water, and of the Holy Ghost, we cannot be saved. Yet Nicodemus, a wise man, a Pharisee, and a ruler of the Jews, mistook this speech; it seemed strange unto him how a man might be born when he is old. "Can he enter (saith he) the second time into his mother's womb, and be born? how can these things be? Jesus answered, and said unto him, Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things?" This new birth must be from above, even by the working of the Holy Ghost.

Again Christ saith (John, vi.), "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you." The Jews heard him, but mistook his words. They did not understand his meaning; therefore they said, "This is an hard saying; who can abide the hearing of it?" They reasoned among themselves, how it might be, that either he could give them his flesh to eat, or that they could take his flesh and eat it, or take his blood to drink it. "But when Jesus knew that his disciples murmured at it, he said unto them, "Doth this offend you? It is the Spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing."

Hereof Augustine saith, "They took the saying of Christ foolishly; they thought of it carnally, and imagined that the Lord would cut off small pieces from his body, and give it to them; therefore they said, "This saying is hard:" they were hard, and not the saying; for if they had been meek and not hard, they would have said to themselves, "This is not spoken without some cause: there is some mystery hidden under his words."

And again he saith, "Understand those things spiritually, which I have spoken unto you. You shall not eat (with the mouth of your body) this body that you see; nor shall you drink that blood which they shall shed that shall crucify me. I have commended unto you some sacrament; understand it spiritually, and it shall quicken you."

Thus we see the true meaning of Christ's words, and after what gross manner the Capernaites understood them. Let us beware we fall not into like error. Christ spake truly of his body, when he called it a temple: the Jews destroyed it, and in three days he did raise it up again. Mistake not his words: be not deceived. It is true that he said, "Upon this rock will I build my church." Mistake him not,

Christ himself is the rock, and not Peter. It is true that a man must be born anew, or else he cannot be saved. Mistake not this: hereby is meant, not a bodily birth, but a renewing of the soul of man.

It is truly said, that "Christ's flesh is that bread that came down from heaven, and giveth life to the world;" but mistake it not, for this bread filleth not the body, but the mind; it requireth the hunger of the inner man. Even so is it true, that the Apostle saith of the day of the Lord; take heed you mistake him not, and fall into the error of the false apostles, which take upon them to appoint the time and hour when the Son of Man shall come unto judgment.

Ver. 3. *Let no man deceive you by any means, for that day shall not come, except there come a departing first, and that that man of sin be disclosed, even the son of perdition.*

The church of God hath ever been under persecution and afflictions, as may appear by the stories of all ages; but God hath not failed to comfort them, and work their deliverance. Israel was in great bondage under Pharaoh; they were put to great slavery, to chop straw, and to bake brick, &c. Their male children were slain before their faces. This was done unto them, that they might be rooted out, and their name quite put out from the earth. It was high time for the Lord to put to his hand: they called upon him in their troubles, and he heard them; then sent he Moses and Aaron, and delivered them; he opened the Red Sea, and gave them passage.

When the Philistines oppressed them, God sent them Gideon, Barak, Jehu, Deborah, and Sampson, whom he endued with wisdom and courage, and power to overcome their enemies, and to set them at liberty. What should I speak of Nabuchodonosor, Antiochus, Nero, Julian, and other tyrants? They

oppressed the servants of God, and kept them in great misery; but God looked down from heaven, and was their helper in the time of need; he brake their cords asunder, and delivered them. The more cruelty was intended or practised against them, the more glorious did God shew himself in the overthrow of their enemies. Great oppressions and cruel persecutions were done upon the saints of God, by these and other wicked princes.

But the most cruel of any that ever were, or are, or shall be, is the cruelty of antichrist. By him the church of God shall suffer great tribulations, such as was not from the beginning of the world; and then shall his fury increase, and his tyranny be the greater, when his kingdom shall decay, and the days of his desolation shall be at hand. Primarius saith, "Then shall Babylon come to the ground, when she shall last of all take power to persecute the saints of God." For then will God arise, and will judge his own cause; he will deliver the afflicted, and will slay antichrist with the breath of his mouth. Hereof St. Gregory saith thus: "The church, after these days of her affliction, shall afterward, notwithstanding, be strengthened with great power and might of preaching."

Except there come a departing first. There must first be a departing from faith in the church of God, and then shall be the coming of the Lord. There was one general departing in the days of Noah. All flesh had corrupted their ways; there was not any that did seek after righteousness: then came the day of the Lord upon them; he poured out the waters, and they prevailed upon the earth, so that both man, and cattle, and worm, and the fowl of the heaven, were destroyed.

There was a general departing of the Jews and people of God at Jerusalem. They made the house

of God a den of thieves; they saved a thief, and crucified the Lord of glory. God had no delight in them, neither regarded their sacrifices: Christ said unto them (Matt. xxiii.), O Jerusalem, Jerusalem! thou that killest the prophets, and stonest them which have been sent unto thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, even as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wings, and ye would not? Behold, your house is left unto you desolate: they shall not leave in thee one stone upon another, because thou knowest not the time of thy visitation." (Luke, xix.) Such a departing it shall be, whereof the Apostle speaketh, and so general, that the Son of Man, when he cometh, shall hardly find faith upon the earth.

But this departing is diversly taken. Some understand it of the empire, that the kingdoms and countries which were before in subjection to that estate, shall depart from it, and that then antichrist shall spring up. Others think, that this is spoken of that departing wherein the godly have carried themselves from the obedience of the church of Rome.

But others more truly say, it is the departure from the doctrine, and religion, and love, and obedience of the Gospel of Christ, whereof, in another place, he saith, "In the latter times some shall depart from the faith, and shall give heed to spirits of error, and doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which God hath created to be received with giving thanks of them which believe and know the truth." (1 Tim. iv.) These men shall have a form of godliness, but shall deny the power thereof. They shall turn their ears away from the truth, and will incline their hearts to hear fables.

The words of the Apostle are plain, to shew that there shall be a departing. But as we see, it is not agreed upon, what manner of departing this shall be,

nor by whom it shall be wrought. Our adversaries lay it unto us, saying, "You have wrought this departing; you have departed from the church of Rome; you are they, of whom St. Paul hath spoken; you are the founders of antichrist;" so say they: but would to God they and their fathers, and the church of Rome, had not wrought this departure.

Bernard beheld the state, and pride, and disorders of the church of Rome in his time, therefore said, "It remaineth that the man of sin, that is, the son of perdition, be revealed, even the devil which flieth not only in the day, but destroyeth in the noon-day, which is not only changed into an angel of light, but is exalted above all that is called God, or that is worshipped." And Gregory did see who they were that should work this departing, and make way for antichrist, therefore said, "I speak it boldly, whosoever calleth himself the universal priest, or desireth so to be called (as doth the Pope) in the pride of his heart, he is the forerunner of antichrist."

Now that we may yet better know what manner of departure that shall be, let us consider what St. Paul speaketh of the church of God, which was in his time: unto the Corinthians he saith (1 Ep. xiv.), "If all prophesy, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is rebuked of all men, and is judged of all men, and so are the secrets of his heart made manifest, and so will he fall down on his face, and worship God, and say plainly, that God is in you indeed. How is it then, brethren? When you come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done unto edifying, &c. for God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as we see in all the churches." Blessed were they of God. All things among them were done to edifying.

The holy Scriptures were read openly in the presence of the people; the people reverently kept silence, and gave ear, and understood the will of God, and submitted themselves unto it. The prayers were in a known tongue, so that the unlearned might understand them, and say, Amen. The holy mysteries were duly ministered; the people received the sacrament of the Lord's supper under both kinds, as Christ had instituted, and did all communicate together. Chrysostom, writing upon that chapter, saith, "Verily, the church then was a heaven, the Spirit of God ordering all things, and directing all the heads of the church."

In the time of Tertullian, the Christians still kept this manner; therefore he saith, "We meet together at the reading of the holy Scriptures; we nourish our faith with those heavenly words; by them we raise our hope, and settle our affiance and trust." Augustine, Chrysostom, Origen, and other ancient and godly fathers, commended the reading of the Scriptures unto the people, called upon them to read themselves, or to get others to read unto them; and that they would hear them not only in the church, but also at home in their houses.

They taught them the hurt and danger of ignorance, that ignorance of the Scriptures hath been the cause of heresies, and that it hath brought in corruption of life and of manners. This was the order and usage of the church in the time of the holy Apostles, and of our first fathers. The people were guided by the word of God; they were made partakers of the holy mysteries, and all things were done in the church to edifying. And the same order is this day restored and practised in our churches.

Let us look into the church of Rome, and behold the usage and behaviour thereof. Where shall we find that heavenly comeliness which St. Paul requireth?

where is the comfortable reading of the Scriptures? where is the people taught their salvation in Christ Jesus? where is the brotherly meeting of all the congregation at the communion of the Lord's supper? May we say of Rome, that it holdeth fast the form and fashion of that church which Christ and his Apostles left unto us, and which the holy ancient fathers continued? nay rather, we may say of them with Chrysostom, "they may have the chests and coffers wherein the treasures were sometimes kept, but the treasures they have not." We may say, "It is not now a house of prayer, but a den of thieves:" we may say, "It shall no more be called Bethel, the house of God, but Bethaven, the house of vanity, or of lying."

Jupiter and Bacchus, and the idols of the heathen, were not so dishonoured of their worshippers, as the almighty and everlasting and only true God is dishonoured in that synagogue. I speak of it, as it is now, and as it hath been these many years. For in the time of our elder fathers, it had great testimony of true holiness. Ignatius called it "*castissimam*," "most chaste." Tertullian said, it was a happy church, because the Apostles of Christ suffered martyrdom in it, and left their whole doctrine unto it.

And in like sort did others give unto Rome, as it was in those times, reverend and worthy commendation. But now saith he, "O Rome, how much art thou changed from the old Rome! Thou which hast been the chief in all the world, art now the chief in all naughtiness." They have forsaken the trade of life, and the love of the Gospel, which they of old time had in Rome, and therefore cannot be inheritors of their commendation.

When Chrysostom considered the state of the church, as the Apostle speaketh of it unto the Corinthians, and did see how far the church in his

time swerved from that, he said, "We have now only the bare signs of those things." Again: "The church which is now, may be likened to a woman, which hath forsaken her wonted modesty, and hath only certain outward shows of that first felicity, and keepeth still the hutches and boxes of precious things, but lacketh the treasure which was in them. To such a woman may the church this day be likened. I speak not this of the gifts (for the matter were not so great, if we wanted them only), but of life and of virtue."

And again he saith: "I will tell you of one other box of that treasure, which our father left unto us, which is empty, and hath nothing left in it at this day. In times past they did sing all together, so do we also; but then they were all of one mind and of one heart; at this day you shall not find one man that agreeth with himself, there is such war and discord in all things every where. The name of peace is common in all places; but peace itself is no where to be found. Then men did use their houses like churches, now men do use the church as they use their house, nay, more profanely than any house." Thus Chrysostom blamed the church in his time, and layeth out their departing from the faith. He lived about four hundred and eleven years after Christ.

What may we think he would say of the church that hath been of latter years, if he had lived to see the deformity and abuses thereof? Where, besides that they are not of one mind and of one heart, they suffer not the people altogether to sing the praises of God; where they have not only emptied such boxes or hutches, wherein Christ left great treasures unto his church, but have made light account of them, and have cast away the very patterns and images of true godliness. They drive away the people from reading the Scriptures, and reckon that as un-

lawful as to cast the bread of the children unto dogs, or pearls before swine.

They lead men from trust in the blood of Christ, and teach them to believe such things, and to put confidence in those creatures, which cannot profit or help them at all. You may remember what prayers they used, but bless your ears, for they are words full of horrible blasphemy: they said to the holy and blessed Virgin Mary, the mother of our Redeemer and Saviour, "Our trust and hope we put in thee, O Virgin Mary; defend us everlastingly." They say, "O happy mother, which dost purge us from our sins;" and, "The merits of holy Mary bring us to the heavenly kingdom." Again: "Thou art the mediator between God and man, the advocate for the poor, the refuge of all sinners." O merciful Christ, what is become of thy passion! where is the price of thy blood! how are we led away from thee to seek redemption in a creature!

Again they say unto her: "Thou art the lady of angels, thou art the queen of heaven; command thy Son, shew thyself to be a mother. He is thy Son, thou art his mother; the mother may command, the child must obey." Again; they turn all that is spoken in the whole book of the Psalms of the Prophet David, either of God, or of Christ, and apply it to the Virgin Mary, and call that Psalter, the Psalter of blessed Mary. Who will take the pains to peruse it, shall find that comfortable speech of our Saviour (Matt. xi.), "Come unto me all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you," thus blasphemously abused in the second Psalm: "Come unto her all ye that travail, and be heavily laden, and she will give rest and comfort to your souls."

Another saith, "The kingdom of God is of two parts, of justice and of mercy. He reserveth justice

to himself, and the other part, that is, mercy, he hath yielded unto his mother;" therefore one of them playeth the proctor, and taketh upon him to shew the difference of those two courts, saying, "You must appeal from the court of God's justice, to the court of his mother's mercy." And is there not good cause he should give us this counsel, if it be true that he hath written? "No mercy cometh from heaven to the earth, but it must pass by the hands of Mary; for she is the mediator of our salvation, of our justification, of our reconciliation, and of our participation."

What is blasphemy, if this be not blasphemy? They which will seem somewhat to blush at these things, will perhaps excuse this, and call it spiritual dalliance. Unhappy are they, and heavy judgment shall abide them, that in such sort dally and scorn the price of our redemption. Oh! let us open our eyes: we are sons of God; God hath given us eyes to see, and ears to hear, and hearts to understand. Let us judge uprightly; it is God's cause. Whosoever considereth these, and such other great errors, must needs confess that the church of Rome hath wrought that departing whereof the Apostle speaketh. In the late council of Trident, Cornelius, the bishop of Bironto, did something plainly acknowledge the great apostacy and departing of the church of Rome, both in matters of faith, and in conversation and life.

These be his words: "Would God they were not gone wholly with general consent from religion to superstition; from faith to infidelity; from Christ to antichrist; from God to Epicure; saying, with wicked heart and filthy mouth, There is no God; neither hath there been this great while any pastor or pope, that regarded these things. For they all (both pope and cardinals, and others) sought their

own, and not so much as one of them sought for the things that pertain to Jesus Christ."

Yet say they, there can be no departing from faith in the church of Rome; the faith thereof cannot fail; for Christ hath said (Luke, xxii.), "I have prayed for thee, that thy faith fail not." And again (Matt. xvi.): "The gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Therefore in that place there can be no decay. This is the saying of some, who humble not themselves to know their error, who love the praise of men more than the praise of God; whose glory is their shame, which mind earthly things.

The Apostle saith, there shall be a departing, that it shall be not among the Jews and infidels, but among those which were reckoned to be of the household of faith, and the children of God. What is it from which they shall depart, or wherein the decay shall be? Doth he mean their riches, their gold, and silver, and bread, &c.? No; but the doctrine of the Gospel, and faith in Christ; the pure words, which as silver from the earth are tried, and purified seven times in the fire; the well of water, which springeth up into everlasting life, shall decay in the house of God. The people shall shut their ears, that they may not hear the truth, and shall give heed unto spirits of error, and doctrines of devils, which speak lies through hypocrisy. And let them not say, The church of Rome cannot err. For where did Christ ever give, or where have the Apostles ever made mention of any such privilege granted to that church?

St. Peter saith, "There were false prophets also among the people, even as there shall be false teachers among you, which privily shall bring in damnable heresies, even denying the Lord that hath brought them, and bring upon themselves swift damnation; and many shall follow their damnable

ways, by whom the way of truth shall be evil spoken of." (1 Pet. ii.) Paul warned the church of God at Ephesus, not only that, after his departing, grievous wolves should enter in among them, but of themselves should men arise, speaking perverse things, to draw disciples after them. (Acts, xx.)

When Christ said (Luke, xviii.), "When the Son of Man shall come, shall he find faith upon the earth?" and when he told his disciples that the abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy place; when he warned them in this sort (Matt. xxiv.); "Then if any shall say unto you, Lo, here is Christ, or there, believe it not; for there shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall shew great signs and wonders; so that, if it were possible, the very elect should be deceived"—it is most evident, he spake of that departing which should come, and should appear in the church of God, which departing our forefathers did behold, and mark in their times, and which of late years appeared so manifestly, that no man, who is not wilfully blind, can doubt thereof.

St. Paul knew not any such state of the church of Rome, or any especial grant made unto it, in such sort, that it should never err. For unto the church of Rome he writeth, "Boast not thyself, be not high-minded, but fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee; through unbelief they are broken off, and thou standest by faith. Behold therefore the bountifulness and severity of God: towards them which have fallen, severity; but towards thee, bountifulness, if thou continue in his bountifulness, or else thou shalt also be cut off." (Rom. xi.)

That is, if he spared not the Jews, his own people, how will he spare thee that art but a stranger? If thou continue not, thou shalt be cut off; it may be thou shalt also depart from the faith, as the Jews

have done; then shalt thou be as a withered branch, and shalt not draw any moisture from the root; then will God also forsake thee, and the end shall be worse than the beginning." I trow, in saying thus, he said not, "Thou shalt not err."

If the church of Rome cannot err, what need have they of that church, either of the Scriptures, or of the fathers, or of councils? Perhaps through this pride they grew first to despise the holy Scriptures, and would not direct their ways by them; they are high-minded, and boast themselves, that they are as mount Sion, which shall not be moved.

Yet our Saviour likeneth the church sometimes to sheep, as in the fifteenth of St. Matthew: "I am not sent, but unto the lost sheep of Israel;" sometimes to children, which are simple, and soon beguiled; sometimes to a vine, which is weak, and easily thrown down; sometimes to the moon, which waxeth, and is also in wane, and many times giveth no light.

The ancient fathers compare the church of God to no one thing so usually, as to a ship; and who knoweth not how a ship is tossed hither and thither? how it is in danger of sands, and of rocks, and of pirates, and in danger of drowning by leaking? If the sheep were not a straying kind of cattle, what should they need a shepherd? If little children could guide themselves, what need had they of a guider? If the vine did not hang down, and lie on the ground, what need were there of props, or of one to set it up? If there were no fear for the passage of a ship, if it could not miscarry, what should it need a pilot?

Let no man therefore say, The church is safe for ever, it cannot err, it cannot decay. Such words are deceivable and lying words; for false prophets shall come; there shall be a desolation; there shall be a departing, even in the house of God,

and that day of Christ shall not come, except there come a departing first; and that *that man of sin be disclosed, even the son of perdition.*

Ver. 4. *Which is an adversary, and exalteth himself against all that is called God, or that is worshipped, so that he doth sit in the temple of God, shewing that he is God.*

Thus the Apostle speaketh of antichrist: he is the man of sin, and the son of perdition. It will be somewhat hard to treat of this matter, and to open the words of this Scripture. Whatsoever I shall speak, it will be ill taken of many, and many will doubt of the truth of my speech; such affection they bear to him whom the Apostle decyphereth to be antichrist. Albeit whatsoever I will utter in opening the Apostle's words shall be such, as the holy Scriptures and learned writings of the holy fathers have left unto us, and the church of God hath proved, and at this day doth prove to be true.

God promised, that Christ should come into the world, even the Shiloh, unto whom all the people should be gathered, and that he should be the hope of Israel, and deliver his people from their sins. God made promise of him to Adam, and to Abraham, David, &c. The Scriptures are full, and the Prophets make often mention of this promise. Old men and young men, and all the people, waited for the fulfilling thereof, and said, "Send him whom thou wilt send." And again: "Ye heavens send the dew from above, and let the clouds drop down righteousness; let the earth open, and let salvation and justice grow forth." (Isa. xlv.) And again: "God will come and save you." (Isa. xxxv.)

Thus was every eye bent upon him, and every heart waited for his coming. But when the fulness of time was come, "God sent forth his Son made

of a woman, that we might receive the adoption of the sons. He was in the world, and the world knew him not: he came unto his own, and his own received him not. Light came into the world, and men loved darkness better than light." (Gal. iv. John, i. 3.) They to whom the promise was made, and which wished for him, and made all their common talk of the hope of his coming, when he came knew him not; they reviled him, and said, "Behold a glutton, and drinker of wine, a friend unto publicans and sinners." (Matt. xi.) They called him Beelzebub, and a false prophet, and a seducer of the people. Him they did take by the hands of the wicked; they betrayed him, they denied the Holy One and Just; they hanged on a tree, and killed the Lord of life.

Such was the receiving of Christ. This did they to him through ignorance. It was not given them to know the secret of the kingdom of heaven; they have not known the Father, nor whom he hath sent, Jesus Christ; therefore saith he, "I confess unto thee, Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and learned, and hast revealed them to babes; even so, Father, because it so pleased thee." (Luke, x.)

Now as the coming of Christ was, such is the coming of antichrist. God hath foretold of his coming. Daniel hath foretold, Christ and his Apostles, Paul and John, have foretold it. The Scriptures and old fathers make often mention hereof. There is none, neither old nor young, neither learned nor unlearned, but he hath heard of antichrist; they hate his name, and detest him before they know him.

But here you may mark the wonderful sleight and subtilty of Satan: the world shall look after the coming of antichrist: he shall not fail, but come: all men shall carry hatred against him, and reckon him

abominable, and yet their eyes shall be blinded, and their hearts deceived, so that they shall not know him: they shall hate his name, and embrace his doctrine; he shall cover himself with a cloak of holiness: they shall think they do good service unto Christ, but shall therein do service unto antichrist.

The divers fantasies of men have devised many fond tales of the person of antichrist: some say he should be a Jew, of the tribe of Dan; some, that he should be born in Babylon; some, that he should be bred up in Bethsaida and Corazin; some, that he should rise up in Syria; some, that Mahomet is antichrist; some, that he should overflow Rome; some, that he should build up the city of Jerusalem; some, that Nero was antichrist; some, that he should be born of a friar and a nun; some, that he should continue but three years and a half; some, that he should turn trees upside down, with the tops in the ground, and should force the roots to grow upwards, and then should flee up into heaven, and fall down and break his neck.

These tales have been craftily devised to beguile our eyes, that whilst we think upon these guesses, and so occupy ourselves in beholding a shadow, or probable conjecture of antichrist, he which is antichrist indeed may unawares deceive us.

Except that man of sin be disclosed. The Apostle seemeth to teach us of antichrist, as if he should be one man, because he calleth him *The man of sin*; but we may not so take him. The manner of the Scripture is oftentimes, and in divers places it speaketh that of many, which seemeth to be spoken but of one. So doth Daniel set forth the kingdom, and all the kings of Persia, in the name and likeness of a bear, and so describeth the state of other whole kingdoms in such particular names. And so doth the Spirit of God, in the Revelation, set down under the name of the beast, the succession and continuance

of many; he meaneth not therefore, that antichrist shall be any one only man, but one estate or kingdom of men, and a continuance of some one power and tyranny in the church.

We read of Pharaoh, a cruel tyrant, that he did persecute the people of God in Egypt; and of Nebuchadnezzar, that he oppressed them, and brought them captives into Babylon; and of Antiochus, that he likewise fought against them, and did overcome them, and led them captives into Macedonia. They all were mighty and cruel tyrants; yet one other shall come, whose cruelty shall be heavier, and whose continuance shall be longer, than was the cruelty or continuance of any of those; who shall work his purpose, not in Egypt, nor in Babylon, nor in Macedonia, but in the holy place, even in the church of Christ, and in the house of God. And this state and continuance of persecution in the church is the state of antichrist.

But what shall he do whereby he may be known? Paul saith, *Which is an adversary*. This shall be the mark whereby you may know him; he shall set himself against God, and against Christ, for he is an enemy of the cross of Christ. Why then (say you) are not the Jews, and Mahomet, and the Turk, either all, or the most wicked of them, so called, seeing they utterly refuse all Christian religion? Because none of these sit in the temple of God, which is the place where antichrist shall advance himself; and because antichrist shall not in open show set himself against Christ, as doth Mahomet, and the Turk, but subtilly and craftily like an evil and ungracious servant. He will not openly speak his blasphemies, or spit at the Gospel of God, or defy the name of Christ; but he will call himself "the servant of God;" perhaps, "the vicar of Christ;" and perhaps, "the servant of God's servants;" or per-

haps, " the head, or the chief member of the church." He shall say, he is led with the zeal of God's house, and shall do nothing less ; for he shall seek himself ; he shall say, he seeketh the glory of God, when all that he doth is for the enriching and ambitious enlarging of his own worldly pomp and vanity.

In matters of princes, if any man take upon him the name of an ambassador, or deputy to a prince, having no commission thereto, and in this boldness presume to levy and raise a power, and force the subjects to follow him, although he work all this under the name, and by the colour of the prince's authority (as is the manner of rebels to do), yet he is a traitor, and his doings are not well thought of, because he dealeth in the prince's matters without warrant from the prince.

Even so antichrist ; he shall come in the name of Christ, yet will he do all things against Christ, and under pretence and colour of serving Christ ; he shall devour the sheep and people of Christ ; he shall deface whatsoever Christ hath taught ; he shall quench that fire which Christ hath kindled ; he shall root up those plants which Christ hath planted ; he shall undermine that house which Christ hath built ; he shall be contrary to Christ ; his faith contrary to the faith of Christ, and his life contrary to the life of Christ. Is any man desirous to know antichrist ? His coming shall be notable ; it shall astonish the world. By this mark you may know him ; he shall be contrary to Christ. To shew you at large this contrariety by comparison of things contrary in Christ and antichrist, would ask long time. It shall be sufficient, we consider only some few wherein they are manifestly contrary, that by them judgment may be made of the residue.

St. Paul saith (Heb. x.), " With one offering hath he consecrated for ever them that are sanctified."

And again: "We are sanctified by the offering of the body of Jesus Christ once made." What is he then that saith, "I make priests to offer a daily sacrifice for the sins of the people, by whom the offering up of the body of Christ is made every day?" He is contrary to Christ: he is antichrist.

St. Paul saith (Eph. i.), "God hath appointed Christ over all things, to be the head of the church." What is he then, which saith, "I am the head of the church?" which saith, "All the churches of God are knit in me; you must understand as I understand; you must hear with mine ears, and see with mine eyes; I will govern and direct you?" He is contrary to Christ: this is antichrist.

Christ ordained that the communion should be ministered under both kinds. (Matt. xxvi.) What is he, then, that delivereth it to the people but under one kind? He is contrary to Christ: he breaketh the first institution of the Lord's supper: he is antichrist.

Christ saith (John, xviii.), "My kingdom is not of this world." What is he then, which saith, "I am Lord of lords, and King of kings: I have right to both swords; my power and authority reacheth over all the kingdoms of the world?" He is contrary to Christ: he is antichrist. Christ washed his disciples' feet. (John, xiii.) What is he then, that giveth his feet to be kissed of kings and emperors? He is contrary to Christ: he is antichrist. Christ paid tribute to Cæsar. (Matt. xvii.) What is he then, that exempteth himself and his clergy from the temporal sword and authority? He is contrary to Christ: he is antichrist.

Christ allowed marriage, and reproved fornication. What is he then that alloweth fornication, and forbiddeth marriage? He is contrary to Christ; he is antichrist. Christ saith (John, v.), "Search the

Scriptures." What is he then which saith, "Give not that which is holy to dogs, neither cast pearls before swine; ye may not search the Scriptures?" He is contrary to Christ; he is antichrist. These be the certain and undoubted marks of antichrist.

So that he doth sit in the temple of God. That is, he is bold and without force of any danger: he is not driven to hide himself in a corner; he is exalted in the eye and in the heart of the world. He beareth rule in the conscience of men. He hath the keys to open and shut at his pleasure. He maketh kings and princes become his subjects; he ruleth them, not by sword or spear only, but by pretence of religion; he telleth them, all things are put in subjection under his feet; that he is the vicar of Christ; that his word must be taken as the word of God. So, he sitteth in the temple of God, as if he were God.

The godly preachers sit also in the temple of God; they are the ministers of Christ, and disposers of the secrets of God. There they expound the Scriptures, and shew the good and acceptable will of God. There they exhort, and teach, and reprove, and correct, and instruct the people in righteousness. Antichrist sitteth not in the church after this sort: he teacheth not, nor exhorteth the people. He maketh that no part of his office. How sitteth he then? What shall he say? What shall he do?

The Apostle telleth us: *He exalteth himself against all that is called God, or that is worshipped.* He shall be honoured with the honour that is due unto God: he shall shine and glitter in gold and precious stones; he shall be carried upon the shoulders of men, and waited upon by kings and princes, and great estates; so shall he be contrary to Christ.

Christ was humble and lowly. The prophet in his own person speaketh of him (Psalm xxii.): "I am a worm, and not a man; a shame of men; and

the contempt of the people." And the Apostle saith (Phil. ii.), "He humbled himself, and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the cross." Behold his parents, his birth, his cradle; behold his life, his disciples, his doctrine, and his death: all were witnesses unto his humility. He saith of himself (Matt. viii.), "The Son of Man hath not whereon to rest his head:" and to his disciples he saith (Luke, xxii.), "The kings of the gentiles reign over them, and they that bear rule over them are called gracious lords; but you shall not be so." And again (Matt. xi.): "Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls."

Now on the other part, take view of antichrist: behold his birth, his place, his chair, his estate, his doctrine, his disciples, and all his life; you shall see nothing but pomp and glory. Gregory calleth him the king of pride. He is proud in life, proud in doctrine, proud in word, and proud in deeds: he is like Lucifer, and setteth himself before his brethren, and over nations and kingdoms.

He maketh every knee to bow down to him and worship him; he maketh kings to bring him water, to carry his train, to hold his cup, to bear his dish, to lead his bridle, and to hold his stirrup; he claimeth power over heaven and earth; he saith he is lord over all the world, the Lord of lords, and the King of kings; that his authority reacheth up into heaven, and down into hell; that he can command the angels of God; that he condemneth whom he will condemn; that he maketh saints at his pleasure; that, whatsoever he blesseth, is blessed; and that it is cursed, whatsoever he curseth.

He selleth merits, the forgiveness of sins, the sacrifice for the quick and the dead: he maketh merchandise of the souls of men; he layeth his filthy

hands upon the Lord's anointed; he removeth kings, and deposeth the states and princes of the world: this is antichrist: this is his power: thus shall he work and make himself manifest: so shall he sit in the temple of God: the people shall wonder at him, and shall have him in reverence; they shall say, "Who is like unto the beast? who is so wise, so mighty, so godly, so virtuous, so holy, so like unto God?" So intolerable and monstrous shall be his pride.

It were much for him to sit in the seat, and to occupy the room of an earthly king or emperor; but he shall take upon him the authority and the name of God; the name of the living God; the name of God which hath made heaven and earth; even the name of God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ: and in this pride, he shall exceed all others that have been wicked. The Pharisees and the Scribes were wicked, yet none of them did sit in the temple of God, shewing himself that he was God; Arius, Nestorius, Montanus, Valentinus, were wicked heretics; yet they never took upon them the name of God.

What should I say of this blasphemy? or in whom may we find the like? Mahomet was a Turk, and a false prophet, and a deceiver of the people; yet he took not upon him the name of God: this point and reach of ungodliness belongeth only to antichrist: he shall sit in the place of God in judgments; he shall shew himself out of that place, as if he were God. Irenæus saith, "Whereas he is but a servant, he will be worshipped as if he were God."

But some will say, "Antichrist shall be mortal, as other men, born of a mortal father and mother; he shall know that he shall die, and that he is but dust, and shall return again unto dust; that he cannot make himself, no, that he cannot make the least

and vilest of all creatures. How then will he proclaim himself to be an immortal God? how will he call himself God, that made heaven and earth? or God which had no beginning, nor shall have any end? No; this is not the meaning of these words. He shall not so think of himself, nor so say. I will tell you after what sort he shall sit in the temple of God, and how the world shall receive him, and reverence him as God.

He shall take to himself that supreme authority and prerogative, which appertaineth only to God by nature. Although he be but a man, yet in office he will be accounted as God. He shall compare his laws with the laws of God; he shall say, his word is the word of God. Whatsoever he saith, he shall say, it is the voice of the Spirit of God, of the same authority, that is, the Gospel of Christ; no man may break it, no man may touch the credit thereof; if any man withstand it, he must think he doth sacrilege, committeth blasphemy, and sinneth against the Holy Ghost. Again: he shall break the laws of God, to uphold his own, and shall pull down God, to set up himself.

Such shall be the power and authority of antichrist; so shall he possess the consciences of the people; so shall he sit as an idol in their hearts; so shall he stand in the place of God, and shew himself that he is God. The people shall receive his doctrine, and believe his word; they shall fall down before him, and worship him; they shall say, "Who is like unto the beast?" (Rev. xiii.) What creature is so beautiful as he? They shall honour him as God.

But what is he which hath suffered himself to be so called? who is he which hath been called by the name of God? Of all the creatures which have professed the faith of Christ, of all the kings, or bishops,

or priests, or lay people, that ever were in the church of God, who ever required to be called by the holy name of God? or who ever liked well of them which so called him? who hath been so wicked? who hath ever so much forgotten himself? in what place hath he dwelt? or what hath he been?

Here methinketh I see the secret motions of your heart. You look that I should name the bishop of Rome, that it is he which hath suffered himself to be called by the name of God. I will not tell you in mine own words. Unless the bishop himself so speak, I will not tell you. Mark then, and witness of my indifferency, whilst I speak hereof, that I follow not affection, but deal uprightly. Therefore I say again, unless the bishop himself suffer himself to be called by the name of God, I will not say of him so.

Then let us see what he hath written of himself, and what he hath suffered others to write. Pope Nicholas saith, "It is well known, that the Pope, of the godly Prince Constantine, was called God." And therefore Pope Pius, in his bull, saith, "No man dare obey her*, or her will, or commandments, or laws, upon pain of our curse."

The Pope was well content to suffer Christopher Marcellus, one of his parasites in the council of Lateran, to say unto him, "Thou art another God in earth." The Pope is content in such sort to have a division of tenures made between him and God, as the poet some time flatteringly wrote: "The Emperor parteth his rule, and holdeth half with Jupiter." In the Extravagants it is set down, "Our Lord God the Pope." Mark these words: "Our Lord God the Pope." In them the Pope is called Lord, and is called God. Oh! merciful Lord God, which from the heavens beholdest this vanity, how great is thy mercy in suffering this?

I devise not this: his own books, his own doctors,

* Queen Elizabeth.

his own decrees and decretals, speak it, and set it down. "To believe that our Lord God the Pope might not decree, as he decreed, it were a matter of heresy;" it is so written there, he hath heard it, he hath seen it, he knoweth it is so, yet he suffereth it to go abroad, and thereby suffereth himself to be called God. He hath burnt many saints of God and holy men, for no other cause, but for the profession of the Gospel. He hath in many places burnt the holy Bible, and such books as teach nothing but godliness. Where did he ever burn? What speak I of burning? where may it appear that ever he controlled any for so writing, or called in such speeches?

One of them seemeth to take shame of this shameless and blasphemous style or title. He seeketh friendly to temper, and qualify, and take up the matter: "Thou art neither God nor man; in a manner thou art neither of both; but rather a mean between both;" that is, thou art not so high as God, nor yet so base as man. Whom then shall we imagine him to be? is he an archangel, or angel, or a spirit of the air?

God give him grace to see his own vanity, that he may know he is but a miserable and mortal man; that he may know that a time shall come when his hypocrisy and dissimulation shall be disclosed. God give him grace to become godly, as becometh the man of God; that he may indeed be the minister of Christ, and a disposer of the secrets of God; that he may serve God in truth, in holiness and righteousness all the days of his life.

But you say, the Pope at this day is not called God; he rather abaseth himself, and writeth himself by a title of humility, and is called so, "The servant of servants." Be it so, that he is so called, and so written. Yet he is King of kings, and Lord of lords. This servant saith, I do make holy the unholy; I do

justify the wicked; I do forgive sins; I open, and no man shutteth.—This servant can say, Whosoever obeyeth not me, he shall be rooted out.—This servant may dispense for any commandment of the Old and New Testament.

"This servant hath Christ's lieutenantship, not only over things in heaven, over things in earth, and over things in hell, but also over the angels, both good and bad." No man may judge this servant; for they say, "The Pope is exempted from all law of man." And again: "Neither all the clergy, nor all the whole world, may either judge or depose the Pope." Such a power this servant of servants claimeth to himself. What greater power may be given to God? what angel, what archangel, ever had the like power?

And this power even at this day Pope Pius challengeth as proper to his seat; that he hath the authority which is due to Christ over his church; that no man may judge him, nor say he doth err, nor ask why he doth so. He is invested in the privilege of his church, and loseth no one jot of his dignity. It is yet good at this day, which hath been set down, "It is sin, as great as sacrilege or church-robbing, to reason of any the Pope's doings." These be their own words, God knoweth before whom we stand this day, they be their own words, and not mine. Thus doth he *sit in the temple of God, shewing himself that he is God.*

And therefore may we say, as sometimes said Eusebius, "This is an evident token, that they hate God, because they will have themselves called by the name of God:" or as Gregory, who speaking of antichrist, said, "Whereas he is a cursed man, and not a spirit; he feigneth himself by lying to be a God."

Ver. 5. *Remember ye not, that when I was yet with you, I told you these things?*

Before I departed from you to go farther to plant the Gospel in other churches, I told you that antichrist should come, and that he should oppress and confound the church of Christ.—Paul was chosen to be an Apostle. The office of an Apostle was not to rest in any one certain place, but to pass from country to country, from land to land, and to fill all the world with knowledge of the Gospel; and therein appeareth the difference between an apostle and a bishop: a bishop had the charge of one certain church, an apostle had the charge over all the churches.

But Paul was not tied to any one city, or island, or country. He had authority to preach to all cities and countries, to all lands and islands from the east to the west. So did Christ appoint his Apostles (Mark, xvi.), "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel unto every creature." They were not sent to Jerusalem, nor to Samaria, nor to Ephesus, nor to Rome only, but into all the world. The whole world was their diocese, and their province.

So speaketh the Prophet David of them (Psalm xix.): "Their sound is gone forth through the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world." This was the commission which our Saviour gave unto John, and to James, to Paul, and to Peter, and to the rest of the Apostles, that they should go into all the world; therefore if any of the Apostles should have staid in one only place, and have gone no further, he had offended, and done otherwise than Christ commanded.

Here we see how foully they are deceived, which say, Peter was bishop of Rome, and did sit there five-and-twenty years. They that say so, know not what they say. It is an error: Christ made Peter an

Apostle, and not to sit as a bishop at Rome. He said unto Peter, "Go into all the world;" thou shalt be a witness unto me, unto the utmost coasts of the earth. I send thee unto all the churches, and not to one alone. The like charge received Paul; he travelled from Damascus to Arabia; from Arabia to Jerusalem; from Jerusalem to Illyricum; from Illyricum to Rome, and so from country to country, and from coast to coast, to make a pleasant perfume of the Gospel of God in all the world, that it might be unto them a savour of life unto life.

Therefore saith he to the Thessalonians, Ye remember, that, when I was with you, I told you these things. The Spirit of God warned me to go further. Other churches required my presence. I was debtor unto them as unto you; yet before I left you, I told you what dangers should ensue. It was mine office, I was bound so to do, lest you might be deceived; I told you antichrist should come, even that man of sin, the son of perdition, which should destroy himself and others also. I told you he should be an adversary of the Gospel of Christ; that he should advance himself over all the kings and powers of the world; that he should sit as God in the holy place; that the people should give him place to sit in their hearts and in their consciences.

This warning the Apostle gave to the Thessalonians. The like warning he gave to other churches where he taught the Gospel; and the same is also spoken unto us. They knew by his teaching that antichrist should come. We know by the marks which he hath given to know antichrist, that he is already come; and that the very same is come, which the Apostle describeth; that he is grown unto his fulness, and hath stalled himself in the place of God.

Ver. 6. *And now ye know what withholdeth, that he might be revealed in his time.*

Paul seemeth not in these words to say, what letteth the coming of antichrist; but what shall stay the coming of Christ, for so he maketh entry into this matter. I beseech you by the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye be not troubled, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man deceive you by any means; for the day of Christ shall not come, except there come a departing first, and that antichrist be disclosed. Even so here he saith, Ye know what withholdeth Christ, and why he cometh not. Even this, that antichrist might first be revealed in his time. His time is appointed; the spring cometh not, until the winter have gone before; the night goeth before, and then the day cometh. And so shall not the glorious majesty of Christ's coming appear, before the dreadful and dangerous days of antichrist shall come. There shall be no delivery, unless bondage go before.

Antichrist shall bring the world into bondage; he shall do violence to the saints of God; he shall be as a continual storm and darkness in the church. The godly shall look up to heaven, and call for aid; they shall cry unto the Lord, and he will hear them; they shall say, "Oh! come, Lord Jesus, thy kingdom come, confound thine enemies." Then will he not stay; he will appear, and shew himself in glory. In the mean while this is the cause of his stay; this letteth his coming; antichrist must first come. This I take to be the Apostle's meaning; it agreeth with the beginning; it is simple, clear, and plain, and without danger of error.

Antichrist shall appear, not when he will, but he shall be revealed in his time. His time is the time of darkness, when shepherds and the guides of the people shall be careless; when the word shall be

loathed; when the light shall be put out; when superstition shall reign; when ignorance shall have the upper hand; when the creature shall not be known from the Creator; when there shall be no fear of God, no regard of godliness; when the people shall not know neither wherefore they pray, nor whom they worship, nor in whom they believe; then shall it appear that antichrist is come; then he shall shew himself; this is his time.

Ver. 7. *For the mystery of iniquity doth already work: only he which now letteth, shall let till he be taken out of the way.*

The mystery of iniquity doth already work. Let us not be deceived. Antichrist shall certainly come, and shall draw many into error. As it was with Christ at his coming; he was in the world, he did the works of his Father, yet few knew him: so shall it be with antichrist; he shall be in the world, he shall work his iniquity, and few shall know him.

Paul lived more than fifteen hundred years past; yet then he said, "The mystery of iniquity doth already work." The devil is not idle, saith he; antichrist even now worketh, when as the blood of Christ was fresh; when as yet the Apostles, and many other witnesses of our redemption by Christ, were living. And St. John saith (1 Ep. ii.), "Even now are there many antichrists come already." So soon was his foundation cast, his plot laid, his way prepared, and his work begun.

So long since did Paul see some which delighted in the works of darkness, which were the enemies of the cross of Christ, which served their belly, and not the Lord; even then did he see, that grievous wolves, not sparing the flock, should enter in among them. All these were the forerunners and the harbingers of antichrist.

We may not think that antichrist shall come as a robber by the highways, or like a murderer, or like a tyrant, that burneth our houses, or sacketh our cities, or destroyeth our fields, or pulleth down all that is before him; we may not look that he should say, I am antichrist, I am that man of sin, I am the son of perdition, I am the adversary, and am contrary to Christ. He shall not shew forth himself in any such a sort; he shall not so speak of himself: he is subtle and cunning; he shall deceive the learned and the wise; he shall cast himself into a colour of holiness, he shall fast, he shall pray, he shall give alms, and shew mercy; he shall walk as if he were a disciple of Christ; he shall counterfeit an angel of light; he shall go before, and the world shall follow him; so shall the mystery of iniquity work; his life, his religion, his doctrine, shall be close, and hid, and secret.

Antichrist worketh in mystery. Jerome saith, "The whole world mourned, and did marvel that they were possessed with the error of Arius;" that they denied the divinity of Christ before they were ware. This was a mystery. So shall the learned and wise be deceived; they shall honour antichrist unawares; they shall say, We defy him, and detest him; and yet shall fall down and worship him. This is a mystery; so secret shall his dealing be, it shall not be known to many. He shall walk in craftiness, and handle the word of God deceitfully; he shall mingle his lies with the truth of God; he shall mingle his poison with the wholesome food of our souls, so closely and subtilly, that it shall hardly be espied; he shall go forward by little and little, and so win credit, and convey himself into the hearts of the people. This is a mystery. Christ saith (Matt. xiii.), "A man sowed good seed in his field; but while men slept, there came his foe, and sowed tares

among the wheat, and went his way." They grew together, and had both one like colour. The householder willed them to let both grow together till harvest come, lest with the tares they pluck up the wheat also. So shall be the coming of antichrist; he shall come while men sleep, in the night of blindness, and of negligence, and of ignorance, and shall sow his tares with the Lord's wheat. They shall both grow up together. The day of the Lord shall reveal them, and set each part by itself. This is a mystery; and as it is secret, so is it long in working. This mystery began in the days of the Apostles, and continueth on still unto our time; it is still in work.

But who be they, which follow his lore? which yield themselves to him, and which shall be deceived? Are they poor men, or artificers, or labourers? or are they unlearned and ignorant men? No, no; he shall deceive priests, bishops, archbishops, princes, kings, emperors, the gravest, the best learned, the wisest, the mightiest men in the world. He shall blind their eyes, and amaze their hearts; they shall run to him out of all parts of the earth; they shall fall down before him; they shall ask counsel of him; they shall say, Thou art the doctor of doctors, thou art the father of fathers, thou art the comfort of the church, thou art the light of the world, thou art most holy; all law and all knowledge is hid in thy breast; we beseech thy holiness shew us thy way, expound thou the law unto us, teach us how we may be saved; thou hast the key of knowledge; thy word is the word of truth.—So shall they creep to antichrist, so shall they pour out their souls before him, so shall they seek counsel at his mouth, so shall they fetch light at the prince of darkness.

"This mystery (saith St. Paul) doth already work;" it shall increase, and go forward, and grow to a per-

fection. A thorn, when it is young, is soft and gentle, ye may thrust at it with your finger, it will not hurt you; but after it waxeth and groweth hard and stubborn, it will pierce the flesh, and draw blood. A bear, when he is young, is harmless and innocent; ye may dandle it, and dally with it, as with a whelp; it hath no chambers to gripe, no teeth to bite, nor paws to tear; but after, it will grow, and become fierce and cruel like the fire. A serpent, when it is young, is little and pretty; it hath no sting nor poison; you may take it in your hand, and lay it in your lap, it will not hurt you; after, it will increase in venom, and grow in mischief, and be like itself; then it will shake the sting, and cast poison, and prove dangerous.

Such a thorn, such a bear, such a serpent is antichrist. At the first he shall seem soft and gentle, and pretty and innocent: after, he shall grow fierce, and arm himself with sting and poison. But a thorn, though it be soft, is a thorn; a bear, though he be little, is a bear; a serpent, though he be pretty, is a serpent. Even so antichrist, though he seem gentle, mild, and simple, yet is he antichrist. He groweth by degrees: he will be like his sire: his paws will be dreadful; his mouth will be deadly.

Whosoever know the nature and working of an earthquake, how it groweth, and how it worketh, know, that at the first it is some little wind, gathered and kept in some hollow places of the earth; there it lieth closely, sometimes for many years, without giving forth any noise, without stirring or shaking: one may walk over it, and perceive nothing. After it groweth strong and violent, it seeketh a way out; it forceth itself; it gathereth strength, and cometh abroad; it will stay no longer: but it breaketh and teareth the earth, and rendeth rocks, overthroweth mountains, shaketh down towns and cities, swallow-

eth up whole rivers; it inflameth the air, raiseth thunder, soareth up into heaven, and astonisheth the world.

Such is the working of an earthquake: so great and mighty at the end, so little and simple at the first. Such shall be the mystery and coming of antichrist. At the beginning he shall be like a little wind, and shall enter into the hollowness and darkness of the church; but after, he shall shake the whole world. He shall shew forth himself at the first, with countenance of devotion and holiness, that he may closely, and privily, and secretly wreathe in himself. Few shall be able to understand the mystery of his dealing, after he shall be opened, and appear as he is.

Who would think there were any evil in forcing of virginity, chastity, or single life? He that is unmarried, careth for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord, that he may be holy, both in body and also in spirit: would God it were so with all that have taken the profession of single life: but the colour is fair. Hence hath it grown, that bishops and priests, and young men and maidens, have continued single. This seemed strange, and a miracle, and a matter of great holiness.

But this is a mystery; this is a way to bring in antichrist. Mark what St. Paul speaketh hereof (1 Tim. iv): "They shall forbid to marry." Of whom speaketh he? of antichrist and his disciples. they shall forbid lawful marriage, as unholy, and as a state of life unfit for their holiness. Yet Christ Jesus, the Son of God, did never forbid it: his Apostles were married, and had wives.

"This (saith St. Paul) is a mark of antichrist, by this shall he be known." Forbidding of marriage is a doctrine of devils; not of Christ, or of God, but of devils. It is a gulf, it is a sea, it is a world, it is a hell of iniquity, and the vilest villany that ever

crept into the church of God. Jerome, expounding the words of Daniel (chap. vii.), "He shall have no regard to the desires of women," saith, "The better exposition hereof is, to apply these words to antichrist, for that he shall pretend chastity, that he may deceive many." This is the mystery of iniquity. This is the practice of antichrist: he shall come with a cloak of counterfeited chastity, not with true chastity, both in body and also in spirit; but with counterfeit chastity, and so shall deceive the hearts of many.

Who would think there were any evil in single communion? or why may not every body follow his own devotion, and receive the sacrament when he will? what harm is herein? It may seem to be done for the reverence unto the sacrament, lest it should grow in contempt if it were used often. These reasons are fair and fresh; but this is a mystery, and a practice of antichrist. For by this means have they shut out the faithful people of God, and made them negligent and careless for the receiving of the Lord's supper; they abused the church of the living God, they turned the remembrance of the death of Christ into a may-game; they made the people commit horrible and open idolatry, to worship the creature instead of the Creator, which is God, blessed for ever.

Who would think there were any evil in the keys of the church? They are the expounding of the law, and the disclosing of the will of God. They are the chiefest comfort of our conscience. But antichrist shall take these keys unto himself, and shall build up his own kingdom with them. He shall shut that God hath opened, and shall open that God hath shut: this is also the mystery of iniquity.

Who would think there were any evil in godly prayers of the church? Christ saith (Matt. xxiv.), "Watch and pray, for you know not in what hour

your Master will come." And again (Matt. vi.): "Pray thou to thy Father which is in secret; and thy Father which seeth thee in secret, shall reward thee openly." And again: "Ask, and ye shall receive; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." St. Paul saith (1 Thess. v.), "Pray without ceasing." The Prophet David saith (Psalm cxlv.), "The Lord is nigh unto all them that call upon him, to all that call upon him faithfully." For the Lord will hear the prayers of his saints, and deliver them when they call upon him. These prayers shall antichrist take to work his iniquity, and under pretence of them shall devour widows' houses; and shall make a net of them to fish and drag for all the riches of the world: this is also the mystery of iniquity.

Who would think there were so great evil in the doctrine of purgatory? What, if one thought that his father or friend died in some venial sin, and were chastised somewhile in purgatory fire, and that he might be relieved by prayers; for this folly, pretence and imagination have they thereof: What, if one should so think, what hurt were it?—Brethren, this is the mystery of all mysteries, and the secret of all secrets. In this standeth the countenance, and all the welfare of antichrist.

He hath impropried the whole kingdom of purgatory to himself, and hath made it more gainful than heaven and earth. There he selleth prayers; there he maketh port sale of bulls and pardons; there he selleth forgiveness of sins, *à culpa & pœna*. He selleth the mercies of God, the blood of the martyrs, the works of supererogation, the merits of his fratries, the blood of Christ; there he selleth paradise, deliverance or assurance from hell, and entrance into heaven; he maketh merchandise of the souls of the people: this is the alone mystery, above all other mysteries.

Who would think there were an evil in the name

of the church? it is the witness-bearer unto the Gospel; it is the pillar of truth; it is the spouse of Christ. "Yet (saith Christ), antichrist shall come in my name; he shall seem holy; he shall talk of the Gospel; he shall carry the face of the church, and deceive many." This is a mystery.

Who would think it a matter of so great inconvenience, for a man to call the bishop of Rome the greatest bishop, or the chiefest patriarch, and the highest judge, and to say that all appeals lie unto him? What hurt may this be? it seemeth a small matter, a matter of nothing. But it is a practice, it is a secret, and a mystery; hence flowed all the streams of vanity and presumption wherein he advanceth himself; hence it is that he saith, "I am above kings and emperors; I am above general councils; I am above the whole church of Christ; I am above the angels of God; I have power to command and to countermand them at my pleasure; I am the successor of Peter; I am the vicar of Christ. No man may judge me, whatsoever I do; I cannot err; general councils might err, the Apostles might err, the angels of God might err; but I cannot err. I have the fulness of power; the whole world is my diocese; whosoever is saved is under me; whosoever is not under me is cursed of God: I am the light of the world; I can, in a manner, do whatsoever God can do."

All these speeches are written, are printed, are published and proclaimed abroad. This is a mystery of iniquity; this is a deep secret. These are the very ways and steps of antichrist: God give us eyes to see them, and hearts that we may discern them.

Paul did see the mystery working, even in that time he lived. John saith (3 Ep.), "Diotrephes loveth to have the pre-eminence;" to lift up himself above his brethren, be the head of the church, and to bear a mastery. So Paul espied contentions in Corinth

(1 Ep. ii.). "Every one of you saith, I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos, and I am of Cephas, and I am of Christ:" these were the beginnings of antichrist. But Paul saith (2 Cor. iv.), "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants, for Jesus' sake." So the true disciples of Christ reckon not themselves any thing, but the members one of another, but the ministers by whom the people believe, but witnesses chosen before of God, but such as are commanded to preach, but God's labourers.

Now let us consider these marks of antichrist: was there ever any which hath forbidden lawful marriage, and accounted it a state of life which is unclean, and not meet for his holiness; and deceived the world with counterfeit chastity? the same is antichrist. For Jerome telleth us antichrist shall pretend chastity, that he may deceive many; and Paul calleth forbidding of marriages, the doctrine of devils.

Was there ever any which hath shut forth the faithful from the holy communion, and hath made them careless for the receiving thereof? which hath defaced the sacrament, abused the church of God, and caused the people to give the honour of God unto a creature? This is the working of the mystery of iniquity: he is antichrist.

Was there ever any which took the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and wrought to himself therewith a principality, or kingdom, on earth? Was there ever any which hath shut them out from the kingdom of God, to whom God hath opened it, and hath set free the consciences of those sinners whom God hath not loosed? He is antichrist.

Was there ever any which beguiled the people, which devoured widows' houses, under colour of long prayers, and hath used them as a net to fish for the treasures and riches of all the world? He is antichrist.

Was there ever any which sold bulls and pardons,

and forgiveness of sins, and the mercies of God, and the merits of men, and the blood of the martyrs, and the passion of Christ the Son of God? was there ever any that sold paradise and heaven, and made sale of the souls of the people, and all for money? The same is antichrist.

Was there ever any which came in the name of Christ, with the show of holiness, with the countenance of the church, and hath shewed himself in all his life and doctrine contrary to Christ? He is antichrist.

Was there ever any which hath said, "I am above kings and emperors, and the states of the world; I am above councils, I am above the whole church of Christ, and above the angels of God: no man may judge me; I cannot err; whosoever shall be saved, must be under me; if any shall not obey me, they are cursed before God; God and I have one judgment-seat; we sit together; I can do whatsoever God can do?"

He that thus saith is antichrist. "The mystery of iniquity doth work already," saith the Apostle. He shall not open himself. Whatsoever he doth, he doth it in secret: so shall he advance himself; so shall he speak great things, and blasphemies against the Highest; so shall he prevail and prosper; so shall he darken the heavens, and draw the third part of the stars after him; so shall he sit in the holy place, even in the seat of God: and all this shall he work under pretence of humility, and shall call himself the servant of servants.

Only he which now withholdeth, shall let till he be taken out of the way.

Now the emperor holdeth the whole power and authority over the world, but it shall be taken away from him, and then shall antichrist come, when all stops and lets shall be removed. Who is he that doth stop him, and let his coming? the emperor of Rome.

So saith Tertullian, so Augustine, Ambrose, and Chrysostom. Antichrist shall possess a great part of the Roman empire; yet so long as the emperor shall stand and prosper, he will not suffer any part of his empire to be abated. So long as the emperor shall be able to bear himself, antichrist shall never be able to grow.

But a time shall come when the empire of Rome shall be rent asunder; then the authority of the emperor shall decay, then antichrist shall gather strength, and shall place himself where the emperor was. A traitor cannot usurp the crown, so long as the right king is able to stand and maintain his state. Antichrist is a traitor, a traitor both to God and man. When the emperor shall fall and decay, then he shall rise up; when the emperor becometh weak, then he shall grow strong. Therefore Paul saith, Antichrist shall not come yet, for the emperor letteth him. The emperor shall be removed, and then shall antichrist come.

But before I proceed to say more of this division of the empire, that we may come to the bottom of this matter, and so see the meaning of this prophecy evidently laid open before us, I will shew more plainly and particularly of antichrist, who he shall be. It is a hard and doubtful thing, as are all prophecies; but mark well that shall be spoken. I will speak nothing without good warrant and authority of the old writers and fathers. I will tell you the conditions of antichrist, and where he shall dwell; that known, it shall be no hard matter to know the rest.

Who shall he be then, or of what condition, that we may know him? Some have said, he should be a Jew of the tribe of Dan; some, that Nero the bloody tyrant should rise again, and he should be antichrist; some, that he should be a mighty persecutor, which should rage and range over the whole world, raze towers and castles, set on fire the church and ora-

tories, and kill whomsoever he meeteth. Hippolytus saith, he shall be begotten by the devil, and himself shall be a devil. These devices were imagined and written many hundred years since, as every body were best able to devise. But these are fables, and have no ground. To say the truth, antichrist shall neither be a Jew nor Nero, nor one begotten by the devil; he shall be a Christian, he shall be a bishop, and a holy father, and a bishop of great show and countenance in the world. Mark, he shall not be a king, nor an emperor, nor a tyrant, nor a temporal prince, but a bishop.

But how may this be known, that we may be certain of it? For you will charge my sayings with partiality, as if what should be spoken by me might proceed of displeasure and malice. Who then hath so spoken or written, that we may believe him? Hear Gregory himself, a bishop of Rome, what he recorded of this matter well nigh a thousand years ago. "The king of pride (that is, antichrist) is even at hand, and an army of priests is prepared, which is a wicked or horrible thing to be spoken." Lo! both the king, which is antichrist, and his guard, to wait upon him, a company of priests and clerks, of monks and friars, to attend upon him. And upon whom shall an army of priests attend, but upon a bishop?

If you say, this is no plain proof, but forced and wrested, because he nameth not a bishop, but a king, of pride. Hear him again. "I speak it boldly; whosoever either calleth himself the universal priest, or desireth so to be called (as doth the Pope), in the pride of his heart, he is the forerunner of antichrist." In this place, he doth not only tell us, antichrist shall be a bishop, but also what manner of bishop. He shall be a bishop, and that bishop, which shall claim universal authority; such a bishop as shall say, "It is

of the necessity of salvation, that every soul be subject to me;" which shall say, it is plain, that the church is one, because in the universal church there is one supreme head, that is, the Pope.

Sibylla saith, "This king shall be πολιοκρανος, that is, shall have a white head, and shall be called by a name much like to Pontus; in which two marks of his head and name, whom can we find but a bishop?" who weareth solemnly a white mitre of silver, and adorned with precious stones, and in Latin is named Pontifex. Again: Joachimus Abbas saith, "He shall exalt himself above all that is called God; for he only shall be called holy Lord, and most holy Pope."

So that, for our direction, we hear not only of a king of pride and his guard of priests, but we are learned that this king shall have a white head, and a name much like *Pontus*, that is, shall be *Pontifex*, a bishop. Gregory moreover hath said, He shall call himself, or desire to be called, an universal priest. And Joachimus, an abbot, hath told us, antichrist shall be called holy Lord, and most holy Pope.

But where shall antichrist be resident? in what place shall we seek him? For if we look for him in one place, and he be in another, we shall not find him. Where then is he stalled? in what city? in what church? Some say in Babylon, some in Syria, some in Chaldea, some in Jerusalem upon Mount Sion, some in one place, some in another. These are but guesses, and bear no weight. Paul telleth us, he shall creep into the empire of Rome: so saith the Apostle, and so the fathers. The empire shall be made waste, and then antichrist shall come, and invade the church. But the empire was great and wide; it reached over a great part of the world: it did contain England, France, Spain, Germany, Poland, Denmark, Italy, Illyricum, Macedonia, Thra-

cia, Greece, Asia, Armenia, Egypt, Mauritania, and the rest of Africa. All these were parts of the empire of Rome. In what part, or in what city, or in what church of all these, shall he sit? St. John saith (Rev. xvii.), "The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth." Antichrist shall sit in a city built upon seven hills. Where shall we find such a city in the whole world? is it Jerusalem, or Athens, or Constantinople, or Antioch? Where we find a city so built, that city is the place of antichrist. There is none but one. The Spirit of God cannot lie. But which is that one? All writers, as well old as new, call that city Rome. Rome is built upon seven hills: they be yet standing. The names of the hills are known to be these: Palatinus, Quirinalis, Aventinus, Cælius, Viminalis, Exquilius, Janicularis.

The poet, speaking of this city, saith, "And this one city hath compassed into itself with a wall, seven high places." Therefore Plutarch calleth it ἑπτάλοφος, of seven hills. They have used in Rome, in their general processions in gang-week, to go to these seven hills, and to do some solemn piece of service at every of them. Rome is the city of seven heads. Rome is the city built upon seven hills; therefore the city which John describeth; and therefore it is the tabernacle and stall in which antichrist shall sit.

Sibylla wrote two thousand years since, "That the greatest terror and fury of his empire, and the greatest woe that he shall work, shall be by the banks of Tyber." And who is there that hath heard any thing of the situation of Rome, that doth not know it is built on the banks of Tyber? Irenæus, who lived well near fifteen hundred years ago, saith the name of antichrist expressed by that number shall be Latinus, that is, he shall sit in a city called Latium, that is, Rome. Joachimus Abbas saith,

Antichrist is long since born in Rome, and yet shall be advanced higher in the apostolic see. Bernard saith, The beast that is spoken of in the book of Revelations, unto which beast is given a mouth to speak blasphemies, and to keep war against the saints of God, is now gotten into Peter's chair, as a lion prepared to his prey. These words are clear as the sunbeams.

St. John saith, Antichrist shall sit in a city built upon seven hills: that city is the city of Rome. Dame Sibylla saith, His greatest work shall be by the banks of the Tyber: that city, so built, is the city of Rome. Irenæus saith, The name of antichrist shall be Latinus: this name belongeth to the bishop of Rome. Bernard saith, The beast that is spoken of in the Revelation, is gotten into Peter's chair.—John lived 1560 years since, Sibylla 2000, Irenæus about 1500, Joachimus Abbas 300. Bernard lived about 400 years since. And by the testimony of all these, antichrist shall be a bishop, and placed at Rome.

You marvel at this, how it should be possible that antichrist should sit in Peter's chair; you heard who hath said it, and no wonder at all; for he shall sit in the place of God, in the holy place, in the church of Christ.

So doth Augustine gather upon the Apostle's words: "For the temple of an idol, or of a devil, the Apostle would never call the temple of God." And Jerome saith, "Antichrist shall sit in the temple of God, either at Jerusalem (as some imagine), or in the church (as we more truly think), shewing himself as if he were Christ, and the Son of God." Again he saith of him, "Antichrist shall tread under his feet all approved and true religion."

And St. Hilary saith, "Is there any doubt but antichrist shall sit in the same houses? He shall

sit in those houses and buildings, with which you are in love, and which you honour." And again he saith, "He shall be contrary to Christ, under the colour of preaching the Gospel; so that our Lord Jesus Christ shall then be denied, when a man would think he is preached." Thus we have seen who shall be antichrist, and in what church he shall be, that he shall be a bishop, and shall be stalled or placed in Rome.

Now to return again to the words of the Apostle. *Only he who now letteth, shall let until he be taken away.* Now the emperor hath the rule over the world. Let him keep it. There shall a time come when he shall lose his possessions; then antichrist shall appear. When the empire shall be dismembered, and the kingdoms belonging to him shall depart from him, then shall be the coming of antichrist.

Who will look into the story of things in times past, shall perceive the meaning of the Apostle, and how the empire of Rome, being so great, is consumed and brought to nothing, and in what sort antichrist, which was once so poor and simple, so little regarded and obscure, might grow to be so great, and advance himself above kings and princes. The impoverishing of the one was the enriching of the other.

I told you, that the empire of Rome contained sometimes a great part of the world, as England, France, Spain, Germany, &c. Where is England now? It is divided from, and is no part of the empire. Where is France, Spain, Italy, Illyricum? where is Rome itself? They are taken away from it, and are now no part of the empire. Where is Macedonia, Thracia, Greece, Asia, Armenia, &c.? We cannot think of them but with heaviness. They be now under the Turk, they are taken away, and are no part of the empire.

What is become of the great countenance which the emperor had in all the world? He is now in comparison nobody. What part of all the empire is left unto him? Not one: he hath not left him one city or town. What is become of all which did belong to him? They are dissolved, taken from him, and his estate is brought to nothing.

In the mean while antichrist increased, and grew to wealth by spoil of the empire. The bishop of Rome hath at this day many countries and lordships. Poor Peter had none; how then came he by them? By the spoil of the empire? He hath the title of *Forum Julium*; where hath he it, but of the spoil of the empire? Where hath he so many countries beginning at Lucca and onward to the Alps, but by the spoil of the empire? He hath Ravenna, Forum Sempronii, Beneventum, and Spoletum. All these he hath by the spoil of the empire.

He claimeth the kingdom of Naples and of Sicily; he is the lord paramount; king Philip is his vassal, and payeth him tribute; he hath Rome itself; it did belong unto the emperor; how grew it to the bishop? whence hath he it? By the spoil of the empire.

We see, then, that the emperor is abated; that the bishop is increased; and so increased, that he hath made the emperor to be his man; to bear his train; to wait upon him; to kneel down, and to kiss his foot.

This could he never bring to pass whiles the empire stood whole, and the emperor was able to make his part good: but these things were done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken (Rev. xvii.), "The kings of the earth shall give their strength and power to the beast, &c. That they may agree together, and give their kingdom unto the beast, until the words of God be fulfilled."

Who that beast shall be, Augustine, writing upon the Psalms, very well declareth; "Thus it is written of antichrist; that he shall conquer all kings, and obtain the kingdom himself alone:" and who it is unto whom the kings of the earth have given their kingdom, and which doth obtain the kingdom himself alone; if any man doubt, let him be advised by this saying of them, which knew it well, and were not enemies to the bishopric of Rome.

Johan de Parisiis saith, "Some think that by reason of this donation (of Constantine), the Pope is the emperor and the lord of the world; and that hereby he hath power both to set up, and also to pull down kings as an emperor." And if this be too little, to say thus, upon hearsay, the same saith further plainly, "All manner of temporal power was given immediately unto the Pope." What other thing is it that Innocentius saith? "The emperor holdeth his empire of the Pope, and therefore he is bound to swear homage and fealty to the Pope, as the vassal is bound to his lord."

In this right Pope Adrian said, "Behold, it is in our hand to bestow the empire upon whom we list." Were not the state of the empire now decayed, were not the prophecy of the Apostle now fulfilled, were not the emperor (howsoever he have in a mystery a bare name left) taken away, as well in respect of the countries which he did hold, as of the authority, the rule and power which he had over the world, these proud speeches could never have been suffered.

Now then, seeing the empire is so decayed and abased, and the bishop of Rome so highly advanced into his seat and authority (so highly I say), that some are bold to say, "The Pope hath the princehood of all the whole world," and, "The Pope is King of kings, and Lord of lords;" let Gregory, who hath otherwhere given great light to this prophecy,

shew us hereby also to know who is antichrist: he saith, "Antichrist, when he shall come, shall conquer the highest estates and powers of this world."

This whole matter is also expressed in the seventh of Daniel: "The fourth beast was fearful and terrible, and very strong;" it had great iron teeth, it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue under his feet; and it was unlike to the beasts that were before it; for it had ten horns. And behold, there came up among them another little horn, which had eyes like a man, and a mouth speaking presumptuous things. This beast is the empire of Rome, the greatest empire that ever was. It was divided into ten, or into sundry kingdoms, as I shewed you, and as we see this day. The little horn is antichrist.

The empire shall be divided and weakened, then antichrist shall come; he shall speak words against the Most High, and shall consume the saints of the Most High, and think that he may change times and laws, and they shall be given into his hand. Daniel saith, he shall speak words against the Most High, and shall think he may change times and laws, and they shall be given into his hands. Wherein he sheweth not only the pride and presumption of antichrist, but that he shall also prevail for a time. Such a one there hath been, and yet is. He blasphemeth God, murdereth the saints, hath changed times and laws, the laws of God, and the laws of nature. He is antichrist.

To make an end of this part for knowledge of antichrist, who he shall be, in what place he shall dwell, and of that which should let his coming, let us remember he shall be no Jew nor heathen, but a Christian, and no king, or temporal wight, but a bishop, an universal priest, and most holy Pope.

As Jerome, upon the words of the Prophet (Zech. xi.), "O idol shepherd, that, &c." saith, "I doubt

nothing but that this foolish and unskilful shepherd is antichrist, which should come towards the end of the world." And further saith, "This shepherd is so wicked, that he is not called a worshipper of idols, but an idol himself, because he calleth himself God, and will be worshipped of all men."

Let us remember we may not seek him in the streets, or in market-places, or in woods, or in the wilderness, but in the temple of God. There shall he sit, and hold the stern, and devise laws and canons, and shall rule the hearts and consciences of the people; there shall he shew his power, and put on him the cloak of simplicity, and of truth, and of holiness.

St. Augustine saith, Antichrist shall not only sit in the church of God, but also shall shew himself in outward appearance, as if he himself were the church himself. "Not that he sitteth in the temple of God, but he sitteth as the temple of God, as if he himself were the temple of God, which is the church." Let us remember what shall let his coming, even the safety of the emperor, and his continuance in that full power and estate wherein he then was.

The decay of the empire shall make way for antichrist. If therefore it be weakened, and hath been weakened any time since, if the kingdoms of the world be divided from it, that is an evident token that the coming of antichrist is not stopped, but he hath come and shewed himself, and by little and little, ever since such decay of the empire, hath enlarged himself and established his power over all countries and nations. As Chrysostom saith, "As long as the empire shall be had in awe, no man shall straightway submit himself to antichrist; but after the empire shall be dissolved, antichrist shall invade the state of the empire standing void, and shall labour

to pull unto himself the empire both of man and God."

Ver. 8. *And then shall that wicked man be uttered whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the appearance of his coming.*

Antichrist shall be opened by little and little. All his devices and practices shall be disclosed, that they may appear and be seen of the world. He is in this place called ὁ ἄνομος, *a man without order.* This is another peculiar note of antichrist; he shall seek to be free, and go at liberty; he shall be tied to no law, neither of God, nor of man. Let us once again look into the state of the church of Rome, to seek out this lawless man. There he sitteth that saith, "I cannot err."

Why is it said, "The Pope is exempted from all law of man?" And again, why must we expound any fact of the holy father for the best? And if it be theft, or any other thing that of itself is evil (as adultery or fornication), we must think it is done by the secret inspiration of God. Again, why say they the doings of the Pope are excused, as Sampson's murders, as the Jews' robberies, and as the adulteries of Jacob? And again, Why say they, neither all the clergy, nor all the whole world, may either judge or depose the Pope? but because he is lawless.

Why is it said, in such things as he willeth his will standeth instead of reason, neither may any man say unto him, "O Sir, why do ye this?" but because he is lawless. Why is it said of him, although all the world would judge in any matter against the Pope, yet it seemeth we ought to stand to the judgment of the Pope? (for he seemeth to have all laws in the chest of his bosom;) but because he

is ὁ ἄνομος, that lawless man? Why is it, notwithstanding the Pope draw innumerable companies of people by heaps with him into hell, that yet no mortal man may once dare reprove him, but because he is that lawless man?

Why is it said, "The Pope may also change the very nature of things in applying the substantial parts of one thing to another, and of nothing can make something, and of no sentence can make a sentence; for he may dispense above the law, and of wrong may make right, by correcting and changing the laws?" One Zabarella saith, they persuaded the bishops, that they might do all things, and therefore whatsoever they listed, yea, such things as are not lawful.

How could this have been wrought, but that the Scriptures should be fulfilled? This is he whom Paul describeth, that wicked lawless man. Thus he reigneth and ruleth without law, without reason, without fear of God, without regard of man. He is exempted from all law, and his word is law to bind all the world. This is antichrist. This is he of whom Daniel prophesied: "He shall think he may change laws and times," the times of nature, and the laws which God himself hath ordained. This is he which hath carried himself so long time under the colour of holiness. This is he which hath beguiled and blinded the eyes of the world.

But blessed be the name of our God, which is the God of truth, and the God of lights; his tyranny and treachery is now revealed, and therefore not regarded. Oh! what mountains of money made he sometimes of pardons! His pardons were reputed the only safety and comfort of men's souls. He was not reckoned a Christian, whosoever sought them not. No man might lack them, neither in his life nor after his death.

But where are they now? what is become of them? who buyeth them? who regardeth the having of them? who reposeth his trust in them? Children make sport of them, and play with them in the streets; they see the filth of them, and the folly, and abhor them. How cometh this to pass? The man of sin is revealed.

What a kingdom made he of purgatory! He shut out thence whom he listed, and released such as were there, at his pleasure. He claimeth power over the quick and dead; he sold the years, the days, and the months, by round reckoning, a hundred, five hundred, and a thousand, and thousand thousand years of pardon.

Of which folly his own canonists were ashamed. One of them saith, touching that Christ said unto Peter, "Unto thee will I give the keys, &c."—"We must understand this authority with a corn of salt (otherwise it may be unsavoury); therefore certain of the Pope's pardons that promise twenty thousand years are foolish and superstitious."

This was not given for nothing, but sold for money. Who had aught to give, had speedy dispatch; but poor souls that had nothing, or no friends to pay for them, should lie still. This was a wealthy kingdom. But now where is purgatory? who regardeth it? who careth for it? Children scorn it in their streets, and know it is a fable. How cometh this so to pass? The wicked or lawless man is revealed.

He was able to rule the whole world with a beck. His word stood as the word of God; no prince nor emperor durst withstand it; it was thought impossible that he should err. But now the world seeth, his word is deceivable and vain; he erreth, and hath lived in great error. Now few men will believe him, no prince will trust his word; howsoever they (whose

eyes God hath not yet opened to see the truth) trust him in religion, in worldly matters they will not trust him. How cometh this so to pass? The man of sin is revealed.

What shall I say more? Behold, round about the world in all places, and even at Rome itself, the poor massing priest standeth a-cold, and can get no hire; the Pope's palls lie rotting; his bulls go a-begging; his wares stand upon his hand; no wise man will buy them. Why? how cometh this so to pass? The man of sin is revealed, all his deceit and treachery is revealed.

The Pope stirreth and striveth at this day all that he can. He excommunicateth and curseth; he sendeth out his bulls; he bloweth up seditions; he breedeth treasons; he raiseth subjects against their princes; he setteth princes upon their subjects; he imprisoneth and murdereth the saints of God; he shaketh and inflameth the whole world in his quarrels; but all in vain. Why so? how cometh this to pass? There is no counsel, no wisdom, no fire, no sword, that shall prevail against the Lord. The man of sin and his errors are revealed. Men see, and know, and detest the blindness wherein they were led; the people forsake him over and over the world.

Whom the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and shall abolish with the brightness of his coming:

Ver. 9. *Even him whose coming is by the effectual working of Satan, with all power, and signs, and lying wonders,*

Ver. 10. *And in all deceivableness of unrighteousness among them that perish; because they received not the love of the truth, that they may be saved.*

By the order of the Apostle's words, I should now speak of the overthrow of antichrist, how and by

what power he shall be confounded. But because the two verses next following speak yet of the state of antichrist, by whose means he shall come, and of what countenance he shall be, and with whom he shall prevail, it shall be good we consider these things first, and then shew how he shall be destroyed.

When Christ came into the world, he came in the name of his Father, to save the lost sheep of the house of Israel, and to gather the flock that was scattered. Antichrist shall come in the name of the devil, to scatter, and disperse, and consume the flock of God's sheep. His coming shall be by the effectual working of Satan. And what or who is Satan? He hath been a murderer from the beginning; through his envy came death into the world; he is the prince of this world, the prince of darkness, the father of lies, the spirit of pride, which hath said, I will ascend above the height of the clouds, and I will be like the Most High.

He shall work and inflame the heart of antichrist, and fill it with his spirit and wickedness, and shall make him the man of sin, and the son of perdition, full of vanity, and of pride, and of ungodliness, that he may mock the world, and blind the hearts of the people.

His coming shall be by the working of Satan, yet he shall make show as if he came in the name of Christ. He shall come with fatherly looks, with holy countenance, and shall set himself in the holy place; but his whole endeavour shall be to deface the kingdom of Christ; which he shall practise to do, not by the leading of any angel, or archangel, or by the power of God, but *by the effectual working of Satan*.

He shall allege the doctors and fathers; he shall allege Peter and Paul, the holy Apostles of Christ; he shall allege Christ, and God himself, as though

his doings were warranted by them; he shall say, I am the buttress and pillar of the church, my word is the word of God; he shall set up masses and sacrifices of his own; he shall take away the word of God; he shall teach the people to give divine honour to a weak creature.

But St. Paul in this place discloseth him and his doings, and layeth them open to the eyes of the faithful. He worketh not the work of an Evangelist, as did Peter, or other the Apostles; he taketh not power and authority either of God or of Christ; but *his coming is by the operation of Satan*. Therefore he foresheweth, antichrist shall *command to abstain from meats*; he shall say, Touch not, taste not: he shall also *forbid to marry*; he shall say, marriage is unholy, and unlawful, not convenient, not meet for holy profession.

Who would not think it a holy thing, to abstain from meats, and to chastise the body? who would not think it a holy thing, to abstain from marriage, and to think of those things which belong to God? seeing holiness and devotion are a pleasant sacrifice to God. But yet it is not all so. Some shall speak lies through hypocrisy, "forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats. They shall depart from the faith, and give heed to the spirits of error, and doctrines of devils." (1 Tim. iv.) He saith it is the devil's gospel. They are canons and rules of antichrist. Satan shall instruct him, Satan shall be the author and founder of that religion.

With all power, and signs, and lying wonders, and in all deceivableness of unrighteousness. He shall need to be of great power and force that shall encounter with God. Therefore the Apostle saith he shall come with miracles and devices of Satan. Christ foretold (Mark, xiii.), "that false Christs shall rise, and false prophets, and shall shew signs and wonders, to de-

ceive, if it were possible, the very elect." Again he saith (Matt. vii.), "Many will say to me in that day, Lord, Lord, have we not in thy name prophesied? and by thy name cast out devils? and by thy name done many great works? And then will I profess to them, I never knew you; depart from me, ye that work iniquity." These things shall Satan bring to pass under my name.

The Apostles wrought miracles, thereby to confirm the Gospel which they preached. As the Evangelist writeth (Mark, xvi.), "The Lord wrought with them, and confirmed the word with signs that followed." And as the Apostle (Heb. ii.), "Salvation at the first began to be preached by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him, God bearing witness thereto, with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his will." So shall antichrist work miracles to overthrow the Gospel. "As Jannes and Jambres withstood Moses, so do these also resist the truth, men of corrupt minds, reprobate concerning the faith. But they shall prevail no longer, for their madness shall be known to all men, as theirs also was." (2 Tim. iii.)

Aaron cast forth his rod before Pharaoh and his servants, and it was turned into a serpent. And the charmers of Egypt did in like manner with their enchantments. Aaron smote the water, and all the water that was in the river was turned into blood. And the enchanters of Egypt did likewise with their sorceries. And as Aaron caused frogs to come and cover the land, so the sorcerers did likewise with their sorceries. (Exod. vii. 8.) But the illusions of the magical arts came to nought (saith Solomon, Wisd. xvii.), and it was a most shameful reproach for boasting their knowledge. So shall antichrist come in working signs and lying wonders, as did

Jannes and Jambres to deface the Gospel and glory of God.

It is not said, he shall work wonders, but false lying wonders. But how can his miracles be false? If false, how be they miracles? if miracles, how be they false? They shall be false after two sorts; some are called false miracles, because they seem to be miracles, and are not; some are called false miracles, because they be used falsely to maintain his falsehood.

Of the first sort of false miracles, we have seen an infinite number in the days of our fathers in the kingdom of antichrist. Then was there an appearance of spirits, and visions of angels; our Lady came swimming down from heaven, poor souls came creeping and crying out of purgatory, and jetted abroad, and kept stations, casting flakes of fire, and beset highways, and bemoaned their cases, the pains and torments were so bitter.

They sought for help, and cried for good prayers; they cried for dirges, they cried for masses of *requiem*, for masses of *scala-cœli*, for trentals of masses. Hereof grew portsale of pardons, and hereof grew the province of purgatory, the most gainful country that ever was under the city of Rome.

But these miracles were no miracles at all; they were devised by subtle varlets and lazy lordanes for a purpose, to get money. Oftentimes the spirit hath been taken and laid in the stocks; the angel hath been stript; good Lady hath been caught; the conveyance and the miracle hath appeared; the engines, and sleights, and the cause, and the manner of the working, hath been confessed.

In those days, idols could go on foot; roods could speak; bells could ring alone; images could come down, and light their own candles; dead stocks could sweat, and bestir themselves; they could

turn their eyes, they could move their hands, they could open their mouths, they could set bones and knit sinews; they could heal the sick, and raise up the dead.

These miracles were conveyances and subtleties, and indeed no miracles; the trunks by which they did speak, the strings and wires with which they moved their faces and hands, all the rest of their treachery, hath been disclosed. These be the miracles of which Paul speaketh, miracles in sight, but indeed no miracles.

The other sort of false miracles is, when such things as be indeed wrought and done, are untruly applied by antichrist to maintain his falsehoods. God giveth recovery to the diseased; the deaf receive their hearing; the blind receive their sight. He assuageth the tempests, and stayeth the rage of fire, that it continue not. These things are done by the finger of God. Antichrist draweth us from so thinking of the mercy of God, and telleth us we have other friends to whom we are beholden, which have done so and so for us.

It was this saint, saith he, it was that saint, that took pity of your case, and wrought the remedy for you. It was Apollonia, it was Genouefa, it was Sitha, it was our Lady. Such a saint is able to do much, such a saint can work miracles. Hereof grew invocation of saints; hereof it came to pass that each saint was assigned and allotted to his sundry charge and several offices apart; St. Blase for the choking, St. Roche for the pestilence, Anthony for the burning, Valentine for the falling sickness, Romane for madness, Apollonia for the tooth-ach, Petronilla for agues, and others for other purposes: wherein it was wisely foreseen, that they were so limited and ordered, lest perhaps any one might be over-saucy, and encroach upon and trouble his fellows.

It was also foreseen, that all saints should not have power to work in all places. Some wrought at Canterbury, some at Walsingham, some at York, some at Buxton, some in one place, some in another, some in the towns, some in the fields. Even as Jeremiah said among the Jews (chap. xi.), "According to the number of thy cities were thy gods." Hereof grew pilgrimages and worshipping of images, and kissing of reliques; hereof grew oblations and enriching of abbeys; every man had his peculiar saint on whom he called; every country was full of chapels, every chapel full of miracles, and every miracle full of lies.

These miracles are wrought by antichrist; they are his tools, wherewith he worketh; they are his weapons, wherewith he prevaileth; they are full of lying, full of deceitfulness, and full of wickedness: so shall antichrist prevail, and rule over the world. By these miracles he shall possess the ears, the eyes, and the hearts of many, and shall draw them after him.

He shall shadow the moon, and darken the sun, and make the third part of the stars of heaven to follow him; he shall change light into darkness, and darkness into light; he shall work in all things at his pleasure. If a man be well, he shall make him blind. This is a miracle. Such as are whole, he shall make sick; he shall infect them with leprosy, which before were clean. This is a miracle. He shall change the sense and feeling of nature; he shall make the son hate the father, and shall make the father hate the son; yea, to seek the death of his son. This is a miracle. He shall make the people mislike and doubt the word of God, and embrace his follies. This is a miracle.

These be the works of antichrist, which he shall bring to pass. This shall he work in all *deceivable-*

ness of unrighteousness. He shall come with all kinds and shifts of deceit; he shall come with show of praying, with vizard of fasting, with companies of monks, friars, canons, and all kind and colour of holiness; he shall seek to prevail by threatening and by flattering, by fair means, and by foul; he shall excommunicate, and release from excommunication; he shall promise forgiveness of sins, and life everlasting; he shall make boast of the fathers and ancient doctors, he shall make boast of the universal consent, he shall boast of general councils, he shall boast of Christ's Apostles, and of the Gospel of Christ, and of the word of God. So shall he falsely and deceitfully work himself credit, and beguile the world, in abusing the holy name of God. No kind of deceitfulness or subtilty, but he shall use it. So shall he make the people seek unto him, and kings and emperors to fall down before him, and to say, Who is like unto the beast? who is so wise, so learned, so holy, so wealthy, so mighty, and so catholic? Without him no man is to be reckoned holy or learned; without him no man may traffic, buy, nor sell; without him no man may read publicly in universities; no man may preach to the people, no man may be accounted a Christian, no man may hope to be saved without him, without his leave and liking. Such wonders, such miracles, shall he work; so shall he conquer and subdue the world.

Now who be they which shall be deceived, in whom shall he prevail? *Among them that perish, because they received not the love of the truth, that they might be saved.* They shall be deceived by him which perish, whose hearts are not marked with the Spirit of God, whose names are not written in the book of life, in whom the God of this world hath blinded the minds, that the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ should not shine unto them;

they shall follow him, and shall be the children of damnation, and shall have their reward with him.

Be he learned or unlearned, be he king or subject, albeit he be holy, albeit he be catholic, antichrist shall come unto him in all deceitfulness of unrighteousness, because he hath not received the love of the truth, that he might be saved.

Here mark, he doth not say, because they receive not the truth, but he saith, *because they receive not the love of the truth.* Many in our days can speak thus: "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth, for it is the savour of life unto life." (Rom. i.) They can say, "There is given none other name under heaven, whereby we must be saved;" neither is there salvation in any other than by Jesus Christ, whom we have learned by the Gospel. (2 Cor. ii. Acts, iv.)

Many will confess, there was never more nor better teaching since the time of the Apostles. They seem to receive the truth, but they are like the horse and mule, in whom is no understanding; they receive it, because the prince receiveth it, and because the politic laws of countries establish it; they are carried away with the sway of the world; they hear it with their ears (nay, I would God they would lend their ears to the hearing of it), but with their hearts they do not hear; they have no feeling of the word of God, and of the truth; they weigh it not, they love it not; they consider not what it is, nor from whom it is sent; they know not that it is the water of life, and the bread which is sent from heaven; they have no taste, no savour, nor pleasure in it.

Therefore it shall be taken from them, and given to a nation which shall bring forth the fruits thereof; they shall be cast into utter darkness, and the last

state of them is worse than the first. "It had been better for them not to have known the way of righteousness, than, after they had known it, to turn from the holy commandment given unto them." (2 Pet. i.) It should not be charged upon them for their damnation; for our Saviour saith (John, xv.), "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they should not have had sin; but now have they no cloak for their sin." They find no sweetness in the word of God; they are not converted by it, that they may be saved; they have no pleasure in the ways of the Lord; they have no comfort to know his will.

These be the bond-slaves of Satan; these be they upon whom shall come the abomination of desolation; these be they against whom Satan and antichrist shall prevail, because they have not received the love of the truth; they have not received it into their hearts, that they might be saved; they had no hearts to feel it; they had no eyes to see it.

Ver. 11. *And therefore God shall send them strong delusions, that they should believe lies;*

Ver. 12. *That they all might be damned which believed not the truth, but had pleasure in unrighteousness.*

The Spirit of God is the spirit of truth, and giveth light into our hearts, and maketh us behold that blessed hope, and rejoice in the knowledge of his will. Therefore the Prophet David maketh prayer (Psa. li.), "O God, renew a right spirit within me," and "take not thy holy Spirit from me." And again (Psa. xiii.), "O Lord my God, lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not in death." And again he saith (Psa. xxxvi.), "With thee is the well of life, and in thy light shall we see light."

Without this Spirit we are but flesh and blood, even void of sense and understanding. "The na-

tural man perceiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him." (1 Cor. ii.) No man knoweth the things of God, but the Spirit of God. And those things which God hath prepared for them that love him, he hath revealed unto us by his Spirit.

Christ saith (John, vi.), "No man cometh to me except the Father draw him." Unless a man be born from above, unless God print and seal his heart with his finger, he shall not be able to see the kingdom of God.

Now if we have the word of God before our eyes, and regard it not, nor be thankful for it, nor set price by it, God in his justice will withdraw it from us. Then shall we delight in darkness, and have pleasure in error; our latter end shall be more dreadful than was our first beginning. This is it which Paul saith, *God shall send them strong delusions*; that is, his holy Spirit, the Spirit of truth, shall depart from their hearts, and the power of Satan shall dwell with them, and wholly possess them. This is the just judgment of God; and "this is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light." (John. iii.) They forsake the light, and delight in darkness; and this is their condemnation, they will not understand nor seek after God, that they may be reformed.

The Prophet saith (Psa. cix.), "Because he loved cursing, it shall come unto him; and because he loved not blessing, so shall it be far from him." God will strike them with blindness; they shall be astonied; they shall fall into rebuke and the snares of the devil; they shall be drowned in perdition and destruction.

So great shall be the power of error, men shall not only be deceived, but shall be deceived mightily and strongly; they shall desire to be deceived, and

shall bear a deadly hatred against him whosoever shall seek to reform them; they shall harden their hearts against God and his holy word; they shall stop their ears, and not hearken to his counsel; they shall not open their eyes to behold the destruction which is come upon them.

So great and so mighty shall be the delusion, so deadly shall be the cloud and blindness of their hearts, they shall be given over to a reprobate mind; they shall be filthy, and increase in filthiness. Such shall be the power of Satan, such shall be the power of error and deceitfulness, they shall despise the glorious Gospel of Christ; therefore God shall forsake them, and give them over to follow antichrist.

God hath this day sent the light and comfort of his holy word into the world. Many godly men have desired to see that we see, and to hear that we do hear. Blessed be the name of the Lord, which hath in mercy visited us. We beseech him to bless the work that he hath begun.

St. Paul saith (Tit. ii.), "The grace of God that bringeth salvation to all men hath appeared." And to the Colossians he saith, "The Gospel is come unto you, even as it is unto all the world." And again (Rom. x.), "Have they not heard? No doubt their sound went through all the earth, and their words into the ends of the world." The poor receive the glad tidings of the Gospel. God hath visited and redeemed his people.

But yet the Apostle saith (Rom. x.), "They have not all believed the Gospel;" for Isaiah saith (chap. lxv.), "Lord, who shall believe our report?" And again saith the Prophet Isaiah, "I have spread out my hands all the day unto a rebellious people, which have walked in a way that was not good." Wisdom crieth in the streets: "I have called, and ye refused; I have stretched out mine hand, and none

would regard." (Prov. i.) Such is the power of Satan; so shall he stop their ears, that they shall not hear nor understand what is spoken in the name of the Lord.

Paul is a true Prophet, and foretold long before that which we may now behold with our eyes: "In the latter times, some shall give heed unto spirits of error." (1 Tim. iv.) They shall be as men without sense or feeling, they shall forsake the truth, and betake themselves to follow lies and fables. Even they shall do this, which shall sit in the church of God, who shall profess and carry the name of Christ.

Christ ministered his last supper in both kinds. St. Paul telleth the Corinthians (1 Ep. xi.), "As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall shew the Lord's death till he come." That this institution of Christ should be kept in the church until the end of the world, the Apostles received this order, the holy fathers and martyrs used it. But now many, even too many, will not so have it, nor so use it. They will not follow the example of the fathers, nor of martyrs, nor of the Apostles, nor keep the ordinance of Christ; so strong a delusion hath bewitched them.

The people of God were taught to pray in the vulgar tongue, that their hearts might give consent, and their mouth say, Amen. This order did Peter, and Paul, and John, and James, and the godly fathers keep. There is not one of them that took orders for the contrary; but now there are some risen up, which, in despite of Christ and his Apostles, say, prayers shall be made in a strange tongue, either Latin or Greek.

The people shall not understand what they hear; they shall not know what it is which they themselves say; their hearts cannot give consent thereto; their mouths cannot say, Amen. The example of the

Apostles, the commandment of Christ, the comfort of the people, the confusion of the church, nothing moveth them, so great and mighty is the power of error.

The people worship a creature, instead of the Creator, who is God over all blessed for ever. They see they do amiss, yet continue in it, and find no fault; they see wherein their fathers were deceived, yet they say, they could not be deceived; they see many and foul abuses, yet seek not to redress them. For they say, We will walk in the ways of our forefathers; we will believe as they believed, howsoever they believed; we will do as they did, whatsoever they did; we will not hear the word of the Lord. Thus shall they delight in darkness, and loath the light; they will be deceived, and will not see the truth, so mighty and so terrible is the power of error.

They be learned in philosophy and in the tongues, they be learned in the laws, they be learned in physic, learned in the doctors, and learned in stories; they are skilful to buy and sell, to purchase land, to enrich themselves, and to provide for their children; they have knowledge in all things else. But themselves, and the truth of God, and the way to salvation, they have not known.

A thief, when he is taken, blusheth; a harlot is ashamed of her filthiness, and a drunkard of his beastliness. But they that are such, have hardened their faces, they cannot blush. Whatsoever they have said or done, either openly or in secret, by hypocrisy or cruelty, by rapine or treachery, in offering pardons to sale, in deceiving the people of God, in accusing the righteous and condemning the innocent, they cannot repent; they know no shame—so great is the power of error.

Christ saith unto them (Matt. xxi.), "The publicans and the harlots shall go before you into the

kingdom of God." They consider that they have done amiss; but you are wilful in your blindness. Oh! the depth of the wisdom and knowledge of God! Who is wise, and considereth this? They strive against the manifest truth; they strive against their own conscience; they strive against the Spirit of God. This is that sin which shall never be forgiven, neither in this world, nor in the world to come.

Therefore saith Paul, *that all they might be damned which believed not the truth.* All shall be damned which believed not. Then let no man say, I will follow the example of my fathers; I will do as the greater part doth; so many, and so many, for so many years, in so many places have been on this side. The judgment of God standeth not in the multitude, but in the truth. Whosoever shall set themselves against his holy will, be they never so many, they shall be damned.

Let such mark well what Ignatius, who lived in the time of the Apostles, hath said: "I have heard some which say, Unless I find the Gospel in them of old time, I will not believe it. But unto such I say, that Jesus Christ is unto me antiquity, whom to disobey is manifest and unpardonable destruction." Let no man say, I hope I do well; my meaning is good; I have a desire to please God; I believe well, I do my conscience; if I do amiss, God will regard my simplicity. Let no man so say. St. Augustine saith, "It is certain, that a foolish faith not only doth no good, but also hurteth." If thou believe not the truth, thou dwellest in lying; thou art the child of the devil, which is a liar, and the father thereof. "The mouth which speaketh lies, slayeth the soul." Thy faith is no faith; it is but a wilful opinion; it is but an error, for it is not according to the truth; it is not built upon the rock; it is not grounded on the word of God.

Change thine error. Faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. Receive the truth, believe the truth, and love the truth: otherwise, if thou refuse the bread of life, and feed on poison; if thou forsake the water of life, and dig unto thyself a cistern that will hold no water, thou shalt lead thy days in wilfulness, and shalt die in sin; thy blood shall be upon thine own head; thou shalt not see the glory of God; death and damnation shall be thy meed; because thou hadst pleasure in wickedness, and didst not give thy heart to receive, and love, and believe the truth.

Now it remaineth that we hear how antichrist shall be overthrown: we have seen his pomp and pride, his might and power, that he overlooketh all the world, bindeth all kings, and princes, and nations, to keep his laws, and is himself exempted from all laws of God or man; so mighty and so marvellous is his power, who can declare it? He is called of his own side, *Stupor mundi*, "the gaze-stock, or wonder of the world:" something less than God, something more than man. But, being in all this estate, in the midst of his pontificalibus, so fast mortised, so high built up to the skies, so surely shoared, so strongly beset on every side, he shall be suddenly shaken down, and become the shame of the world.

How may this be done? being so mortised, so built, so shoared, and so beset, who shall shake him down? what power shall consume him? Shall it be the great power of kings or of emperors? They shall give their power and authority to the beast, and fight with the Lamb, that is, against Christ. Shall it be the authority of bishops, and cardinals, and great clerks? All they are linked and joined to him. Shall it be by the wisdom and drift of counsellors and men of law? They be the feedmen, and sworn to him. Shall it be the violence and conspiracy of the people? They

shall kneel down to him, and honour him, and reverence him as an angel of God.

If neither the power of doctors, nor of bishops, nor archbishops; if not the power of counsellors, and men at law; if not the power of the kings and princes of the world; if not the power and commotion of the people; if all these shall not abolish him, what power then is it, wherewith he shall be consumed? It shall be the power of God, which shall be revealed from above. *The Lord shall consume him with the spirit of his mouth.*

These words are diversely taken; some expound them thus: God shall appoint the great angel Michael to set upon antichrist, and he shall destroy him: others take these words to be spoken of the day of judgment; and then this shall be fulfilled, when Christ shall say, "Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire;" that this is the spirit of the Lord's mouth wherewith he shall be consumed.

But the Apostle speaketh of the preaching of the Gospel, that God by his word, which is mighty to do all that whereunto he appointeth it, shall make his doings manifest, and let all the world see, that he was not sent of God; that he did never set forth the glory of God; that he hath not sought the salvation of the people; that in matters of faith and in all his life he is adversary to Christ.

This is that breath that shall descry his errors and vanities; this is that spirit which shall consume the kingdom of antichrist; this overthrow is already begun, as our eyes may behold this day.

In like sort speaketh Isaiah the Prophet (chap. xi.): "He shall smite the earth with the rod of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked." Princes make their conquests by power and strength, by fire and sword, and engines of war; but God shall beat down his adversary with

the rod of his mouth, by the true preaching of his word; his word is mighty; it is his sword; it is his mace; it is the rod of his mouth; it is the breath of his lips; it is of great force, no strength shall withstand it; it shall smite the earth; it shall slay the wicked.

St. Paul saith (2 Cor. x.), "We do not war after the flesh, for the weapons of our warfare are mighty through God to cast down holds." This sword hath hewn down in many places the cruelty, tyranny, simony, insatiable greediness, the errors, ignorance, darkness, vanities, hypocrisy, superstition, and idolatry, which have been brought into the church, and used by antichrist. These were the pillars, and strength, and glory of his kingdom.

And here mark the Apostle's speech: he saith not, God shall convert antichrist, or change his heart, that he may be saved; but he saith, *Whom the Lord shall consume*. God's word is almighty. By his word he can do whatsoever pleaseth him. He can make the deaf to hear, and the blind to see; he was able to call the thief upon the cross unto repentance; he was able to raise up Lazarus out of his grave; he is able of stones to raise up children to Abraham.

He can throw down every high thing that is exalted against the glory of God, and will bring kings, and princes, and the rulers of the earth, to the obedience of Christ. But of antichrist it is said, *The Lord shall consume him*. Such is the hardness and blindness of his heart, he will not receive the love of the truth, he will not believe the truth of God, that he might be saved; therefore destruction shall come upon him.

Hereby we are taught what to think or hope of reformation of the abuses and errors of the church of Rome. They have been advertised of them, not only by the professors of the Gospel, but also many

of themselves have spoken for reformation of sundry abuses; they have kept many councils and assemblies; they have promised redress; they have sat in consultation many years.

What one thing have they reformed? See and look over their acts and sessions; they be abroad in print. Hitherto they have reformed nothing; no, not their pardons; no, not their stews; they have hardened their hearts, and set themselves against the Highest. Therefore shall the glory of the Lord shew itself in their destruction; with the breath of his lips they shall be consumed, and brought to nothing.

And shall abolish with the brightness of his coming. The Lord shall come, and shall make his enemies his footstool. Then the sun shall be black as sackcloth, and the moon shall be like blood. There shall be an earthquake: kings, and great men, and rich men, and every bond man, and free man, shall hide themselves in dens; they shall say to the hills, and mountains, and rocks, Fall upon us, and hide us from the presence of Him that sitteth on the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb.

Then shall antichrist be quite overthrown; then his kingdom shall be utterly abolished, and have an end; then it shall appear, who hath sought the glory of Christ, who hath followed the doctrine of the Gospel, and who hath done the true endeavour of a faithful shepherd; then it shall appear who is the wolf, who scattereth and spoileth the flock.

St. Jerome saith, "The cup of the Lord's right hand (which is the Lord and Saviour) shall compass him about, when he shall slay him with the breath of his mouth, and shall destroy him with the brightness of his coming; then all the ignominy and shame which he hath heaped up upon himself with thoughts, deeds, and words, shall fall upon his glory and

pomp, insomuch that he shall be afterwards as vile and contemned of all men as he was before reputed or highly esteemed of them."

This might suffice touching the ruin and fall of antichrist; yet I will add to that hath been spoken, the manner of the fight, and of the victory, and of the triumph which shall follow. The fight is doubtful and dangerous; the victory shall be glorious; the triumph shall be joyful. Here let us call to remembrance the wars which tyrants and ungodly princes have made against the people of God, and what followed.

Sennacherib, the great king of the Assyrians, came up against Jerusalem with horses and chariots, and infinite numbers of picked soldiers. The whole country of Jewry was in an agony; all the people were astonished with fear, to see so many enemies, and themselves so few; to see the enemies so strong, and themselves so weak. They knew not neither where to seek aid, nor how to escape the present danger.

Suddenly the Lord sent his angel from heaven to relieve his people. "In one night he smote in the camp of the Assyrians, an hundred fourscore and five thousand," which were all dead corses. (2 Kings, xix.) The residue were scattered, and ran away straggling; they knew not where to hide their head. King Sennacherib went his way, and returned; and when he was in safety at home, and worshipping his god Nisroch in the temple, Adramelech and Sharezer, his sons, slew him.

Remember the cruel wars which Nebuchadnezzar, king of Babylon, made against God's people. He took their city, spoiled their temple, sacked Jerusalem, and gave the prey to his soldiers; he took the nobles, and gentlemen, and merchants, and yeomen, and led them captives. Some of them he took

with him to Babylon, and some he sold for money; so great and so terrible was his victory.

In the midst of all his pomp, God bereft him of his wit, and astonished him with deadly madness. "He was driven from men, and did eat grass as the oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown as eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws." (Dan. iv.) He imagined that he was an ox, that he had hoof, and horn, and hair, as oxen. He therefore forsook his palace, his princely apparel, and dainty fare, and lay abroad, and fed with beasts: so did God avenge the cause of his people.

Who hath not heard of the war which Pharaoh had against the Israelites? The battle was strange, and the victory sudden. The people of God was beset with dangers on every side; the wilderness had shut them in; before their faces they saw the raging sea, that they could not escape it; behind their backs they did behold Pharaoh with his army march after them; if they went forward, they must needs be drowned; if they retired, they must needs be slain; their enemies were mighty, and they were weak.

Suddenly God divided the waters, and made the sea dry land, so that the children of Israel went through the midst of the sea upon dry ground, safely as through a meadow. Pharaoh followed after with his sword and spear to work his fury; then the sea returned to his course, and drowned the chariots, and horsemen, and all the host of Pharaoh; there remained not one of them alive. Their carcasses lay afloat upon the water, and were cast in heaps upon the shore. Such shall be the end of those that hate the Lord; so shall he make his name triumph over all the world.

Let us imagine a battle of two mighty princes, both of great power, and of great courage; they

meet together in the field; they join in battle; both sides encounter together; either part is bent to beat down the other. What an horror is it to hear the braying of horses, the sound of trumpets, the thunder of drums, the roaring of guns, the clashing of swords, the groaning and mournful voice of them which are slain, and the crying and trembling of the people!

Now let us by this make some resemblance of the battle between Christ and antichrist; between Christ, the Son of God, and antichrist, the son of the devil: either of them is well prepared; they are both mighty, and have both of them soldiers and knights to attend upon them.

Antichrist shall come from the earth, for all his glory is upon the earth; his power shall be the power of Satan. Christ shall come from the heaven above, even from the bosom of his Father. What cognizance shall they give? how and by what difference shall their soldiers be discerned? The ensign of Christ shall be *everlasting truth*; the ensign of antichrist shall be *falsehood, and vanity, and all deceitfulness*. By these marks shall either be known.

With what soldiers shall they make their field? They that shall follow Christ are poor and simple, who have forsaken themselves, their goods, and their lives, and tremble at the word of God. The men of war, which fight with antichrist, and follow him, shall be mighty kings and princes, and powers, and states of the world, as St. John hath said. (Rev. vii.) And Gregory hath said, "An army of priests is prepared to wait upon the king of pride." And hereby may you know him.

What armour shall they have, and with what weapon shall they fight? Antichrist shall furnish his men with spear, and sword, and fire. He shall rejoice in killing, in burning, and in shedding of blood.

Christ shall send his men into the field naked, and armed with patience; they shall take up their cross, and follow him, ready to suffer whatsoever shall be laid upon them: their weapons shall be prayers and weeping. What shall be the pretence of this fight?

Antichrist shall come in his own name, to maintain and exalt himself. Christ shall come in his Father's name, to maintain the glory of his Father. What shall they seek? wherefore fight they? what is it they shall desire to maintain? Antichrist shall desire to maintain his own traditions. Christ shall maintain the holy word of God, Christ shall procure the glory of his Father; antichrist shall maintain his own glory.

In what place shall this battle be? upon what downs or plain, or in what country? Neither in hill nor in any plain, but in the hearts of the people. There shall the war be, there shall it be fought. If it were possible the elect should be confounded, his assaults shall be so terrible, that many shall be offended in Christ; many shall deny Christ; many shall be ashamed of him, and the love of many shall wax cold. But blessed is he which continueth to the end.

We have heard briefly of Christ and antichrist, their estates, their several cognizances, what bands of men they shall have, what armour they shall bear, by what title they shall claim, what they shall seek, and where the fight shall be; that it shall be made in the consciences of the people; there shall antichrist sit, there shall he be worshipped as God; there they shall call him the holy, and most holy father; there shall be given to him the power of heaven and earth; there he himself shall rouse himself, and be settled, and shall say, I sit as a prince, I shall never be removed, I cannot fall.

But Christ shall blow him down with the breath of his mouth, and shall abolish him with the bright-

ness of his coming; Christ shall have the upper hand, and destroy him; even that Christ, whom they made the reproach and scorn of the people, whom they reviled, calling him drunkard and companion unto publicans and harlots; which was so poor and simple, which was oppressed and afflicted, and yet opened not his mouth; which was brought as a sheep to the slaughter, and was killed.

St. John had a revelation, and did see Jesus Christ, the Son of God: and "He had in his right hand seven stars, and out of his mouth went a sharp two-edged sword." (Rev. i.) It was sharp and mighty; "it entereth through even to the dividing asunder of the soul and the spirit, and of the joints and the marrow, and is a discerner of the thoughts and intents of the heart." (Heb. iv.) So we see the breath of the mouth of Christ is a sword. This sword shall overthrow antichrist.

Remember how Dagon fell on his face upon the ground before the ark of the Lord, how he could not stand, how at that presence the head and the two palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold with a fall. So shall antichrist fall at the presence of Christ; his arms and his head shall be broken off, and he shall not stand.

Remember that Aaron cast forth his rod before Pharaoh and his servants, and it was turned into a serpent; so did the charmers of Egypt; they cast down every man his rod, and they were also turned into serpents. But Aaron's rod devoured their rods, and consumed them to nothing; even so shall the truth of Christ consume and bring to nothing the falsehood of antichrist.

All his glory shall be scattered as the chaff which the wind driveth away, as a thin foam is scattered away with a storm, and as the smoke which is dispersed with the wind, and as the darkness which cannot abide the light of the sun; it shall be con-

sumed, it shall be defaced, it shall not stand. At the name of Jesus every knee shall bow, and every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is mighty, to the glory of God the Father; that he is worthy to receive glory, and honour, and power.

But who may better disclose this mystery, and the fall of antichrist, than John the Evangelist, which leaned on Jesus' bosom, whom Jesus loved, and which was endued with wisdom from above? Let us hear him. "I saw (saith he, Rev. xiv.) an angel fly in the midst of heaven, having an everlasting Gospel to preach unto them that dwell on the earth, and to every nation, and kindred, and tongue, and people, saying with a loud voice, Fear God, give glory to him; for the hour of his judgment is come, and worship Him that made heaven and earth, the sea, and the fountains of waters.

"And there followed another angel, saying, It is fallen, it is fallen, Babylon the great city; for she made all nations to drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication. And the third angel following them, said with a loud voice, If any man worship the beast and his image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink the wine of the wrath of God, and shall be tormented in fire and brimstone, before the holy angels, and before the Lamb; they shall have no rest day nor night."

"Again the seventh angel poured out his vial into the air; and there came a loud voice out of the temple of heaven, from the throne, saying, *It is done*; that is, it is concluded, judgment is given, it shall stand for ever. And there were voices, and thunderings, and lightnings, and there was a great earthquake, and the great city was rent into three parts, and great Babylon came in remembrance before God, to give unto her the cup of the wine of the fierceness of his wrath."

"Then one of the angels talked with me, saying, Come, I will shew thee the damnation of the great

whore, that sitteth upon many waters, with whom have committed fornication the kings of the earth, and the inhabitants of the earth are drunken with the wine of her fornication." And in the same chapter he saith, "These have all one mind, and shall give their power and authority to the beast," that is, to antichrist. Thus the kings and all princes (as squires to his body) shall fight against the Lamb. "But the Lamb shall overcome them, for he is Lord of lords, and King of kings."

"I saw another angel coming down from heaven, having great power, so that the earth was lightened with his glory, and he cried out mightily with a loud voice, saying, *It is fallen, it is fallen*, Babylon, the great city (the harbour and palace of antichrist), and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of all foul spirits."

"And I heard another voice from heaven say, Go out of her, my people (believe her not, do not as she commandeth you), that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues; for her sins are come up into heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. Reward her, even as she hath rewarded you, and give her double according to her works; and in the cup that she hath filled unto you, fill her the double."

Inasmuch as she glorified herself, and lived in pleasure, so much give you to her torment and sorrow; for she saith in her heart, I sit, being a queen; the world is mine; no ill shall touch me; therefore shall her plagues come at one day, death, and sorrow, and famine, and she shall be burnt with fire, for strong is the Lord God which will condemn her. And the kings of the earth which have committed fornication, and lived in pleasure with her, shall bewail her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning, and shall stand afar off, for

fear of her torment, saying, Alas! alas! the great city Babylon, the mighty city; for in one hour is thy judgment come.

And the merchants of the earth shall weep and wail over her; for no man buyeth her ware any more, the ware of gold and silver, and of precious stones, and of pearls, and of fine linen, and of purple, and of silk, and of scarlet, of all manner of thyme-wood, and of all vessels of ivory, and of all vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and of iron, and of marble, and of cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and servants, and souls of men; no man any more shall buy her parchment, wax, and seals; no man shall buy her orders, her dispensations, pluralities, *totquot*, *non-residence*, *perinde valere*.

No man shall buy her concubines, her oil, salt, holy water, holy bread; no man shall buy her palls, her *Agnos Dei*, her jubilees, masses, trentals, and pardons; no man shall any more buy of her forgiveness of their sins, and life everlasting; no man shall regard her, no man shall buy, or seek to get this merchandise of her any more.

The merchants of these wares shall stand afar off, for fear of her plagues, and say, Alas! that great city that was clothed in reins, and scarlet, and purple, and gold, and diamonds, and precious stones, in one hour is all thy glory stript from thee. Oh! what city under heaven was like unto thee! Thou wast the great city, the noble, and the holy city. Then a mighty angel took up a stone, like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, With such violence shall the great city Babylon be cast, and shall be found no more.

She shall be out of remembrance. They shall seek the place where she stood, and not find it. The voice of harpers and musicians shall be no more heard in

her; the light of a candle shall shine no more in her; her merchants, officers, and dataries, were the great men of the earth, and by her enchantments were all nations deceived; and in her was found the blood of the prophets, and of the saints, and of all that were slain upon earth.

"Then I heard a great voice of a great multitude in heaven, saying, HALLELUJAH, salvation, and glory, and honour, and power be to the Lord our God; for he hath condemned the great whore, which did corrupt the earth with her fornication, and hath avenged the blood of his servants shed by her hand. And again they said *Hallelujah*. And the smoke rose up for evermore, and the four-and-twenty elders fell down, and worshipped God that sat on the throne, saying, *Amen, Hallelujah*. Then a voice came out of the throne, saying, Praise our God all ye his servants, both small and great.

"And I heard like the voice of a great multitude, and as the voice of many waters, and as the voice of strong thunderings, saying, *Hallelujah*, for our Lord God Almighty hath reigned." Let us be glad and rejoice, and give glory to him, for she is fallen, she is fallen, Babylon, that great city, there she lieth, the mother of filth and fornication; there lieth antichrist, the man of sin, the son of perdition, which is an adversary, which hath sat in the temple of God, and exalted himself above all that is called God; that wicked and lawless man lieth there.

The Lamb, the root of Jesse, the lion of the tribe of Judah, hath overcome, and gotten the victory; he is worthy to receive the glory and honour. Then shall the Apostles, and the Prophets, and the angels say, Praise, and honour, and glory be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb for evermore. We thank thee, we give thanks to thee, O God, which art, and was, and shalt be. Thou hast

avenged the blood of the prophets and martyrs; thou hast destroyed them that have defiled the earth; thy name be blessed for ever, *Amen*, *Hallelujah*; such glee and triumph shall be in heaven for the overthrow of antichrist.

Thus have I by occasion of the Apostle's words spoken of the coming, and of the kingdom of antichrist; and lest we might be deceived, as touching his person, I have said what he should be, what things he shall do, of what estate he shall be, what countenance he shall carry, in what place he shall sit, at what time shall be his coming, by what means he shall prevail, who they be that shall believe in him, what power shall beat him down, what end he shall have, what triumph shall follow upon his fall.

I have told you, that he shall be the overthrow of the world, the confusion of the church, the son of perdition; that he shall destroy himself, and be the destruction of others.

I have told you, he shall be a reverend father, and wear a mitre, and be a bishop, and a bishop of bishops; so saith Gregory, so Jerome, so Augustine and Bernard, and others. And cannot we tell who it is, that calleth himself an universal bishop, the bishop of all churches? do we not hear of such a one? do we not know him? Whatsoever he be, wheresoever he dwell, what countenance soever he bear, he is antichrist.

I have told you, he shall sit in the temple of God, in the consciences of the people; that the people shall hear, credit, follow, and honour him, as if he were God, and think it sin and damnation to break his lore.

I have told you where he shall be stalled, where his chief place shall be, whence he may be seen. St. John saith, he shall sit in a city built upon seven

hills: that city is the city of Rome; Rome is so built; Rome is set upon seven hills. Dame Sibylla saith, antichrist shall sit by the water of Tiber, and Tiber is a river that runneth by Rome. Joachimus Abbas saith, antichrist is long since born at Rome, and shall be advanced in the apostolic see.

He is born, and sheweth himself not at Babylon, not at Constantinople, but at Rome. These be plain speeches. If any man doubt this, let him read their books; they be extant abroad. Antichrist shall sit in Peter's chair, and Rome shall be the seat of his kingdom.

I have told you, he shall come when the state and majesty of the empire shall be weakened. Antichrist shall possess the emperor's land, and bear the sword, and wear his crown, and shall make the emperor fall down, and worship him, and kiss his feet. Hath there ever been any such bishop in the world? hath there (I say) ever been any such? If ever there were any such, St. Paul saith, the same is antichrist.

I told you, the world shall fall down, and reverence him, and shall seek life and salvation at his hands. John saith, they shall cry, "Oh! who is like the beast?" who is like our holy father; who is so wise, so learned, so holy? They shall follow him whithersoever he shall lead them, they shall eat whatsoever he will give them; and they which shall do thus, are such as have no feeling, no care, no love to the truth of God; therefore God forsaketh them, and leaveth them to follow lies.

I told you, he shall prevail by falsehood and by feigned miracles; by bulls, by pardons, by purgatories, and by such other devices and shifts of Satan.

I told you, he shall be contrary to Christ, in sacraments, in sacrifice, in prayers, in life, in doctrine, in religion, in the whole form and order of the church. He shall shut that Christ hath opened;

he shall open that Christ hath shut; he shall curse that Christ hath blessed, and bless that Christ hath cursed. No man shall be accounted faithful, no man catholic, no man the son of the church, no man may be saved without him; such credit and countenance shall he bear.

I told you, he shall be confounded and beaten down by the force and power of God's mighty word. His word is omnipotent; it shall disclose the works of darkness; it shall hew down idolatry, superstition, and the whole kingdom of antichrist, as our eyes do see this day. Blessed be God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, his mighty hand hath wrought these things; he hath triumphed through the name of his Christ; he will bless the things he hath begun; he will overthrow the whole power of antichrist by his presence, and by the glory of his coming. Then shall it appear who is the successor of Peter, who is the true vicar of Christ, and who is antichrist.

Ver. 13. *But we ought to give thanks always to God for you, brethren, beloved of the Lord, because that God hath from the beginning chosen you to salvation, through sanctification of the Spirit, and the faith of the truth,*

Ver. 14. *Whereunto he called you by our Gospel, to obtain the glory of our Lord Jesus Christ.*

God hath chosen you from the beginning, his election is sure for ever. The Lord knoweth who are his. You shall not be deceived with the power and subtilty of antichrist; you shall not fall from grace; you shall not perish. This is the comfort, which abideth with the faithful when they behold the fall of the wicked; when they see them forsake the truth, and delight in fables; when they see them return to their vomit, and to wallow again in the mire.

When we see these things in other, we must say, Alas! they are examples for me, and they are lamentable examples. Let him that standeth, take heed that he fall not. But God hath loved me, and hath chosen me to salvation. His mercy shall go before me, and his mercy shall follow in me; his mercy shall guide my feet, and stay me from falling. If I stay by myself, I stay by nothing, I must needs come to ground. Although all the world should be drowned with the waves of ungodliness, yet will I hold by the boat of his mercy, which shall safely preserve me.

If all the world be set on fire with the flame of wickedness, yet will I creep into the bosom of the protection of my Lord; so shall no flame hurt me. He hath loved me, he hath chosen me, he will keep me. Neither the example nor the company of others, nor the enticing of the devil, nor mine own sensual imaginations, nor sword, nor fire, is able to separate me from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. This is the comfort of the faithful; so shall they wash their hands in the blood of the Lamb.

Therefore saith Paul, You are my children; I have begotten you in Christ; God hath given you unto me; he hath made the Gospel, which is come unto you by my ministry, fruitful in you. *I ought to give God thanks always for you.* Whatsoever falleth upon others, although others fall and perish, although they forsake Christ, and follow after antichrist, yet God hath loved you, and given his Son for you; he hath chosen you, and prepared you to salvation, and hath written your names in the book of life.

But how may we know that God hath chosen us? how may we see this election? or how may we feel it? The Apostle saith, *Through sanctification and faith of truth*; these are tokens of God's election.

Have you received the Gospel? It is the light of the world; it teacheth us to know that God is God, and that we are his people. The credit you give to the Gospel, is a witness of your election.

We believe whatsoever God speaketh, because it is the word of God; for his word is truth. We believe that Christ is the Lamb of God, that he hath taken away the sins of the world; because it is the word of God. (John, i.) We believe that the blood of Jesus Christ cleanseth us from all sin, because it is the word of God. (1 John, i.) We believe Christ came to save sinners, because it is the word of God. (Matt. ix.) We believe God will defer his wrath, and will shew mercy for himself for his own name's sake, because it is the word of God. (Isa. xlviii.) We believe they that trust in the Lord, shall not be confounded, because it is the word of God. (Psa. xxii.)

We believe we are saved by grace through faith, and that not of ourselves, it is the gift of God, not of works, lest any man should boast, because it is the word of God. (Eph. ii.) We believe, without faith it is impossible to please God; and again, that faith cometh by hearing (Heb. xi.); and again, that it is the gift of God, because it is the word of God; it is the truth. (Rom. x.)

We believe that antichrist shall be confounded, and bereft of all his glory, because the word of the Lord hath spoken it. His word is righteousness and truth. We will always believe that is true, therefore we cannot but believe the word of God. (Phil. Rev. xviii. xix.)

Faith knoweth no falsehood, it beholdeth the truth only, and not all truth, but the truth of God; it is not settled upon vanities, nor upon errors. Unless it be truth by the word of God, whatsoever thou holdest in opinion, is not to be called faith. The

Turk is settled in errors; he persuadeth himself he is rightly settled; he calleth his opinions faith and belief; yet this is not faith, because it is not the faith of truth; it hath not the word of God to assure it.

Therefore when men will say, Believe our masses, believe our sacrifices, believe our transubstantiations, and our real presences; believe us whatsoever we say, believe that we cannot err, believe that you are in a good belief; if you say you believe as the church believeth, though you know not how or what the church believeth, they abuse and mock the people of God. There is no truth in this doctrine; it never passed out of the mouth of God.

God ordained not masses, nor that the priest should offer sacrifice for the quick and dead; therefore it is no matter of faith, it is folly and vanity, it is ungodliness, it is error, it hath no substance. He that receiveth such doctrine, maketh much of a shadow; he cannot hold it.

Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. The word of God is truth. The Gospel is the word of God, and the power of God to save them that believe. The belief of the Gospel is laid up in our hearts by the Spirit of God: he bringeth us to the knowledge of the truth. This Spirit beareth witness unto our spirit, that we are the sons of God. This Spirit teacheth us to withdraw our minds from worldly cares, to call our doings to a reckoning, to think of the dreadful day of judgment, to repent for our former sins, and to serve God in holiness and righteousness. This Spirit sheweth us the mercy of God, helpeth us to pray, and prayeth for us; he is our Comforter, helpeth our infirmities, and maketh us know the things that are given us of God.

This did David see, when he prayed, "Create a clean heart in me, O God, and renew a right spirit within me." My heart is sinful, my heart is foul:

renew it with thy Spirit; thy Spirit is right; he shall make my heart clean. Again: "Take not thy holy Spirit from me; I am thy servant, and the son of thy handmaid; turn thy face away from my sins; behold me, and receive me in thy mercy; restore me to the light of thy countenance. Open thou my lips, and my mouth shall shew forth thy praise. Stablish me with thy free Spirit."

This strength we gather in God by his Spirit; this comforteth us in all temptations, and beareth witness with our spirit, that we be the children of God, that God hath chosen us, and doth love us, and hath prepared us to salvation; that we are the heirs of his glory, that God will keep us as the apple of his eye, that he will defend us, and we shall not perish.

Ver. 15. *Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and keep all the instructions which ye have been taught either by word or by our epistle.*

God hath set you in a race; let no man hinder you, let no man keep you from the goal. Stand fast, and keep that doctrine which you have received. When I was present with you, I taught you by word of mouth; when I was away from you, I taught you by letters. I am careful for you, I bear you in my heart, and love you in Christ Jesus. He hath given me charge over you; he will require you at my hands; I have cleansed and garnished your hearts by the word of truth; take heed, take heed the wicked spirit come not, and bring seven spirits worse than himself, and enter in, and dwell with you, and the end of you be worse than the beginning.

Remember Lot's wife; she went not forth straight in the way appointed her, but looked back behind her, and she became a pillar of salt, and so continueth until this day, a terrible example to those which have set their hand to the plough, and look

back again, and have made themselves unworthy the kingdom of heaven.

God will forsake such, and make their hearts hard as a stone. You are the corn of the Lord's field. God hath blessed you; grow then, and be fruitful until the harvest, that you may be gathered into the Lord's barn. You are the light of God, which God himself hath kindled; let no puff of wind put you out. You are the house of God; God hath built you upon a rock; let no violence nor tempestuous weather beat you down.

I have spoken to you, I have written to you, I have shewed you the whole counsel of God. The word which I spake to you is the word of God. I testify before the Lord, and call God to witness unto my soul, that it is the truth of God, and not any device of man. You did believe it, you received it not as the word of men, but, as it is indeed, the word of God.

Become not now unfaithful. Although you spy many infirmities in your teachers; although you see them fall into offences, and wax covetous, and give evil example in their life and conversation; although you see the faith of many shaken, and that they have put away from them a good conscience, and turn back from the love of the Gospel, which they once seemed to profess, and so are gone out from among you; yet stand you upright.

Hold fast the doctrine which you have received, and continue in the things which you have learned, and be persuaded that they are able to make you wise unto salvation, through the faith which is in Christ Jesus. Christ saith (Matt. xviii.), "Woe be to the world, because of offences. Whosoever shall offend one of these little ones which believe in me, it were better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were drowned in the depth of the

sea." And again he saith (Matt. xi.), "Blessed is he which is not offended in me." Therefore work your own salvation in trembling and in fear. Blessed is he that abideth with Christ in temptation, and continueth faithful unto the end.

Ver. 16. *Now the same Jesus Christ, our Lord and our God, even the Father, which hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation, and good hope through grace,*

Ver. 17. *Comfort your hearts, and stablish you in every word and good work.*

After his exhortation that they would stand fast, and continue faithful unto the end, he turneth himself to God, and prayeth him to look upon them mercifully down from heaven, and to fulfil the work begun, and to increase and multiply his grace in them. So ought all preachers and servants of God to do in their sermons. For, alas! what are we? what is our word, what is our labour, without the assistance of God?

We are only the voice of a crier in the wilderness; we call upon the people to prepare the way of the Lord, and to make his paths straight; we give warning that the Lord is even at hand. He that teacheth is nothing; he that planteth is nothing; he that watereth is nothing; our tongue is nothing; our word is nothing; our wit is nothing; Peter is nothing; Paul is nothing: it is God which openeth the hearts of the people, and maketh them tremble at his words: it is God which giveth the increase, and maketh his word to be of force.

The Prophet saith (Psa. lxviii.), "The Lord gave the word; great was the company of preachers." It is the work of God, both to make his word mighty, and to make the people to receive it, and yield unto it. He giveth us hearts to feel the comfort of his

word, and to yield our obedience in doing, as the word requireth. For he is the Father of lights, from whom all gifts are poured down upon us. We are the children of Adam; we are flesh and blood, and nothing but vile clay and ashes. Our eyes are dim, our senses dull, and our hearts heavy. Christ telleth us truly (John, xv.), "Without me ye can do nothing, neither hear the word, nor believe it."

I mark your presence, that you are many gathered together this day in this place. Every man seemeth to stand with bent countenance and earnest looks, and desirous to learn. And albeit, I which speak am but a worm, unworthy to creep upon the earth, yet the word which we have heard is the word of God, the word of comfort, and the word of life. But God knoweth in all this company how many have ears to hear.

In the Acts of the Apostles, when God opened their hearts, they understood the Scriptures. Before they heard, and knew not what they heard, Paul preached; Lydia, a woman which sold purple, heard him; the Lord opened her heart, that she hearkened unto Paul. (Acts, xvi.) Then she understood his words, and believed. This comfort is of God, who hath loved us, and hath given us everlasting consolation; he will give you understanding hearts, and will stablish you in every word and good work.

CHAP. III.

Ver. 1. *Furthermore, brethren, pray for us, that the word of the Lord may have free passage, and be glorified, even as it is with you.*

Pray for me, that I may be a faithful servant, doing the will of God from my heart, that he will open my mouth boldly to publish the secret of the Gospel, and to declare the riches and glory of his

kingdom. For of myself I am nothing; I have not the key of David; I cannot give light unto the world, and am not able to open the hearts of the people, that the word of God may have free passage.

He saith not, Pray for us, that my word may have passage; or, that my name may be spoken of and glorified; or, that the people may behold my doings, and talk of me; "For we preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus the Lord, and ourselves your servants for Christ's sake." (2 Cor. iv.) I am but an unprofitable servant; I am the poor ox that treadeth out the wheat; I am a poor crier, to proclaim the will of the Lord.

Pray you that the word of the Lord may have free passage; that the Gospel of Christ may be glorified, that the hearts of the people may be ready and greedy to receive it; that the kingdom of heaven suffer violence, and the violent take it by force; that the word may so possess the hearts of the people, as fire hath passage through stubble; that it may shine as the sun-beams over all the world; that it may be known from east to west, and from north to south.

In this sort pray that the word may have a glorious entrance into you, and also among others. Herein shall appear the love you have to the saints, and the zeal you bear to the house of God, when you wish others to be partakers of this blessedness with you; when you seek not your own glory, but the building of the church of Christ; when you pray that God will be merciful unto others, as unto you, that a light may be given to them that sit in darkness, and in the shadow of death; that they may know the time of their visitation.

Such a prayer made David (Psa. lxvii.): "God be merciful unto us, and bless us, and cause his face to shine among us, that they may know thy way upon earth, thy saving health among all nations. Let

the people praise thee, O God, let all the people praise thee." Thus did Jeremy pray (Lam. v.): "Turn thou us unto thee, O Lord, and we shall be turned. Give us a new heart and a new spirit, incline our hearts unto thy testimonies, that we may know and fear thy name."

So did Christ teach us to pray (Matt. vi.): "Hallowed be thy name," among the infidels which know thee not; let thy name be had in reverence among all people. "Thy kingdom come, thy will be done." There is no other God but only thou; let all the earth come and worship thee. Even so must we also pray, that the word of God may have free passage, and his name be glorified in all places.

Ver. 2. *And that we may be delivered from unreasonable and evil men, for all men have not faith.*

Ver. 3. *But the Lord is faithful, which will stablish you, and keep you from all evil.*

Ver. 4. *And we are persuaded of you through the Lord, that ye both do, and will do the things which we command you.*

Ver. 5. *And the Lord guide your hearts to the love of God, and the waiting for of Christ.*

From unreasonable and evil men. Which conspire against the Lord and his Anointed, which blaspheme that good name that is called upon us. Such were Jannes and Jambres, which resisted Moses in the time of the law. Such were they in the time of the Prophets, which said (Jer. xliv.), "The word that thou hast spoken unto us in the name of the Lord, we will not hear it of thee; but we will do whatsoever thing goeth out of our own mouth, as to burn incense to the queen of heaven, as we have done, both we and our fathers, our kings and our princes."

Such were in the time of the Gospel the Scribes and the Pharisees (Matt. xv.), "which made the

commandment of God of no authority by their tradition," which turned darkness into light, and light into darkness. Such was Alexander the coppersmith, such were others, the whole Scriptures are full of such; they were false prophets, false apostles, false brethren; they caused divisions in the church; they went out to preach in the name of Christ, but inwardly they were ravening wolves.

Such were in the days of our fathers, and such there are in our days, such Jannes and Jambres, such idol-worshippers, such scorners of God's word, such Scribes and Pharisees, such Alexanders, such false prophets, false apostles, and false brethren; we have more than a good many in our days; they pretend the Gospel, no man more. In company of Protestants, they will be Protestants; in company of others, they are quite become contrary.

They come to the church, and receive the holy communion; they resort secretly to corners, where they hear mass; they like the one, and like the other; they like the light, and they love darkness, and make no difference between them. These are ready to serve Christ, and also ready to serve antichrist; faithful neither to God, nor to Baal: and this is among many counted the highest point of wisdom, to be able so to colour and hide himself, that you shall not know what profession he is of, to what church he joineth himself, what religion he holdeth, whose word or gospel he followeth, in what God he believeth.

Such there are; and they only be the singular men, reckoned the fine wits and cunning fellows of the world. This is to be lamented, that in a Christian estate there should be any such; that they at whose hands God shall require a straiter account than of others, because he hath given them the use of greater talents, either of wit or of learning, or of prefer-

ment, or of riches, should so mis-spend the good gifts of God, or use his talents to such evil purpose, that they more than all other should devise means how to deny Christ among men, and, as much as in them lieth, to seek to crucify again the Lord of glory.

The Jews deal not so wickedly; the Turks deal not so traitorously; the Jew, although his case be miserable, and his heresies most dangerous, yet he is earnest in his folly; he will not dissemble his profession. The Turk is faithful unto Mahomet, and will not deny or forsake him.

These false brethren and dissembling Christians are worse than Jews and Turks; they are void of conscience, void of faith, void of fear of shame, and of the grace of God; they are filthy swine, shameless dogs, and the enemies of the cross of Christ. These hinder the passage of the Gospel, and blaspheme the holy word of their salvation, and do all that in them lieth to abolish the light of God's truth. St. Paul telleth us, "All men have not faith;" many hearts be naked, and void of faith; many seem to live, and yet are dead.

Howsoever these men carry out their doings in this life, they cannot mock God; he knoweth who are his. Christ shall say unto these cunning-witted dissemblers, Depart from me, ye hypocrites, I know you not; you shall receive your portion with the devil and his angels.

Pray that we may be delivered from such unreasonable and evil men, that they stop not the free passage of the Gospel, that they may have no power against the glory of God. Then shall it appear, that God is faithful in all his words, and holy in all his works, that his truth and mercy shall last for ever. He will establish us in all goodness, and defend us from all evil; he will keep us from all the power of

Satan; he will keep us from all temptations, that the wicked shall not prevail against us.

And we are persuaded of you through the Lord, that ye both do, and will do the things which we warn you of. You know what commandments we gave you by the Lord. I spake unto you the will of God, and not mine own. I was unto you but a messenger, to deliver unto you such an errand as God sent unto you; I hope you have received it in such duty as becometh, and that you both do and will hereafter obey it.

I am your physician; the receipt which I have given you is sovereign, and shall work your health; I trust it tarrieth with you, and you brook it well; I have spoken unto you in the name of God; his name is holy; he will cause that my labour shall not be in vain, but will make it fruitful in you.

Although all men have not faith, yet all men are not void of faith; although there be many the children of this world, yet there be some the children of light; he that is of God, heareth the word of God; they that be the sons of God, are obedient to the wisdom of God their Father.

God guide your hearts, that you may love him, that you may know what good God hath wrought unto your souls; that you may see the depth of his mercy; that in all your tribulations and adversity under the cross, and in your death, you may look for the day of Christ, when the trumpet shall be sounded, the graves shall be opened, the dead bodies shall come forth, and we shall be taken up into the clouds; then shall he change our vile body, that it may be like his glorious body; then shall we be like the angels of God; we shall see God face to face, and rest with him for ever.

Ver. 6. *We warn you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from*

every brother that walketh inordinately, and not after the instruction which he received of us.

The kingdom of God is like to a draw-net cast into the sea, that gathereth of all kinds of things; it is like a field, wherein groweth both corn and weeds. Sundry virgins went out to wait upon the spouse; some were wise, some were foolish; some had oil in their lamps, some had none: many came to the marriage; some had their wedding-garment, some lacked it. Many are called, but few are chosen. Some bear the name of Christians, yet live in usury, to the spoil and undoing of their brethren; some bear the name of Christians, yet live in adultery and fornication, as the heathen which know not God: these be they, through whom the name of God is evil spoken of.

Therefore saith Paul, I warn you, that you withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh inordinately. Forsake him, refuse his company, eat not with him, drink not with him, that so he may be ashamed of his filthiness. Receive him not to your house, nor bid him God speed; for he that biddeth him God speed, is partaker of his evil deeds.

Have you no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but even reprove them rather. A little leaven doth leaven the whole lump. The wrath of God shall come not only upon those which commit wickedness, but also upon all those which consent to the working thereof. Among the Corinthians one had committed incest, and had taken his father's wife. St. Paul saith (1 Cor. v.), "Let such one be delivered unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." Deliver him up to Satan.

Mark his words, and in what case he speaketh them; for, they that delight in wickedness, and are

sold over unto sin, which are filthy, and increase in filthiness, they are not of God, they have no part in the church of God; the devil and Satan hath power over them, therefore deliver them up to Satan.

The reward of sin is death; the soul which hath sinned shall die. For this cause hath the church of God ordained excommunication; that he that hath done wickedly may be ashamed; that others who are guiltless may be afraid; and that the heavy displeasure of God may be avoided.

We warn you (saith he) *in the name of our Lord.* You know me, and my name, and that I am an Apostle of Christ. But the commandment which I give you is in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ. I warn you by the glorious day of his coming, that you withdraw yourselves from every one that liveth inordinately. Receive him not to your company, bid him not God speed, that you be not partakers of his evil, that he may know his filthiness, and be ashamed.

Yet let us pray for such, that they may be sorry, that they may know whom they have offended, and turn again unto the Lord. For God would not the death of a sinner, but that he repent of his wickedness, and live. The mercy of God is above all his works.

Ver. 7. *For ye yourselves know, how ye ought to follow us, for we behaved not ourselves inordinately among you,*

Ver. 8. *Neither took we bread of any man for nought, but we wrought with labour and travail night and day, because we would not be chargeable to any of you:*

Ver. 9. *Not because we have not authority, but that we might make ourselves an example unto you to follow us.*

Ver. 10. *For even when we were with you, this we*

warned you of, that if there were any which would not work, they should not eat.

Ver. 11. *For we hear, that there are some which walk among you inordinately, and work not at all, but are busy-bodies:*

Ver. 12. *Therefore them that are such, we warn and exhort by our Lord Jesus Christ, that they work with quietness, and eat their own bread.*

Ver. 13. *And ye, brethren, be not weary in well-doing.*

Here Paul maketh his speech against those, who, under the pretence of the Gospel, lived idly, and would not labour. Take an example of me; I lived not idly; I earned my bread; I was not chargeable to any. Do you as you have us for an example. So ought the servants of God to live, that their well-doing may be a pattern for the people to follow.

St. Paul telleth Timothy (1 Ep. iii.), "A bishop must be unreprovable." He saith not, without sin, for no man is without sin; but, without rebuke. And again (chap. iv.), "Let no man despise thy youth; but be unto them that believe, an example in word, in conversation, in love, in spirit, in faith, and in pureness." And unto Titus, the bishop of Candia, he saith, In all things shew thyself an example of good works, with uncorrupt doctrine, with gravity, integrity, and with the wholesome word, which cannot be condemned, that he which withstandeth may be ashamed, having nothing concerning you to speak evil of.

So in this place to the Thessalonians he saith, You behold my conversation, how I have lived among you. Be ye followers of me; let me be the pattern for you to follow.—Such should be the speech of all those who are bishops and ministers in the church of God. They must walk so uprightly, that they may

be unto all others the patterns of good life, of liberality, of mercy, and of love. They must carry the ark of the Lord, that the people may follow them.

We behaved not ourselves inordinately, &c. Whereas I was an Apostle of Christ, the first fruits of the Gospel, a chosen vessel, called from above, and set apart from mine own business, to be the ambassador of God into the world, and had so much to do; yet I used my hands, and pained my body, to get my bread, I lived like one of Adam's children in travail of my body, and sought my bread in the sweat of my brows.

Not that I might not lawfully have lived upon you, and have required my maintenance at your hands; it was lawful for me to have done so, for the workman is worthy of his hire. God hath appointed, that he which teacheth the Gospel, should live by the Gospel.

This matter St. Paul reasoneth with the Corinthians (1 Ep. ix.): "Have we not power to eat and drink? or have we not power to lead about a wife, a sister, as well as the rest of the Apostles, and as the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Who goeth a warfare at any time at his own cost? who planteth a vineyard, and eateth not of the fruit thereof? or who feedeth a flock, and eateth not of the milk of the flock?" I might eat and drink at your charge, and require charges of you for me and mine.

I am the soldier of God; Christ is my captain; I have planted the vine of the Lord of Hosts among you; I have fed you; you are the sheep of the house of Israel. The hire due to the soldier, the fruit whereof he should eat, which keepeth the vine, and the milk which Christ's sheep yield to their feeder, is nothing else but your charitable benevolence towards the servants of Christ.

Again: "It is written in the law of Moses, Thou

shalt not muzzle the mouth of the ox, that treadeth out the corn." He travaileth for thee, that thou mayest live. Suffer him to lick a little for his pains. We are the Lord's oxen; we thresh forth his corn.

"If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we reap your carnal things?" We are God's husbandmen; we travail and take pains, we plough, we sow, we harrow, we are abroad in wind and weather, in storm, in hail, in lightning, and thunder. No man knoweth the care the poor husbandman taketh. Winter nor summer, our work is never at an end. Now if we by our labour minister to you the bread which cometh from heaven, is it much that you give us the bread of the earth? "Do you not know that they which wait at the altar are partakers with the altar?" It hath so seemed good unto God; it is his appointment; he hath established it by his law, and it is most agreeable to the law of reason and nature.

Yet this is also to be weighed in the consideration hereof, that whosoever asketh the pay of a soldier, must buckle his armour, and go a warfare. He that drinketh the wine, must plant the grape; he that requireth milk, must feed the flock; he that will not be muzzled, must thresh the corn; he that reapeth carnal things, must sow spiritual things; he that requireth the bread of the earth, must minister to his hearers the bread of heaven; he that will live of the sacrifice, or of the altar, or of the Gospel, must offer his sacrifice, wait upon the altar, and teach the Gospel.

He that teacheth not the Gospel, nor careth for the teaching; he that serveth not the altar, nor careth for the serving; he that goeth not on warfare, that planteth not, that feedeth not, that thresheth not, that plougheth not, that travaileth not, that taketh no pains, that abideth not light-

ning, thunder, wind, weather, storm, and hail; he that careth not to do these things, I can make no account of him. He is not within Paul's reckoning. The workman is worthy of his hire; but what right hath he to the hire, which is not a workman?

I might, saith he, have received maintenance at your hands; but I took nothing, that I might be an example for you to follow; that none should live idly, but that they work with quietness, and eat their own bread. Idleness is the mother of all mischief; an idle pack is as if he were already dead; his feet serve him not to travel, his hands help him not to work, his eyes serve him not to see his estate; his heart regardeth not the time and misery of his age; beggary falleth upon him, and gnaweth his bones; but he feeleth it not. For he is, as if he were already dead.

Solomon saith (Prov. xii.), "He that followeth idleness hath no understanding." And again (chap. xxviii.), "He that followeth idleness, shall be filled with poverty." He is unprofitable to himself, and unto others. His children shall beg at every door. Again he saith (chap. xx.), "The slothful will not plough, because of winter; he shall beg in summer, but have nothing;" that is, men that have received increase of God's blessing by taking pains, shall deny bread unto such, and upbraid them for their idleness, and so drive them to labour.

They will say, as it is devised that the ant said in like case to the grasshopper, In the summer thou didst nothing but sing, therefore thou mayest starve in the winter. These extremities be great, if a man will weigh them advisedly. Yet Ecclesiasticus saith farther: "Idleness bringeth much evil." It is an evil teacher; he that doth nothing, is ill occupied. The mind of man is ever stirring, and doing somewhat; if it be not doing well, it is doing ill.

Water is clear and fair, fresh and comfortable; yet if it stand still in a hole, or be kept long in a vessel, whence it hath no issue, it will rot and smell, and be unwholesome. Even so it fareth with the sons of Adam; if they have nothing to do, no way to bestow their wit, they will rot, and prove unwholesome, and devise mischief all the day long.

What is it that filleth the prisons, and bringeth so many to the gallows, and causeth so many parents to bewail the untimely death of their children, but idleness? When the poor wretches have received their judgment, and come to the place of execution, and stand on the ladder, what counsel give they to young men, and to children, but to beware of idleness?

What is the cause of such and so many diseases in the body? Ask the physicians, and they will tell you, idleness. Whereof rise mutterings in cities against magistrates? whereof rise rebellions in kingdoms against princes? You can give no greater cause thereof than idleness. "Behold (saith the Lord, Ezek. xvi.), this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom, pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness." This was it that called for fire down from heaven, and wasted so many cities into ashes.

Christ saith (Matt. xii.), "Of every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give an account thereof at the day of judgment." If we shall make account for our idle words, what shall we do for our idle hands, for our idle feet, for our idle body, for our idle soul? What account for all our idleness shall we make at the day of judgment?

We warned you, saith the Apostle, that if any would not work, the same should not eat. This is a hard saying. Yet saith Paul, I myself have kept it, I have fulfilled it in mine own body. He doth not say, If any be sick, or weak, or impotent, and cannot work; but if any be idle, and froward,

and will not work, to such an one give not to eat; that so he may see the danger of idleness, "and work with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give him that needeth." (Eph. iv.) It is not lawful to give them the bread of the church, and the alms ordained for relief of the poor. This bread they may not eat.

But you will say, kings and counsellors, bishops, preachers, and all other sorts of learned men, neither plough nor sow, nor hedge nor ditch, nor use such painful labour of the body; they sit at rest, and live idly. They that so think are deceived: the toil which princes take, and the great cares wherewith they are occupied, pass all other cares in the world. St. Paul calleth the office of a bishop a good work.

If a bishop or minister study the Scriptures, preach the Gospel, catechize the children, and take a care of the souls of God's people; if he sow the Lord's field, feed the Lord's flock, thresh the Lord's corn, and walk before the people carefully; if he have the care of the churches, and can say with the Apostle (2 Cor. xi.), "Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?" Any offence that is given to my brother, is to me as a fire, or as a torment. If he be instant in season, and out of season; if he do the work of an evangelist, and make his ministry fully known, he shall find himself occupied, and not be idle.

The master of the ship seemeth to be idle, to sit still, and do nothing; he stirreth not the pump, he driveth not the oars, he soundeth not the deep, he rideth not the ropes, he scaleth not the shrouds, he runneth not hither and thither, forward or backward, under the hatches or above; he sitteth still, holdeth his peace, and looketh upon the loadstar, and in appearance doth nothing.

But his labour passeth all the rest. Without his

labour, all the pains which the other mariners take were lost. Were it not for his labour, the ship would soon strike upon rocks, and be stayed on the sands, and they all should perish. Even so fareth it in the state of princes and of their counsellors; they seem to do nothing, yet they do all things which are for the peace, and the wealth, and the safeguard of all the people.

Be not weary in well-doing. Many occasions to discourage you to do well; the world is full of lets, but be you steadfast, unmoveable, and abundant always in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as you know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord. Stand fast, and keep the instructions which you have been taught. Distribute to the necessity of the saints. Do good unto all men, especially to them that be of the household of faith.

Live not after the lusts of men in wantonness, drunkenness, and gluttony, and in abominable idolatry. Though they speak evil of you, because you run not with them unto the same excess of riot; though the devil cast you into prison, and there you have tribulation, be you faithful unto death. They that have afflicted you shall give an account to the righteous Judge, and the afflictions which you suffer in this present time, are not worthy of the glory which shall be shewed unto you.

Ver. 14. *If any man obey not this our saying, note him by a letter, and have no company with him, that he may be ashamed.*

Ver. 15. *Yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.*

You have been taught not only what you shall believe, but also how ye ought to live; be ye doers of the word, and not hearers only. If any despise and will not follow our doctrine, forsake him, and let

him have no fellowship with you, that so he may be ashamed, and repent, and turn again to the obedience of Christ. But lay apart all bitterness, and anger, and wrath. Reprove him, but hate him not. Kill the sin that is in him by all the means you can, for it is the work of the devil; but recover again the man that did offend, and restore him, if it be possible, by exhortation, and by your prayers made for him, for he is the creature of God.

Here I have good occasion to speak of excommunication, a principal part of the discipline of the church, a matter which many know not, which some do foully abuse, and over-lightly give forth, and which many regard not as they ought. It cutteth us off from the body of Christ, and removeth us from the fellowship of the Gospel. Let no man despise it. It is the sword of God, the power of the Holy Ghost, the discipline of Christ; it is an ordinance which the church hath received from above.

By it the goats are divided from the lambs, the weed from the corn, and the sons of God from the sons of Belial. It hath continued from the beginning, and hath been used in the church of Christ, in the synagogue of the Jews, in the law of Moses, and before Moses received the law; among the Patriarchs and the Prophets, and the Apostles of Christ.

Christ saith (Matt. xviii.), "If thy brother trespass against thee in doing any wickedness, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast won thy brother; but if he hear thee not, take yet with thee one or two, and if he will not vouchsafe to hear them, tell it unto the church," publish it, and make it known. "And if he refuse to hear the church also," if he continue wilful, and stand in his wickedness, "let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican." This form of excom-

munication our Saviour hath set down, whereby the wicked and ungodly are removed from the church of Christ.

So St. Paul speaketh of him that lived in filthiness with his father's wife; that they give him no comfort in wickedness, but take away the evil from among them. "Let such a one (saith he, 1 Cor. v.) be delivered unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of our Lord Jesus. Company not together with fornicators. If any that is called a brother, be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such a one eat not." Let him be put away from the company of the faithful. So did St. Paul excommunicate Hymeneus and Alexander, and delivered them to Satan, that they might learn not to blaspheme. (1 Tim. i.)

In the law of Moses (Numb. x.), God commanded the children of Israel to put out of the host every leper, that they should neither eat, nor drink, nor walk abroad, nor come to church, nor offer sacrifice, nor make their prayers with the people. Such one, whithersoever he went, hid his face, rent his clothes, gave warning to avoid his company, and to fly from him, because he was foul and filthy. His hands were filthy, and made the water unclean; his breath was corrupt, and infected the air; so miserable was his case. This was a kind of excommunication; in such sort were the filthy divided from the clean.

God also set down this ordinance to Abraham, that every uncircumcised man-child should be cut off from his people, because he hath broken the covenant. (Gen. xvii.) This ordinance of excommunication God hath appointed against idolaters, against fornicators and crafty deceivers, and other such-like offenders, in the seven-and-twentieth of Deuteronomy. "Cursed be the man that shall make any carved or

molten image, an abomination unto the Lord, the work of the hands of the craftsman, and putteth it in a secret place. And all the people shall answer and say, Amen. Cursed be he that maketh the blind go out of the way; and all the people shall answer and say, Amen."

This is excommunication: this is the use of the keys: this is that of which Christ spake (Luke, x.): "He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me; and he that despiseth me, despiseth Him that sent me." And (John, xx.), "Whosesoever sins ye remit, they are remitted; and whosesoever sins ye retain, they are retained." (Matt. xviii.) "Whatsoever ye bind on earth, shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever ye loose on earth, shall be loosed in heaven." That which you say shall be confirmed, it shall continue and stand for ever.

If any therefore be excommunicate from the church, and removed from the fellowship of the Gospel, and from the hope of the life to come, let him humble himself, and pray unto God that he will open his eyes, and that he may see in what case he standeth. Let him lay forth his heart in the sight of God, and consider his fault, and behold his misery, and think thus with himself: I was sometime the child of God, and a member of his body; I was a branch of the vine which God hath planted, and a sheep of his pasture.

But now, alas! I am divided from the pastures of life; I am fruitless and withered, and cut off from that blessed vine; I receive no moisture from that heavenly root; I am no more a member of the body of Christ; I am out of paradise, and have no joy or pleasure; I am out of the temple, and cannot offer any sacrifice; I am fallen from that heavenly Jerusalem, from the city of God, from the fellowship of the saints, and cannot kneel down, nor lift up my hands,

nor make my prayers. God will not hear me; I am none of his; I am as a heathen and a publican; I cannot think of those things which are on high above.

But why art thou cut off from thy brethren, and banished out of the flock of Christ? Because of thine ungodliness and looseness of life; because thou hast offended heaven and earth, and hast offended against the church of God, and lived in fornication and adultery, and both thy body and mind are defiled; thou art unworthy to dwell in the house of God; his house is holy.

By what authority is this done? Thou must not think that the judge or the officer doth it; it is not the judgment of any mortal man; it is the judgment of the almighty and everlasting God; it is his hand that bringeth this to pass against thee; it is his word, it is his key. His hand is mighty; his work shall stand; his word is forcible; his key is the key of David; it openeth, and no man shutteth; it shutteth, and no man openeth. God is departed from thy heart; his Spirit will not dwell in a filthy soul; there is no agreement between God and Belial; thy soul is void of grace, and of the fear of God.

What becometh of thee in this case? whither dost thou go, into what misery dost thou fall? Into the gulf of death, into the seat of pestilence, and the power of Satan, and the snares of the devil, and into a reprobate mind; thy heart followeth him; thy soul serveth him; he is the father of all the children of disobedience, and his children follow him; thou art filthy, and increasest in filthiness; the fear of God is not before thee; thou dost not acknowledge thy sin, because of the blindness of thy heart.

Wreak not thyself upon thy neighbour that accused thee, nor upon the judge that pronounced sentence against thee. The sentence is none of his;

this is not his work; he hath not judged thee; the hand of God is stretched forth to thy punishment; it is thine own life and wickedness which forceth judgment upon thee; the judge sitteth in the place of God, in the seat of justice; he cannot bless that God hath cursed; he must needs do right and equity.

He seeth the abomination of thy life, he seeth the filthiness which thou hast done in the house of God, and therefore saith, In the name of the living God, and of Jesus Christ, before whom I stand, and before whom all flesh shall appear, by the authority of his word, and by the power of the Holy Ghost, I divide thee from the fellowship of the Gospel, and declare, that thou art no more a member of the body of Christ; thy name is put out of the book of life; thou hast no part in the life to come; thou art not in Christ, and Christ is departed from thee.

I deliver thee to Satan, the prince of darkness; thy reward shall be in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone; thou shalt starve and wither, and not abide; the grace of God is taken out of thy heart; the face of the Lord is against all them that do evil; they shall not taste of his mercy.

As for the judge and minister, which giveth sentence against thee, he mourneth and lamenteth for thee; when he striketh thee, he striketh himself. We are all one flesh, and one blood, and altogether make one body, and are one another's members; therefore when he doth excommunicate thee from the brethren, he cutteth off an arm from his own body. Jeremy dealt roughly with the people that offended God, and threatened them that the enemy should come upon them, the sword should devour them, and they should be utterly destroyed; yet he wished that he had a stream of tears, that his heart

might have wherewith to mourn for their transgressions.

David prayeth that God will stretch forth his hand upon the wicked (Psa. lix.): "Scatter them abroad by thy power, and put them down, O Lord, our shield." Again (Psa. xxxv.): "Let them be chaff before the wind, and let the angel of the Lord scatter them." And again (Psa. lxix.): "Let their table be a snare before them, and their prosperity their ruin." Again (Psa. cix.): "Let his prayer be turned into sin;" aid him not, hear him not when he calleth unto thee. Yet he saith, "I saw the transgressors, and was grieved, because they kept not thy word." I pined away, and consumed to death, the grief was so deadly unto my soul.

Christ cried out, Woe upon Chorazin and Bethsaida, upon the Scribes and Pharisees; yet when he came nigh to Jerusalem he wept over it, saying (Luke, xix.), "Oh! if thou hadst even now at the least in this thy day known those things which belong unto thy peace! but now are they hid from thee. Thine enemies shall make thee even with the ground; they shall not leave in thee a stone upon a stone, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation." Even such a sorrow also had St. Paul for those that offended God. (2 Cor. xi.) "Who is weak, and I am not weak? who is offended, and I burn not?" My body is shaken, my heart is wounded for them; such a care have I for the church of God.

It is reported of John the Evangelist, that he commended a young man to the education of a certain bishop nigh to Ephesus; and when he heard that he was fled, and followed the company of such as were dissolute, riotous, and given over to all manner of lewdness, he was careful for him, and sought him out, and came to the place where he and his ill company were.

When the young man knew him, he was astonished, and fled away from him. But the old man followed him, and cried, O my child! turn again, turn unto me; I am thy father, I have begotten thee in Christ Jesus; I come not to hurt thee; there is yet hope of salvation; I will make answer unto Christ for thee; fall to the ground, hold up thy hands, ask mercy of God; he is merciful, and will receive thee. At these words the young man cast down his weapons, and trembled, and wept bitterly, and was converted.

When David heard of the destruction of that wicked wight Absalom, he wrung his hands, and wept, saying (2 Sam. xviii.), "O my son Absalom, my son, my son Absalom! would God I had died for thee! O Absalom, my son, my son!" Such a care, such a love and zeal hath a godly minister over his people, if he be a true pastor, which hath taken his calling from God, and hath due consideration of his charge.

He weepeth for the sins of the people, as did Jeremiah; he gusheth out into tears, and consumeth away, as David, because of the ungodly; he is wounded at heart, and trembleth, as Paul, to see them perish; he seeketh for them, calleth after them, that they may return to him, as did John the Evangelist, and is willing to die for their sake, if so be he might redeem them, as David was for Absalom.

The people are his children, he is their father, albeit they be wicked and filthy; yet he presenteth himself before God for them, and poureth forth his prayers, and saith, Sanctify them, O Lord, sanctify them with thy truth; thy word is truth. Let their hearts see the wrath to come, and thy heavy displeasure, which they have deserved, and hangeth over their heads. They are thine; save them, and let not Satan prevail against them.

Turn them, O Lord, and they shall be turned: give them a new heart, and renew a clean spirit in them, that they may fear thee all the days of their life. Turn away the captivity of their soul; bring them to the fellowship of the Gospel; make them lively stones meet for thy building; build up the walls of Jerusalem. So careful is a good minister for the people of his charge, be they never so ungodly. Yea, the more they lack the comfortable grace of God, the more must be his care for them. This is that St. Paul saith, Have no company with such to encourage him; yet count him not as an enemy, but admonish him as a brother.

Ver. 16. *Now the Lord of peace give you peace always by all means. The Lord be with you all.*

Ver. 17. *The salutation of me Paul, with mine own hand, which is the token in every Epistle; so I write.*

Ver. 18. *The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all.*

I need not commend peace unto you; it is the guard and strength of mighty princes; it is the nurse and fosterer of the church of God; it is the wealth and prosperity of the world; it is the comfort and quietness of our conscience; it is truce taken with God and man and ourselves. I need not to tell you who is the worker of peace. You know God is the God of peace.

Worldly peace seemeth to be made by the will and liking of men; but God moveth their hearts, and establisheth it. But the peace of the heart and quietness of mind passeth all understanding. The power, and wisdom, and strength, and riches of all the world are not able to make it. It is the glory of God, that he alone is the God of peace.

I pray for you, that nothing may be done among you to the hindrance of peace, but that it abide with

you always, not for a while, not in prosperity only, but in persecution, in your death, and for ever. If God be with you, you shall have peace; and if you love one another, and keep his word, God will come to you, and love you, and abide with you, and give you the comfort of his peace.

The salutation of me Paul. He gave them warning before of false apostles, who came in his name, and pretended his word or his letter, therefore now telleth them how they shall know certainly, whether such Epistles as they receive be his, written or sent by him.

In every Epistle that I send, saith he, to the churches, or to any the brethren, I write mine own name, and send this greeting, written with mine own hand, which now I send to you all. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

A

TREATISE

OF THE

HOLY SCRIPTURES,

GATHERED OUT OF CERTAIN

SERMONS,

WHICH THE REV. FATHER IN GOD

BISHOP JEWELL

PREACHED AT SALISBURY, ANNO DOMINI 1570.

A TREATISE

OF THE

HOLY SCRIPTURES.

AMONG all his creatures in heaven or earth, God hath not made any like unto the sun in the firmament, the beams whereof are beautiful and pleasant, and do give comfort in all places to all things. It rejoiceth the whole, and releveth the sick; it causeth birds to sing, fishes to play, cattle to stir, worms to creep, grass to grow, and trees to bring fruit; it reneweth the face of the whole earth.

Yet a blind man hath no pleasure in the beauty thereof, because he is blind, and cannot see it; yet a dead man hath no warmth by the heat thereof, because he is dead, and feeleth it not.

Adam was placed in Paradise in perfect estate, and in the company of God's angels; God walked and did talk with him. He heard the voice, and beheld the presence of God. The rivers yielded waters abundantly, the trees brought him food of life. He had plenty without travail; he had pleasures, joy, and his heart's desire.

But Adam was unthankful; he knew not God, the worker of his happiness; he knew not the place in which he was; he knew not his own estate and blessedness; therefore the wrath of the Lord grew against him; he fell into the snares of the devil, he became mortal, and returned to dust.

What nation in all the world so happy as Israel? they were delivered by a mighty hand out of Egypt, from the tyranny of Pharaoh, from service and villainy. Their children were no more slain before their faces. They passed through the bottom of the

sea, as upon dry land. When they were hungry, there went forth a wind from the Lord, and brought them quails from the sea, and manna was given them from heaven to eat; when they thirsted, the rocks opened and poured out water, that they and their beasts might drink.

In battle they were mighty and strong, no power was able to stand against them. The Lord went before them by day in a pillar of a cloud, to lead them the way; and by night in a pillar of fire, to give them light. When they called upon the Lord, he heard them. When they trusted in him, they were not confounded.

But they grew unmindful of all these mercies, and murmured against the Lord, and against his servants; therefore God raught forth his hand against them. He sware in his wrath that they should not enter into his rest. He sent his angel, and destroyed them in the wilderness.

Even so fareth it with all such which regard not the word of their salvation; because they have ears and hear not, nor will understand with their hearts, the fury of the Lord shall be kindled against them. The Prophet saith in the name of God to Israel (Jer. vii.), "I have sent unto them all my servants the Prophets, yet would they not hear me, nor incline their ear."

And (2 Esdr. ix.), "Behold, I sow my law in you, that it may bring forth fruit in you. But our fathers which received the law kept it not; neither observed thine ordinances, neither did the fruit of thy law appear. For they that received it perished, because they kept not the thing that was sown in them." Samuel telleth Saul (1 Sam. xv.), "Thou hast cast away the word of the Lord, and the Lord hath cast away thee."

Again, Jeremiah saith (chap. vi.), "How do ye say we are wise, and the law of the Lord is with us? They have rejected the word of the Lord, and

what wisdom is in them?" Again, "Unto whom shall I speak, and admonish, that they may hear? Behold, their ears are uncircumcised, and they cannot hearken; behold, the word of the Lord is unto them as a reproach, they have no delight in it; I will cause a plague to come upon this people, even the fruit of their own imaginations; because they have not taken heed unto my words, nor to my law, but cast it off."

After this sort doth God shew the cause why his word taketh not place in us, because we are wilful, and will not hear it, nor receive it, nor take delight in it, nor let the fruit thereof appear, but reject it, and make it a reproach, and cast it away from us; and therefore is it that the Lord doth cast us away; that we are unwise; that we please ourselves with our own devices, and follow our own imaginations, and perish, because we have not understanding to hear the instruction of the Lord's word, but like ignorant men disallow it, and cast it behind the back.

The consideration hereof moveth me to say somewhat of the Holy Scriptures, which are the bright sun of God; which bring light unto our ways, and comfort to all parts of our life, and salvation to our souls; in which is made known unto us our estate, and the mercy of God in Christ our Saviour witnessed.

That we may the better see the path which we have to walk in; my meaning is, truly, and plainly, and shortly, to shew you what authority and majesty the word of God beareth; then, what profit we may reap by it; also, how needful it is, that we be well instructed in the Holy Scriptures; and what pleasure and delectation a Christian conscience may find in them; and lastly, whether they be dark and doubtful, or plain and easy for your understanding: that when we know the majesty and authority of the word, and what comfort and profit God giveth us by

it, we deprive not ourselves thereof by our unthankfulness, nor close up our eyes that we see it not; but hear it in reverence and in fear, that it may be fruitful in us, and we receive it not in vain.

The Scriptures are the word of God. What title can there be of greater value? What may be said of them to make them of greater authority, than to say, "The Lord hath spoken by them? that they came not by the will of men, but holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost?" (2 Pet. i.) At the word of proclamation of an earthly prince we stand up and vail our bonnets, and give good heed to it; we are bound so to do, it is our duty: such honour belongeth to the powers that are placed to rule over us; for they are ordained of God. And whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the ordinance of God.

If we should have a revelation, and hear an angel speak unto us, how careful would we be to mark, and remember, and be able to declare the words of the angel! yet is an angel but a glorious creature, and not God. And what is a king? great and mighty, yet mortal and subject to death: his breath departeth, and his name shall perish. Both he and his word, his power and his puissance, shall have an end.

But the word of the Gospel is not as the word of an earthly prince. It is of more majesty than the word of an angel. The Apostle saith (Heb. ii.), "If the word spoken by angels was steadfast, and every transgression and disobedience received a just recompense of reward, how shall we escape if we neglect so great salvation which at the first began to be preached by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him?"

God saith, by the prophet Isaiah (chap. lv.), "My word shall accomplish that which I will, and it shall prosper in the thing whereto I sent it." And the same Prophet saith (chap. xl.), "The word of

God shall stand for ever." And "It is more easy that heaven and earth pass away, than that one tittle of the law should fail," saith our Saviour (Luke, xvi.). For it is the word of the living and almighty God, of the God of Hosts, which hath done whatsoever pleased him both in heaven and in earth.

By this word he maketh his will known. "I have not spoken of myself (saith Christ, John, xii.); but the Father which sent me gave me a commandment what I should say, and what I should speak." And again (John, xv.), "If I had not come and spoken unto them, they should not have had sin, but now have they no cloak for their sin." No man hath seen God at any time. He is invisible, no eye can reach unto him. The only begotten Son which is in the bosom of his Father, he hath declared him; he hath shewed us the throne of grace, that we may seek for mercy, and find grace in time of need; he hath disclosed unto us the will of his Father; he hath left unto us, and ordained that we should hear his holy word.

This word the angels and blessed spirits used when they came down from heaven to speak unto the people; when they came to the blessed Virgin, and to Joseph, and to others, they spake as it was written in the Prophets, and in the Scriptures of God; they thought not their own authority sufficient, but they took credit to their saying, and authority to their message out of the word of God.

This word the Prophets vouched and alleged to the people. Albeit they were sanctified in their mothers' womb; albeit God had endued them with his heavenly Spirit; although a seraphim came unto one of them and touched his mouth with a hot coal; albeit he saw the Lord sitting upon an high throne; yet they would not speak as of themselves, but only in the name of the Lord; for thus they use to say, The Lord hath spoken. This is the word of the

Lord. Hear what the Lord saith. Saint Paul, albeit he was taken up into the third heaven, and into paradise, and heard words that are not lawful for man to utter, yet he wrote not his own words to the churches of Rome, of Corinth, and Thessalonica, and of other places, but delivered them which he had received, and taught them according to the Scriptures.

This word is the true manna; it is the bread which came down from heaven; it is the key of the kingdom of heaven; it is the savour of life unto life; it is the power of God unto salvation. In it God sheweth unto us his might, his wisdom, and his glory. By it he will be known of us. By it he will be honoured of his creatures. Whatsoever truth is brought unto us contrary to the word of God, it is not truth, but falsehood and error; whatsoever honour done unto God, disagreeth from the honour required by his word, it is not honour unto God, but blasphemy.

As Christ saith (Matt. xv.), "In vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines men's precepts." By Isaiah God saith, "Who required this at your hands?" And by Jeremiah (chap. vii.), "I spake not unto your fathers, nor commanded them, when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt offerings and sacrifices. But this thing commanded I them, saying, Obey my voice, and I will be your God, and ye shall be my people: and walk ye in all the ways which I have commanded you, that it may be well unto you."

Again (Jer. xxiii.), "What is the chaff to the wheat? saith the Lord." What are your dreams to be weighed with the truth of God? Search the Scriptures. In them ye shall learn to know me, and how you should worship me; in them ye shall find everlasting life. The words of the Lord are pure words, as the silver tried in the furnace; there is no filth nor dross remaining in them; they are the storehouse

of wisdom, and of the knowledge of God; in respect whereof, all the wisdom of this world is but vain and foolish.

Numa Pompilius, king of the Romans, Lycurgus, king of Lacedemon, and Minos, king of Creta, were wise men, and of great government; they devised laws to rule the people, and bare them in hand, that they were taught by revelation, that so their ordinances might win the more credit, and be established for ever. But where are they now? Where is Numa, Minos, or Lycurgus? Where be their books? What is become of their laws?

They were unwise, and had no knowledge nor understanding of God; they and their laws are dead, and their names forgotten. But the law of God came from heaven indeed. God wrote it with his finger, it is the fountain of all wisdom, and therefore shall it continue for ever, and never have an end.

Here let us behold the great power and work of God. When Moses received the law, God himself came down in person, with thousand thousands of angels; the air was darkened at his presence, the Mount stood all covered with fire, the earth shook, the heavens thundered, the people stood afar off, and fled for fear, and said unto Moses, "Talk thou with us, and we will hear; but let not God talk with us, lest we die." This was the first proclaiming and publishing of the law; such force and credit God gave to his word, and warranted himself to be the Lord.

Since that time, so many thousand years are already passed. In the mean time, the people of Israel were oppressed by tyrants, were spoiled and chased out of their country; first, by Nebuchadnezzar into Babylon; after that, by Antiochus into Syria; and lastly, were as vagabonds driven from country to country.

Their city Jerusalem was sacked, their houses overthrown, their temple razed, and not a stone left upon a stone; their library destroyed, their books burnt, the tabernacle lost, the covenant broken. No vision, no revelation, no comfort for the people left; nor prophet, nor priest, nor any to speak in the name of the Lord.

In all those times of decays, of sackings, of darkness, and of misery, what was done with the word of God? It was wickedly burnt by Jehoiakim, king of Juda; and Antiochus burnt the books of the law, and cut them in pieces. No man durst be known to have them, and avouch the having; so thought they utterly to deface the glory of God, and abolish all remembrance of his laws.

Then came the Pharisees; they drowned the word of God with their traditions; they took away the key of knowledge, and entered not in themselves, but forbad them that came in. After them came heretics; they denied some one part, and some another part of Scripture. They razed, blotted, corrupted, and altered the word of God; of the word of God they made it their own word, or, which is worse, they made it the word of the devil.

By the space of so many thousand years, the word of God passed by so many dangers of tyrants, of Pharisees, of heretics, of fire, and of sword, and yet continueth and standeth until this day, without altering or changing one letter. This was a wonderful work of God, that having so many and so great enemies, and passing through so many and so great dangers, it yet continueth still, without adding or altering of any one sentence, or word, or letter. No creature was able to do this, it was God's work.

He preserved it, that no tyrant should consume it; no tradition choke it; no heretic maliciously should corrupt it. For his name's sake, and for the elect's

sake, he would not suffer it to perish ; for in it God hath ordained a blessing for his people, and by it he maketh covenant with them for life everlasting. Tyrants, and Pharisees, and heretics, and the enemies of the cross of Christ, have an end, but the word of God hath no end.

No force shall be able to decay it. The gates of hell shall not prevail against it. Cities shall fall ; kingdoms shall come to nothing ; empires shall fade away as the smoke ; but the truth of the Lord shall continue for ever. Burn it, it will rise again ; kill it, it will live again ; cut it down by the root, it will spring again. "There is no wisdom, neither understanding nor counsel against the Lord." (Prov. xxi.)

Let us behold the nations and kingdoms which sometimes professed Christ, and are now heathenish ; Illyricum, Epirus, Peloponnesus, Macedonia, and others. Again, let us behold such kingdoms and countries, which were in times past heathenish, and knew not God ; as England, Ireland, Rome, Scotland, and divers other.

They were all without the Gospel, without Christ, without God, and without hope of life. They worshipped idols, even the work of their own hands. To them they appointed priests for their service, days and places for the people to resort together to worship them.

Here in England, Paul's church in London was the temple of Diana ; Peter's church in Westminster was the temple of Apollo. In Rome, they had the temple of the great god Jupiter, and in Florence the temple of Mars ; and in other places they had temples dedicated to other idols.

Jupiter, Mars, Apollo, and Diana were unclean spirits and filthy devils ; yet gave they thanks to them for their peace and prosperity, prayed to them in war

and in misery, and commended unto them their wives, their children, themselves, the safe keeping and custody of their souls. They built gorgeous churches and chapels; set up images of silver and gold to them; prayed, lifted up their hands, did sacrifice, and offered up their children to them.

A horrible thing to say, yet true it is, the darkness of those times was such, that men slew their own children, and offered them up to idols. They said, Great is Jupiter, great is Apollo, and great is Diana of the Ephesians. These are the gods of our fathers; our fathers trusted in them; they made us, and have defended us, and have given us victory against our enemies. Whosoever denied them were thought worthy to die.

Thus were the kings, and the princes, and the people persuaded, and so continued they by the space of some thousand years, without controlment or contradiction. They had great props of antiquity, universality, and consent—antiquity of all times; universality of all places; consent of all the people. So strongly and so mightily were they founded, who would think such a religion, so ancient, and so universal, and so defended by common consent, should ever possibly be removed?

But when the fulness of time came, God sent forth his word, and all was changed. Errors fell down, and truth stood up; men forsook their idols, and went to God. The kings, and priests, and people were changed; the temples, and sacrifices, and prayers were changed; men's eyes and hearts were changed. They forsook their gods, their kings, their priests; they forsook their antiquity, customs, consent, their fathers, and themselves.

What power was able to work these things? What emperor by force ever prevailed so much? What strength could ever shake down so mighty idols from

their seat? What hand of man could subdue and conquer the whole world, and make such mighty nations confess they had done amiss? This did the Lord bring to pass by the power of his word and the breath of his mouth.

This was it that led captivity captive, and threw down every high thing that lifted itself up against the Lord, and brought all powers under subjection unto the Lord. It is the image, the power, the arm, the sword, and the glory of God. It is mighty, of great force and virtue, of authority and majesty, because it is the word of God; therefore the glory thereof is great.

Now let us stand afar off, and humble ourselves, and in reverence and fear learn to take the fruit and comfort of the same; for so is the will of God, that we may be partakers of his glory. But where shall we find entrance into this matter? And how shall we be able to come a-land? For this is the sea, and the depth of all the works, of the judgments, and mercies, and of the kingdom of God. This is a sea that hath no shore, a pit that hath no bottom.

The Holy Scriptures are the mercy-seat, the registry of the mysteries of God, our charter for the life to come, the holy place in which God sheweth himself to the people, the Mount Sion where God hath appointed to dwell for ever. The more comfort in them, so much the more greedily let us desire them; the more heavenly and glorious they are, with so much the more reverence let us come unto them.

For consideration of this matter of the fruit and comfort which God worketh by his word, what may we better call to mind than that is recorded by St. Paul (Rom. xv.)? "Whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for our learning, that we,

through patience and comfort of the Scriptures, might have hope.

All that is written in the word of God is not written for angels, or archangels, or heavenly spirits, but for the sons of men, for us, and for our instruction; that by them we may receive strength and comfort in all adversities, and have hope of the life to come. It is the word of God; God openeth his mouth and speaketh to us, to guide us into all truth, to make us full and ready in all good works, that we may be perfect men in Christ Jesus; so rooted and grounded in him, that we be not tossed to and fro with every tempest.

The profit which the word of God bringeth shall best appear, if we first take a view of our estate, what we are, in what place we stand, and what enemies make force against us. We are the sons of Adam, stubborn children, the children of vanity and of wrath; the children of those fathers which forsook God, and have erred in their hearts, and were deceived.

God which created man, and breathed into him the breath of life, saith (Gen. viii.), "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." Such are we, even by the judgment of God, and his judgment faileth not. What error, what idol, what wickedness ever hath been heard, which hath not been forged and wrought in the heart of man?

We can neither do, nor speak, nor think the thing that is good; our understanding is heavy, our will froward, our eyes blind, and our heart unclean. We go astray through this world as lost sheep, every man after his own way. Even as a leaf is carried up and down with a blast of wind, so are we easily driven into error; in ourselves we find no stay, no succour, nor help. Such are we, and so weak of ourselves.

But where are we? In the world. And what is the world? Some think it to be a place full of all delights and pleasures, a goodly, strong, and gorgeous palace, and a paradise of joy. Let no man deceive us, nay, rather let us not deceive ourselves: the world is a shop of vanities, it is a dungeon of darkness, a pot full of poison, a ship full of leaks, a way full of snares: it blindeth our eyes, beguileth our senses, and helpeth us forward into all dangers. We are blind ourselves, and the place wherein we are is nothing else but darkness.

Whereunto may I resemble our case? Jeremiah the prophet was cast into a dungeon: there he sat without light, and without comfort. His case was miserable, and the place loathsome; yet he knew where he was, he knew what he lacked; he cried unto the Lord, and was delivered.

Daniel was cast into the den of lions, there to be torn in pieces and devoured: but he saw his misery, and the danger in which he stood; he saw the lions, the paws which should gripe him, and the teeth which should tear him. His case was miserable, yet is ours more miserable. We are in the deep dungeon of hell, and think we are in safety; we are in the midst of darkness, and think it to be light; we are compassed with lions, with dragons, and with scorpions, yet think not of our misery.

Who hath not heard of the story of Jonah? Jonah was in a whale's belly. The place was very dark, the waves beat on every side; he was drowned, yet touched no water; he was swallowed up, yet not consumed; he lived without any sense of life; the fish was death, the sea was death, and the tempest was death; yet he died not, but lived in the midst of death; he could not see, he could not hear, he knew not to whom he might call for help; he was taken and carried away, he knew not whither.

Let us mark well this story; it is a true pattern of our estate, and sheweth what our life is in this world. We are beset with like dangers; we are driven with tempests; we are drowned in like floods; we live in the midst of horrible darkness; we are carried we know not whither.

The philosopher telleth us, truth and falsehood are nigh neighbours, and dwell one by the other; the utter porch of the one is like the porch of the other; yet their way is contrary; the one leadeth to life, the other leadeth to death; they differ little to the show, save that ofttimes the door of falsehood is fair, painted, graven, and beautifully adorned; but the door or forefront of truth is plain and homely.

Thereby it happeneth that men be deceived, they mistake the door, and go into error's house, when they seek truth. They call evil good, falsehood truth, and darkness light; they forsake that is good, deny the truth, and love not the light. This moved St. Paul to say of his brethren the Jews (Rom. x.), "I bear them record that they have the zeal of God, but not according to knowledge;" they have the care and fear of God; they are zealous in their doings; they have devotion; they pretend conscience; they think they do well, and that they please God. (Rom. i.) "When they professed themselves to be wise, they became fools."

They knew not what they did; for if they had had knowledge, they would never have crucified the Lord of glory. But they know not the truth of God; they know not God; they are carried away in the vanity of their own heart; their prayers are no prayers; the truth they hold is falsehood; their faith is no faith; they are sheep without a shepherd. Thus we have heard what we are, and in what place.

Now let us see what enemies bend their force against us. We fight against the gates of hell, with

the devil, the prince of darkness, the father of lies, with the devil, which hath power over the children of disobedience, by whose malice death came into the world. Even that devil bendeth his force against us, which deceived Adam in paradise, which hath deceived the learned philosophers, and beguiled the princes, and wise men, and the worthies of the world, which doth abuse and entice our hands, our eyes, our learning, our wit, and our own heart to deceive us.

He rampeth as a lion, and rangeth over the world, seeking whom he may devour. This is his delight and study. He hath been a murderer from the beginning. If this were ever true at any time, our times have found it most true. We are they upon whom the ends of the world are come.

Now is this Scripture fulfilled in our ears. Now see we the days whereof Christ warned his disciples so earnestly (Matt. xxiv.): "They shall say, Lo! here is Christ, and there is Christ." This is the truth, that is the truth. "There shall arise false Christs, and false prophets, and shall deceive many;" they shall betray the truth. "Many shall be offended by them; if it were possible, the very elect," they whose names are written in the book of life, "should be deceived. And except those days should be shortened, there should no flesh be saved; but for the elect's sake those days shall be shortened, the sun shall be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light."

The sun is the word of God, the moon signifieth the church. "The powers of heaven shall be moved; all the kindreds of the earth shall mourn; abomination of desolation shall stand in the holy place." Let him that readeth, consider it. This is the mystery of iniquity, of which St. Paul speaketh to the Thessalonians, which worketh among them that

perish. (2 Ep. ii.) Thus are we forewarned. God hath given us his word to advise us, that we be not cast away unawares.

They that walk in the dark know not whither they go. If the blind lead the blind, both fall into the ditch. He that is ignorant shall not be known. Christ shall say unto him, I know you not; depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire. Their worm shall not die, and their fire shall not be put out.

In this case, what shall a godly-disposed simple man do? how shall he settle himself? to which side may he safely join himself? If he make reckoning of learning, there are learned men on both sides; if he make reckoning of virtue and godly life, there be virtuous men and of godly life on both sides; if he make reckoning of zeal, either side is zealous in the religion they hold; if he make reckoning of the name of the church, they take it as well to the one side as to the other; if he make reckoning of the multitude, there are many on either side, but neither side hath so many as hath the Turk.

Whither then may a man turn himself, and to which side may he safely join? In this case we find the comfort and profit of the word of God. In this case, St. Paul telleth us, "whatsoever things are written aforetime, are written for our learning," to lighten our eyes, to resolve our doubts, and to guide our feet. This light God hath kindled in his mercy, to lighten them that sit in darkness. Except he had left a spark of this light we had perished, and become like to Sodom and Gomorrah.

David saith, "Thy word is a lantern to my paths, and a light to my feet." By it I may see the way which is before me; by it I can escape danger, and by it I can keep the path wherein I ought to walk. When Christ perceived that the Capernites and the Jews misliked his doctrines, and went back and walked

no more with him, he said to the twelve (John, vi.), "Will ye also go away? You are my disciples, whom I have chosen out of the world, will you also go away?" Simon Peter answered him, "Master, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the word of eternal life." If we forsake thee, who shall instruct us? Thy word is the word of eternal life.

With this word Christ confounded the Scribes and Pharisees, and put them to silence. "Ye reject (saith he, Mark, vii.) the commandment of God, that ye may observe your own tradition. For Moses said, Honour thy father and thy mother; whosoever shall curse father or mother, let him die the death. But ye say, if a man say to father or mother, *Corban*, that is, by the gift that is offered by me, thou mayest have profit, he shall be free."

With this word he confounded them, for misusing of the temple by buying and selling. (Matt. xxi.) "It is written, My house shall be called the house of prayer, but ye have made it a den of thieves." With this word he put them to silence, and confounded their error, in that they thought it lawful for a man to put away his wife for every fault. (Matt. xix.) "From the beginning it was not so." With this word he confounded the devil, and chased him from him. (Matt. iv.) "It is written, Man shall not live by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." And again: "It is writton, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." And again: "It is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve."

This word confounded the Arians, and all sects of heretics. What is become of Marcion, of Nestorius, of Valentinus, of Menander, of Sabellius, of Eutyches, and others? They are blown away as smoke before the wind; the word of God hath confounded them, and beat them away. As Dagon fell,

and brake his hands and neck, and could not stand in the presence of the ark of the Lord; even so shall all falsehood fall and hide itself in the presence of the truth of God. As the rod of Moses devoured the rods of the charmers; as the beams of the sun drive away and consume darkness; so shall the word of God chase away errors.

When the two disciples walked by the way with Christ, they said between themselves, after their eyes were opened, that they knew him. "Did not our hearts burn within us, while he talked with us by the way, and opened to us the Scriptures?" (Luke, xxiv.) His words did possess all our senses; this talk was not like common talk; we felt it forcible in us as the word of God.

Israel heard Peter declare unto them at Jerusalem by proof of the Scriptures, that Christ was come; they were not able to resist the word of God, but were pricked in their hearts, and said unto Peter and the other Apostles, "Men and brethren, what shall we do?" (Acts, ii.) We acknowledge our error; the words which you speak are most true; they are the words of life; teach us and instruct us what we shall do. They felt the force of it, and yielded unto it; they did acknowledge it was the word of God.

St. Augustine, after he had continued long in error, and withdrawn himself into a secret place, where he might make his prayer, and bewail his ignorance, heard a voice say unto him, "Take up and read, take up and read." And he forthwith took up the Epistles of St. Paul, and opened them, and secretly read the chapter which he first lighted on, even these words: "Not in gluttony and drunkenness, neither in chambering and wantonness, nor in strife and envying; but put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and take no thought for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts of the same." (Rom. xiii.)

"I would read no farther (saith he), for I needed not. For when I had read to the end of this sentence, all the darkness of doubtfulness vanished away, as if some clear light of security were poured into my heart." It was as if it had been said, O man, acknowledge thy misery; thou art naked, cover thy filthiness; put upon thee Jesus Christ. And forthwith I felt a fire within me, my heart was lightened, the scales fell from mine eyes, I was able to see. Thus he was comforted and stayed by this, the word of God.

This profit of the word St. Cyprian declareth: "If we return to the head, and the beginning of the Lord's traditions, all error of man must needs give place." Theophylactus, writing upon these words in the Gospel by St. John, "He that entereth not in by the door into the sheepfold, but climbeth up another way, he is a thief and a robber," saith, "He entereth not in by the door, that is, by the Scriptures; for he doth not use the Scriptures nor the Prophets as witnesses. For indeed the Scriptures are the door by which we are brought to God, and they suffer not the wolves to come in; they keep off heretics, that we may be in safety; and they teach us the reason of any thing, wherein we would be instructed: therefore he is a thief which entereth not into the sheepfold by the Scriptures."

"And by the Scriptures it appeareth he is a thief that climbeth up another way, that is, maketh himself another way, a way which was not known, nor beaten: such a one shall antichrist be." What greater profit? They bring us to God, teach us the truth, and give us reason of all things; they keep us in safety, suffer not wolves to devour us, keep off heretics, bewray a thief, and make known who is antichrist.

Therefore, upon the Gospel by St. Luke, he ex-

poundeth these words, "Let your lights be burning;" that is, have not your being in the darkness, and be ye not void of judgment; but take unto you the light of God's word, which will teach you what things you should do, and what things you ought not to do.

And as the word of God is the light to direct us, and to bewray errors, so is it also the standard and beam to try the weights of truth and falsehood. Chrysostom, writing upon the 24th of Matthew, sheweth it were impossible for a man to stay himself, and find out which is the true church, but by the word of God. "For it could not be tried by working of miracles, because the gift of working miracles is taken away; and such false miracles as carry some show, are rather to be found among false Christians; nor yet by their conversation and life, because Christians live either as ill or worse than heretics."

"There can be no trial of true Christianity, and Christians which desire to know the truth, whereupon they may build their faith, have no other refuge, but to try and learn this by the Scriptures. For (saith he) heretics have the counterfeit and likeness of those things which are proper to Christ; they have churches, they have the Scriptures of God, they have baptism, they have the Lord's supper, and all other things like the true church; yea, they have Christ himself. He therefore that will know which is the true church of Christ, how may he know it, but by the Scriptures?"

"Therefore our Lord, knowing that there should be such confusion of things in the latter days, commandeth that Christians, which live in the profession of Christian faith, and are desirous to settle themselves upon a sure ground of faith, should go to no other thing, but to the Scriptures. Otherwise, if they had regard to other things, they should be of-

fended and perish, and not understand which is the true church."

The master of a ship, when he is on the main sea, casteth his eye always upon the load-star, and so directeth and guideth his ways. Even so must we, which are passengers and strangers in this world, ever settle our eyes to behold the word of God; so shall no tempest over-blow us; so shall we be guided without danger; so shall we safely arrive in the haven of our rest.

The Prophet David therefore saith, "Blessed are they that keep his testimonies, and seek him with their whole heart. Their faces shall not be ashamed, they shall not be confounded, which have respect unto his commandment. Blessed is the man, whose delight is in the law of the Lord, and in that law doth exercise himself day and night. The law of the Lord is perfect, converting the soul; the testimony of the Lord is sure, and giveth wisdom unto the simple."

This is the rule of our faith. Without this, our faith is but a fantasy, and no faith; for faith is by hearing, and hearing by the word of God. Therefore Christ saith (John, v.), "Search the Scriptures; they are they that testify of me." There shall ye find testimony of my doctrine; there shall ye know what is the will of my heavenly Father, and there shall you receive the comfort for everlasting life.

Again (John, viii.): "He that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life. If a man keep my word, he shall know the truth, he shall never see death." Therefore Baruch saith (chap. iv.), "O Israel, we are blessed, for the things that are acceptable unto God are declared unto us." This is thy blessedness; herein hath God shewed his favour unto thee, he hath revealed the

secrets of his will unto thee, and hath put his word in thy mouth. He shewed his word unto Jacob, his statutes and his judgments unto Israel; he hath not dealt so with every nation, neither have they known his judgments.

Therefore the Prophet David teacheth us to pray unto God for the knowledge of his word. "Shew me thy ways, O Lord, and teach me thy paths; take not thy holy Spirit from me, and incline my heart unto thy testimonies. Give me understanding, that I may learn thy commandments. Open mine eyes, that I may see the wonders of thy law." And, "Lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not in death;" that I may discern between safety and danger, that I may know truth to be the truth, and error to be error.

Thus I have declared part of that profit which groweth to us by the word of God; but it doth not only direct our judgment in the trial of truth, but doth also graff in us a boldness and constancy in the defence of the truth. Solomon saith (Eccles. xxvii.), "A fool changeth as the moon." He is always unstable and inconstant, he knoweth not what to do, nor what to believe; he is sometimes full, and sometimes empty, and turneth and changeth as the moon; he buildeth, and layeth his foundation upon the sand, therefore his house falleth to the ground; he halteth on both sides, sometimes he worshippeth God, and sometimes worshippeth Baal; he is neither hot nor cold; he ebbeth and floweth like the waves of the sea; he doubteth and staggereth, and resteth in nothing; he knoweth not the truth; he knoweth not that the Scriptures are the word of God, so he wandereth in the dark, and knoweth not the way in which he walketh; he hath no feeling, no heart, no understanding; he is unfaithful towards God, and keepeth no faith towards man; he is wavering in all his

ways. And why? Because he knoweth not the will of God, nor hath the light of his word to guide his feet.

But a wise man is one and steadfast as the sun. He buildeth his house upon a rock, and that rock is Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Therefore his house is never shaken down. Be the storm or tempest never so rough, yet it shall stand fast like mount Sion, because his trust is in the name of the Lord. He knoweth that his name is written in the book of life; he knoweth that he belongeth to the Lord's sheepfold, and that no man can take him away out of the Lord's hand.

In this boldness David saith (Psa. xxiii.), "Though I should walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil; for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me." And again (Psa. xxvii.): "The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?" And again (Psa. cxix.): "Except thy laws had been my delight, I should now have perished in mine affliction."

When Hezekiah heard the proud message of Sennacherib sent to him and his people by Rabshakeh, that they should not obey Hezekiah, nor trust in him when he said, "The Lord will deliver you;" and, "Let not thy God deceive thee, in whom thou trustest;" he went up into the house of the Lord, and prayed unto the Lord to save him and his people out of their hands, that all the kingdoms of the earth might know that he is God alone. (2 Kings, xix.)

Even so the Apostle (Rom. xiv.), "Whether we live or die, we are the Lord's." And in this boldness our Saviour Christ settled himself to bear their reproaches, and to carry his cross. (Luke, xxii.). "Father, if thou wilt, take away this cup from me; nevertheless, not my will, but thine be done." Thus they that are taught by the word of God to put their trust in the Lord, and are thereby rooted and

settled in him, cannot be removed by any practice of Satan, but stand fast, and continue for ever.

Which shall more plainly appear, if we look back into the times of persecution, and behold the boldness and constancy of the saints of God. They were brought before magistrates, cast into prison, spoiled of their goods, cruelly murdered; some were hanged upon gibbets, some run through with swords, some torn with wild horses, some drowned in the water, and some burnt in the fire.

They were hated of all men for the name of Christ, they were despised as the filth of the world, and dung of the earth; yet continued they faithful and constant; they armed their hearts with the comfort of God's word, thereby were they able to resist in the evil day; they were faithful until death, therefore God gave them a crown of glory.

When they were called before kings and princes, and others of authority, and commanded to forsake the truth they had learned, and the comfort which they took in the truth, they answered in this manner: O my gracious Lord, I would fain do your commandment; I am your subject; I have done faithful service with my body and with my goods, but I cannot serve you against God. He is King of kings, and Lord of lords; he is my Lord, before whom I stand; I have put my life in his hands; he hath forbidden me to do this thing which you command, I cannot therefore do it.

Judge uprightly whether it be meet to obey you rather than God. My living, my wife, my children, and my life, are dear unto me; I am a man like others, and have my affections; yet neither living, nor wife, nor children, nor my life, is so dear unto me as the glory of God. I am but a poor worm, yet am I the work of his hands. God hath put his word in my mouth; I may not deny it; I may not

bear false witness against the Lord. My life is not dear unto me in respect of the truth; I know if I should deny him to save my life, I should lose it; and if I lose my life for his sake, I shall find it.

That which your authority shall lay upon me is not done without his will. All the hairs of my head are numbered; I owe you obedience; I will not resist your power; for if I should resist, I should resist the ordinance of God. I am subject to you for conscience sake; I will forsake my country, my goods, my children, and myself, at your commandment; I will say to mine own flesh, I know thee not; only I cannot forsake my Lord God.

Dear Sir, you fight not against me. Alas! what am I? what can I do? You fight against God, against the Most Holy, against Him which can command your life to go out of your body. It is a hard thing for you to kick against the spur; it is no hard matter for you to kill me, for so mighty a prince to kill so wretched a worm. But this I declare to you, that my blood which you shed is innocent, and shall be required at your hands.

It may please God to give unto you repentance, and the knowledge of the truth. If my blood may be a mean thereto, if my blood may open your eyes, if my blood may soften your heart, it could never be spent in a better cause, blessed be the name of God, which hath made me his instrument for your so happy conversion. This is the only thing wherein I cannot yield. The Lord hath spoken unto me; I have heard his voice; my heart hath felt it; my conscience knoweth it; I cannot deny it; no sword can cut me from it; no water can drown it, no fire can burn the love I bear unto it; there is no creature in heaven or earth, that can carry me from that blessed hope I have conceived by his word.

So constant is he that hath learned the word of

God, and hath set his delight upon it, and is through it assured of the will of God. Heaven shall shake, the earth shall tremble, but the man of God shall stand upright. His feet shall not fail, his heart shall not faint, he shall not be moved; such a ground, such a foundation, such a rock is the word of God.

Blessed is the man whose hope is in the name of the Lord. He shall build upon a sure place; he layeth his foundation upon the corner-stone; he needeth no army to make him strong; he needeth no friends to comfort him in adversity; his strength is within; the gates of hell shall not prevail against him; his comfort is inwardly within his heart; he speaketh to God, and God unto him; his eyes behold the kingdom, and power, and glory of God.

But what say we of the fathers, Augustine, Ambrose, Jerome, Cyprian, &c.? what shall we think of them, or what account may we make of them? They be interpreters of the word of God; they were learned men, and learned fathers; the instruments of the mercy of God, and vessels full of grace. We despise them not, we read them, we reverence them, and give thanks unto God for them.

They were witnesses unto the truth, they were worthy pillars and ornaments in the church of God. Yet may they not be compared with the word of God. We may not build upon them; we may not make them the foundation and warrant of our conscience; we may not put our trust in them. Our trust is in the name of the Lord.

And thus are we taught to esteem of the learned fathers of the church, by their own judgment; by that which they have written, either for the credit of their own doings, or of the authority which they have thought due to the writings of others.

St. Augustine said of the doctors and fathers of his time, "Neither weigh we the writings of all men,

be they never so worthy and catholic, as we weigh the canonical Scriptures; but that, saving the reverence that is due unto them, we may mislike and refuse somewhat in their writings, if we find that they have thought otherwise than the truth may bear. Such am I in the writings of others, and such would I wish others to be in mine." Some things I believe, and some things which they write I cannot believe. I weigh them not as the holy and canonical Scriptures.

Cyprian was a doctor of the church, yet he was deceived; Jerome was a doctor of the church, yet he was deceived; Augustine was a doctor of the church, yet he wrote a book of retraction; he acknowledged that he was deceived. God did therefore give to his church many doctors, and many learned men, which all should search the truth, and one reform another, wherein they thought him deceived.

St. Augustine saith, "Take away from amongst us any of our own books, let the book of God come amongst us; hear what Christ saith, hearken what the truth speaketh." He is the wisdom of his Father, he cannot deceive us. Again, he saith, "Hear this, The Lord saith; hear not this, Donatus saith, or Rogatus, or Vincentius, or Hilarius, or Ambrose, or Augustine saith." All these were learned, most of them were holy; yet, saith Augustine, we may not yield to that which is said by learned men, but we must yield our full consent and belief to the word of God.

Origen saith, "We must needs call to witness the Holy Scriptures; for our judgments and expositions without those witnesses carry no credit." Mark well; our words, and expositions, and constructions, unless they be warranted by the Scriptures, are not enough, they carry not credit. Augustine saith, "We offer no wrong to St. Cyprian, when we sever any of

his letters or writings from the canonical authority of the Holy Scriptures."

Thus speaketh Augustine, a doctor of the church, of Cyprian, another doctor of the church. Cyprian was a bishop, a learned father, a holy man, and a martyr of Christ; yet, saith Augustine, his word is not the Gospel, his word is not the word of God; there is no wrong done to him, though his writings carry not like credit as the Holy Scriptures.

I could shew many the like speeches of the ancient fathers, wherein they reverence the Holy Scriptures, as to which only they give consent without gainsaying; which can neither deceive nor be deceived. In this sort did Origen, and Augustine, and other doctors of the church speak of themselves, and of theirs, and the writings of others, that we should so read them, and credit them, as they agreed with the word of God. This kind of writing is to be read, not with a necessity of believing them, but with a liberty to judge of them.

St. Paul saith (Gal. i.), "Though that we, or an angel from heaven, preach unto you otherwise than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." Out of which place St. Augustine speaketh thus: "Whether it be of Christ, or of his church, or of any thing else whatsoever, pertaining either to our life, or to our faith, I will not say if I myself, but if an angel from heaven shall teach us otherwise than ye have received in the books of the law, and in the Gospels, hold him accursed."

Now to conclude this matter, the same father saith, "The judges, or doctors of the church, as men, are often deceived." They are learned, they have pre-eminence in the church, they are judges, they have the gifts of wisdom and understanding, yet they are often deceived. They are our fathers, but not fathers unto God; they are stars, fair, and beautiful,

and bright, yet they are not the sun ; they bear witness of the light, they are not the light. Christ is the sun of righteousness.

Christ is the light, which lighteneth every man that cometh into this world. His word is the word of truth. He is the day-spring which hath visited us from on high ; he came down from the bosom of his Father ; he shall guide our feet into the way of peace. Of him God the Father spake (Matt. iii.), " This is my well beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased ; hear him."

He is the Lamb without spot ; out of his mouth goeth a two-edged sword. This is he in whom all the ends of the world shall be blessed ; hear him ; give heed to his saying, embrace his gospel, believe his word. Thus much touching the credit and authority which is to be given to the writings of ancient fathers.

St. Paul, speaking of the word of God, saith (2 Tim. iii.), " The whole Scripture is given by inspiration of God, and is profitable to teach, to improve, to correct, and to instruct in righteousness : to teach the truth, to improve falsehood, to correct all vice, to instruct in all virtue. Again (Rom. i.) : " I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, for it is the power of God unto salvation, to every one that believeth."

St. Basil saith, " The Scripture of God is like an apothecary's shop, full of medicines of sundry sorts, that every man may there choose a convenient medicine for his disease." There are salves and ointments to cure all maladies. Whosoever cannot be cured by the word of God, his disease is grown desperate, and past cure.

Many think the Apostle's speech is hardly true of the whole Scriptures, that all and every part of the Scripture is profitable. Much is spoken of gene-

alogies and pedigrees, of lepers, of sacrificing goats and oxen, &c. These seem to have little profit in them, but to be vain and idle. If they shew vain in thine eyes, yet hath not the Lord set them down in vain. "The words of the Lord are pure words, as the silver tried in a furnace of earth fined seven times." (Psa. xii.) There is no sentence, no clause, no word, no syllable, no letter, but it is written for thy instruction; there is not one jot, but it is sealed and signed with the blood of the Lamb. Our imaginations are idle, our thoughts are vain; there is no idleness, no vanity, in the word of God.

Those oxen and goats which were sacrificed, teach thee to kill and sacrifice the uncleanness and filthiness of thy heart; they teach thee, that thou art guilty of death, when thy life must be redeemed by the death of some beast; they lead thee to believe the forgiveness of sins by a more perfect sacrifice, because "it was not possible that the blood of bulls and goats should take away sins." (Heb. x.) That leprosy teacheth thee to know the uncleanness and leprosy of thy soul. Those genealogies and pedigrees lead us to the birth of our Saviour Christ. So that the whole word of God is pure and holy. No word, no letter, no syllable, no point or prick thereof, but is written and preserved for thy sake.

Art thou a king? Read the Scriptures; thou shalt find who hath established thine estate, and what duty thou owest to God. God there telleth thee (Prov. viii.), "By me kings rule, and princes decree justice." I have given thee authority; thou carriest my sword; I have put a crown upon thy head; thou art my servant; walk before me; let thy heart be perfect in my sight.

Art thou a subject? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee to know thy duty. There Paul biddeth thee, "Give tribute to whom tribute; custom

to whom custom; fear to whom fear; honour to whom honour is due. Ye must be subject, not because of wrath only, but for conscience sake. For he beareth not the sword for nought, for he is the minister of God, to take vengeance on them that do evil."

Art thou a minister? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee thy duty. The Prophet saith to thee, "Cry aloud, spare not; lift up thy voice like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions." (Isa. xlviii.) The Apostle saith unto thee (2 Tim. iv.), "Preach the word, be instant in season and out of season; watch in all things; do the work of an evangelist; make thy ministry fully known." Thou shalt give an account for the souls of the people; their blood shall be required at thy hands.

Art thou a father? hast thou children? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee; if thou hast sons, instruct them. Again: "He that teacheth his son, grieveth the enemy, and before his friends he shall rejoice of him. Give him no liberty in his youth, and wink not at his folly; chastise thy child, and be diligent therein, lest his shame grieve thee." (Eccles. vii. xxx.) Eli the Prophet, by sparing his wanton children, cast away himself and his children: they were slain, the ark of God was taken, and old Eli fell down and brake his neck. (1 Sam. ii.)

Art thou a child? hast thou a father? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. "Children, obey your parents in the Lord, for this is right; honour thy father and mother (which is the first commandment with promise), that it may be well with thee, and that thou mayest live long on earth." (Eph. vi.) And again: "Children, obey your parents in all things, for it is well pleasing unto the Lord." (Col. iii.) The wise man warneth thee: "The eye that mocketh his father, and despiseth the instruction of his mother, let the ravens of the

valley pluck it out, and the young eagles eat it." (Prov. xxx.)

Hath God blessed thee in wealth? art thou rich? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. "Be not high-minded, and trust not in uncertain riches, but in the living God, which giveth us abundantly all things to enjoy." (1 Tim. vi.) Again: "Trust not in oppression and robbery; be not vain; if riches increase, set not your heart thereon." Thou shalt depart and leave them behind thee; they shall forsake thee. Thou shalt die, thou knowest not how soon. Solomon sheweth thee, "Riches avail not in the day of wrath, but righteousness delivereth from death." (Prov. xi.)

Art thou poor, and sufferest scarcity in this world? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. Say with Job, "Naked came I out of my mother's womb, and naked shall I return again." Learn of Solomon, "Better is little with righteousness, than great revenues without equity." And again, "Better is the poor that walketh in his uprightness, than he that perverteth his ways, though he be rich." (Prov. xvi. and xxviii.) St. Paul saith, "Godliness is great gain, if a man be content with that he hath; for we brought nothing into the world, and it is certain that we carry nothing out." (1 Tim. vi.) And again, "Let him that is poor labour, and work with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth."

Art thou a merchant? usest thou to buy and sell? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee, "This is the will of God, that no man oppress or defraud his brother in any matter." (1 Thess. iv.) Thou shalt learn, that "divers weights and divers measures are abomination unto the Lord, and deceitful balances are not good." (Prov. xx.)

Art thou an usurer? Thy case is hard, yet hear the Scriptures; they will teach thee, God com-

mandeth thee thus: "If thou lend money to my people, to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him; ye shall not oppress him with usury." (Exod. xxii.) Again: "If thy brother be impoverished, and fallen in decay with thee, thou shalt relieve him; thou shalt take no usury of him, nor vantage; thou shalt not lend him thy victuals for increase, but thou shalt fear thy God, that thy brother may live with thee." (Levit. xxv.) And, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye unto them." (Matt. vii.) And, "He that giveth his money unto usury, shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven." (Psa. xv.)

Art thou a fornicator, and livest in adultery? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee. "He that committeth fornication (saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi.) sinneth against his own body. Know you not that your body is the temple of the Holy Ghost? Know you not that your bodies are the members of Christ? Shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of a harlot? God forbid."—"As He which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation" (saith St. Peter, 1 Ep. i.). The reason is set down by St. Paul (1 Thess. iv.), "For this is the will of God, even your holiness, and that you should abstain from fornication, that you may be holy both in body and in spirit." And (Heb. xiii.), "Whoremongers and adulterers God will judge." They shall have no inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God.

Art thou a servant? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee, "Servants, be obedient unto them that are your masters, according to the flesh, in all things, not with eye-service as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God. And whatsoever ye do, do it heartily, as unto the Lord, and not unto men." (Coloss. ii.) Again: "Please your

masters, not answering again; be no pickers, but shew all good faithfulness, that ye may adorn the doctrine of God our Saviour in all things." (Tit. ii.)

Art thou proud? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee, "Be not high-minded, but fear." (Rom. xi.) "What hast thou, that thou hast not received? If thou hast received it, why rejoicest thou as though thou hadst not received it?" (1 Cor. xiv.) And, "Learn of me, that I am meek and humble in heart." (Matt. xi.) And, "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." (James, i. 4.)

Art thou in adversity? Read the Scriptures. "Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord will deliver him out of them all." (Psa. xxxiv.) And (Psa. xci.). "He shall call upon me, and I will hear him; I will be with him in trouble; I will deliver him, and glorify him." And St. Peter telleth thee (1 Ep. iii.), "The eyes of the Lord are over the righteous, and his ears are open to their prayers. God is faithful, which will not suffer you to be tempted above that you be able, but will give the issue with the temptation, that ye may be able to bear it."—"The Lord is near unto all them that call upon him, yea, to all that call upon him in truth." (Psa. cxlv.)

Art thou a sinner? hast thou offended God? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee, "Hate the evil, and love the good." (Amos, v.) And again: "Fly from evil, and do good, and dwell for ever." (Psa. xxxvii.) "Rise up, and go to thy father, and say unto him, Father, I have sinned against Heaven, and against thee, and am no more worthy to be called thy son." (Luke, xv.)

Dost thou despair of the mercy of God? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee, Christ telleth thee (Matt. ix), "I came not to call the righteous, but sinners to repentance." Again (chap. xi.):

"Come unto me all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you."—"At what hour soever a sinner doth repent him of his sin from the bottom of his heart, I will put all his wickedness out of my remembrance," saith the Lord. Again (Ezek. xxxiii.) "I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live." And (Psa. cxlv.), "The Lord is good to all, and his mercies are over all his works."

Art thou going out of this life? Read the Scriptures; they will teach thee; "I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whosoever liveth and believeth in me, shall never die." (John, xi.) Say with St. Paul (Phil. i.), "Christ is to me both in life and in death advantage; I desire to be loosed, and to be with Christ."

What should I say more of the Scriptures, how profitable and comfortable they be in all cases and parts of our life? In adversity, in prosperity, in life, and in death, they are our especial comfort. If we must fight, they are a sword; if we hunger, they are meat; if we thirst, they are drink; if we have no dwelling-place, they are a house; if we be naked, they are a garment; if we be in darkness, they be light unto our going.

They are comfortable to kings, to subjects, to old men, to young men, to man and to wife, to father and to child, to master and to servant, to captain and soldier, to preacher and people, to the learned, to the unlearned, to the wise, and to the simple.

They are comfortable in peace, in war, in heaviness, in joy, in health and sickness, in abundance, in poverty, in the daytime, in the night-season, in the town, in the wilderness, in company, and when thou art alone. For they teach faith, hope, patience, charity, sobriety, humility, righteousness, and all

godlines. They teach us to live, and they teach us to die.

Therefore hath Paul said well, *The whole Scripture is profitable:* it is full of great comfort; it maketh the man of God absolute and perfect unto all good works; perfect in faith, perfect in hope, perfect in the love of God and of his neighbour; perfect in his life, and perfect in his death: so great, so large, and ample, and heavenly, is the profit which we do reap by the word of God.

Now it followeth, that we consider how necessary and needful it is for us to be guided by the word of God, in the whole trade of our life. The word of God is that unto our souls, which our soul is unto our body. As the body dieth when the soul departeth, so the soul of man dieth, when it hath not the knowledge of God. "Man liveth not by bread only, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." (Deut. viii.)

Behold, saith God (Amos, viii.), "I will send a famine in the land, not a famine of bread, nor a thirst of water, but of hearing the word of the Lord." Their tongue shall wither, their heart shall starve, they shall die for hunger. (Isa. lix.) "They shall wander from sea to sea; and from the north unto the east shall they run to and fro to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it. They shall stumble at noon-day, as at the twilight; they shall grope for the wall like the blind, and truth shall fall in their streets."

For how shall they be saved, unless they call on the name of the Lord? "How shall they call on Him, in whom they have not believed? how shall they believe in Him, of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher? and how shall they preach except they be sent?" (Rom. x.) Chrysostom therefore saith, "Neither can it be, I

say it cannot be, that any man shall attain to salvation, except he be always occupied in spiritual reading." The wise man saith (Prov. xxiv.), "Where there is no prophecy, the people decay."

When the Scriptures are not opened, when there is none that can edify, and exhort, and comfort the people by the word of God, they must needs perish; for they know not the way in which they should walk; they know not whom to honour, nor upon whose name they should call; they know neither what to believe, nor what to do. Hell hath enlarged itself, and hath opened his mouth without measure; and they that are wilful and ignorant, and the children of darkness, go down into it.

They become thrall and captives unto Satan; their heart is bound up; they understand nothing; their eyes are shut up, they can see nothing; their ears are stopped up, they can hear nothing; they are carried away as a prey into hell, because they have not the knowledge of God.

So doth Christ tell the Sadducees (Matt. xxii.), "Ye are deceived, because you know not the Scriptures, nor the power of God." Thus he teacheth, that error is the child of ignorance. The cause why you are so deceived, is because you know not the Scriptures; you have hated the light, and loved darkness; you have neither known the Father nor me. He that knoweth not the truth of God, knoweth not God.

Herein, in this case, there is no plea of ignorance. Ignorance will not excuse us. Chrysostom saith, "Thou wilt say, I have not heard the Scriptures. This is no excuse, but a sin." Again he saith, "This is the working of the devil's inspiration; he would not suffer us to see the treasure, lest we should get the riches; therefore he counselleth us, that it utterly availeth us nothing to hear the laws of God,

lest that upon the hearing he may see our doing follow."

Gregory saith, "Whoso know not the things that pertain unto the Lord, be not known of the Lord." Origen also giveth reason of this practice of Satan: "Unto the devils it is a torment above all kinds of torment, and a pain above all pains, if they see any man reading the word of God, and with fervent study searching the knowledge of God's law, and the mysteries and secrets of the Scriptures. Herein standeth all the flame of the devils; in this fire they are tormented, for they are seized and possessed of all them that remain in ignorance.

Carneades, a philosopher, was wont to say of his master and reader, Chrysippus, If it had not been for Chrysippus, I never had been any body; he was my master and teacher; he made me learned; whatsoever I have, I have it of him. How much better may we use the like words of the Scripture, and say, Unless it were for the word of God, our wisdom were nothing, and our knowledge were nothing. Whatsoever we have, we have it by the word. Without it, our prayer were no prayer; without it, our sacraments were no sacraments; our faith were no faith; our conscience were no conscience; our church were no church. Take away the light of the sun, and what remaineth but darkness? Heaven and earth are darkened. No man can see his way, or discern the things about him; even so, if the word of God be taken away, what remaineth, but miserable confusion and deadly ignorance?

When the Philistines had shorn the hairs of Sampson, they fell upon him, took him, bound him, and plucked out his eyes; they danced about him, and made scorn and games of him. We are Sampson; the strength of our hairs is the knowledge of the will of God; it is laid up in our heads, in the highest

and principal part of us; if that be shorn off, if we be kept from hearing, reading, and understanding of the word of God, then will error, superstition, and all wickedness, get the upper hand, and fall upon us, and bind us, and pluck out our eyes, and make scorn of us, and utterly destroy us.

When the people of Jerusalem were besieged, and wanted food to eat, they fed on rats and mice, and many unwholesome and filthy things. A woman was driven for want of meat to do a cruel part upon her own child; she took her own babe, which was the fruit of her own body, killed it, cut it in pieces, dressed it, and fed upon it: a loathsome meat, especially for a mother to eat her own child. But she was driven to it by extremity and hunger; it was so cruel a thing to lack wherewith life might be preserved.

Even so fared it with us and our fathers, after it pleased God to take away his Gospel, and to send a famine of hearing the word of the Lord. We were driven to eat those things which were loathsome and horrible to behold; we were driven to feed upon our own children, even the fantasies and vanities of our heart. There was no substance in them, they could not feed us.

In this case were the children of Israel, when they grew weary of the word of God, and left the ordinances set down unto them. God had no pleasure in them, their prayers and sacrifice were not accepted. "I cannot suffer (saith the Lord, Isa. i.) your new moons, nor sabbaths, nor solemn days. Who hath required this of your hands?"

In such case were the Scribes and Pharisees, when they forsook to be guided by the word of God, and took away the key of knowledge; they fed upon their own devices, they neglected the commandments and will of God, and followed their own tra-

ditions; therefore Christ reproved them (Matt. xv.): "O hypocrites, Isaiah prophesied well of you, saying, This people draweth near unto me with their mouth, and honoureth me with their lips, but their heart is far off from me. But in vain they worship me, teaching for doctrines men's precepts."

Therefore if we seek to know the sacraments of the church, what they are; if we would be instructed in the sacrament of baptism, or in the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; if we would learn to know our Creator, and to put the difference between the Creator and a creature; if we desire to know what this present life is, and what is that life which is to come; if we would believe in God, and call upon the name of God, and do worship unto God; if we would be settled in perfect zeal and true knowledge; if we would have an upright conscience towards God; if we would know which is the true church of God, it is very needful that we hear the word of God. There is no other word that teacheth us unto salvation.

Now it remaineth we speak of the delectation and pleasure which the word of God giveth. The word of God is full of sad and grave counsel, full of the knowledge of God, of examples of virtues, and of correction of vices, of the end of this life, and of the life to come. These are the contents of the word of God. These things (say you) are great and weighty of themselves, there is no vanity or pleasure in them.

They are great and weighty, I grant; and because they are so weighty, they be the more worthy, that we hear them. But we must take a delight and settle our fancy, that it may like of the weight and greatness. They were unto the Prophet David, "more sweet than honey and the honeycomb." If we taste them with such an affection as he did, we

shall feel and see the great, and weighty, and heavenly pleasure which is in them.

Many are delighted in the stories of Julius Cæsar, of Alexander the Great, of mighty and victorious princes; they have pleasure to read of their wars, of their victories, and of their triumphs; and many take their pleasure in travel to far countries, to see the divers fashions and behaviour of men.

If it were possible we might stand upon such a hill, from which we might at once see all parts of the world, the cities and towns, and mountains, and forests, and castles, and gorgeous buildings, and all the kings and princes of the world, in their princely estate; if we might see the variety of the whole world, how some live quietly in peace, others are turmoiled in war, some live in wealth, others in poverty and misery; some rise, others fall; to see and behold so great variety of things, it cannot be but it would delight us.

Such a hill, from whence we may take views of so great variety, such a story in which we may read of noble princes, of their wars and victories, is the word of God. Upon this hill you may at once behold all the works of his hands, how he made heaven and earth, the sun and the moon, the sea and floods, the fishes in the water, the fowls in the air, and the beasts in the field. Upon this hill you may stand and see his angels, and his archangels, and blessed spirits, how some of them fell, and some continued in glory; how God hath sent them in message, how they have come down from heaven to serve the sons of men.

Here you may read of the wars of the God of Hosts; how he hath pitched his tents in the midst of his people, and hath gone before them, and fought for them; how the Amorites and Canaanites were rooted out; how the Amalekites were overthrown

by the lifting up of Moses' hands in prayer; how the wall of Jericho fell down flat at the sound of a trumpet, and the shouting of the people; and how one hundred and eighty-five thousand Assyrians were slain in one night by the hand of one angel, when God raught out his hand from heaven to give victory to his people.

Here may you see how God plagued and overcame his enemies; how he drowned Pharaoh in the Red Sea, and his horses, and men, and chariots, all together. Here may you see Nebuchadnezzar, a mighty prince, so bereft of his wits, that he forsook his palaces, and the company and order of men, and lived in the fields after the manner of beasts. Here may you see how God struck king Antiochus and king Herod with filthy diseases, and caused lice to eat their flesh; how he sent down fire and brimstone from heaven, and destroyed Sodom and Gomorrah for their sins; how he made the earth open, and swallow up Dathan and Abiram; how king Uzziah was stricken with leprosy, and carried from the temple, and cut off from his kingdom.

What stories of any princes or people in any age can report unto us so strange battles, so mighty conquests, so wonderful deliverance in extremities, so dreadful subduing of the enemies, as the hand of God has wrought, and the story of the Scriptures declareth unto us?

This word also sheweth the goodness and mercy of God towards the people which put their trust in him; how he made them terrible to their enemies; how he made their enemies their footstool; how he led them safe through the Red Sea; how he sent his angel to go before them, and guide them; how he gave them water out of a rock, and rained down bread from heaven; how he brought them into a land that flowed with milk and honey, and sware unto

them, that he would be their God, and they should be his people.

In this word are to be seen wonderful and strange works of God, such as are beyond the course of nature, and pass the reason of man: that the sea parted, and stood on both sides as a high wall; that at the word of Joshua the sun stood still, and went not on his course. Hezekiah spake the word, and required it, and the sun went back ten degrees. At the word of Elias, fire came down from heaven to consume his sacrifice.

Here may you see an ass open his mouth, and speak and reprove his master; three servants of God walk in a hot burning furnace without hurt; Daniel in the den among lions, and not devoured; Peter in the raging sea, and not drowned; lepers cleansed, the lame to go, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, the blind to see, the dead to rise out of their graves and live; simple and unlearned men to speak in strange tongues; the devil to go out of the possessed, and to say, I know thou art Christ the Son of God.

Here may you see twelve poor silly men, without spear, or sword, or force, make conquest and win the whole world. No power could repress them, no might could withstand them. It is reckoned a great matter for a king or a nation to yield submission unto another king or nation. It must therefore be a matter of great wonder to see all kings throw down their maces, and all people to yield before so few, so simple, so unarmed; and to acknowledge they embraced lies, and lived in ignorance; and that these twelve are the servants of the Highest; and to see how God hath chosen the foolish things of this world, to overthrow the wise; and the weak things of this world, to confound the mighty things: such force did God give to their words. He made them

the sons of thunder; they shook the foundations of the world; they threw down whatsoever stood against them.

Here you may see the fight of God's elect children; how they patiently suffered afflictions in their bodies, rather than they would deny the truth of God; they gave their backs to the scourge, their necks to the sword, their bodies to the fire. No tyrant, no menacings, no rack, no torment, no sword, no death could remove them from the love of the Gospel which they had received.

The more of them were cut down, the more did spring up; the more were killed, the more were left alive. Augustine saith, "They were bound, and shut up, and racked, and burnt, and yet were increased." This is the victory that hath overcome the world. For the Lord answered (St. Paul, 2 Cor. xii.), "My power is made perfect through weakness." It liveth in death; it is made whole and sound by wounds and stripes; it is increased by those means whereby men destroy it.

Jacob saw a ladder stand upon the earth, and the top of it reach up into heaven, and the angels of God go up and down by it. This was but a dream and vision in his sleep; yet when he awoke, he took pleasure and comfort of this vision.

We have not only the delight of this with Jacob, but we have other far greater visions. We see Isaiah beholding the Lord as he sat upon an high throne; we see Paul taken up into the third heavens; we see the glory of God appear, and hear the voice which came out of the cloud, saying (Matt. xvii.), "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him."

We see Jesus Christ, the Son of God, born of a virgin, and how "he made himself of no reputation, and took on him the form of a servant, and

was made like unto man, and was found in shape as a man; that he humbled himself, and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the cross." (Phil. ii.) We hear him cry with a loud voice, "My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" We hear him say, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do." And, "Father, into thine hands I commend my spirit." (Luke, xxiii.)

Here we may see the sun to be darkened, that the moon giveth no light; the earth to shake, the rocks to cleave asunder, the vail to rent, the graves to open, and Christ rise from the dead, and go up into heaven, and sit at the right hand of his Father.

Here may we see the overthrow of "Babylon, which made all nations to drink of the wine of the wrath of her fornication" (Rev. xiv.): how she is destroyed with the breath of God's mouth. Here we behold the resurrection of the dead, and four-and-twenty elders sit before God on their seats, and the Ancient of days sit upon his throne, and the judgment-seat, and the books opened, and all flesh appear before him; and how some are taken into everlasting life, and some are sent into everlasting death.

What tongue is able to express these pleasures and delights which are laid open to us in the word of God? We buy images, and pictures, and maps of men, and divers things and countries; but what map or picture can shew us the like variety and change of things?

We purchase lands, and have liking so to do. Here we are taught how we may come to that land, which shall stand with us, and in which we shall continue for ever.

To see any one of these, it were great pleasure, either the creation of heaven and earth, or the angels and archangels, and blessed spirits; or the battles

of the God of Sabbaoth; or Amalek dashed in pieces like a potter's vessel; or the walls of Jericho blown down with the sound of a trumpet; or Pharaoh drowned in the sea; or Nebuchadnezzar eating grass among the beasts; or Antiochus smitten from heaven; or Sodom and Gomorrah burnt with fire and brimstone; or the earth to open and swallow up the wicked; or the sea to stand like a wall; or water to come out of a stone; or bread to come from heaven; or the sun to stand still, or to change his course; or an ass to speak, and teach his master; or fire to be extreme hot, yet not burning; or lions hungry, yet not eating their meat; or the sea tempestuous, yet not drowning; or blind to see, deaf to hear, dumb to speak, dead to rise; or ignorant men to speak in languages they never learned; or the devil to roar, and confess Christ; or God sitting in his majesty, and Christ at his right hand; or Babylon thrown down, and become a tabernacle of foul spirits, and a den for the devil; or Christ to sit in judgment, and give sentence upon the quick and the dead: to see any one of all these wondrous works of God, it were great pleasure.

How can it be then, but that we rejoice and take delight to see so many, so great, so marvellous, so heavenly, and so glorious wonders in one heap all together! How far would we ride or go, to see the triumph of a mortal king!

Here is to be seen the triumph of God, the Lord of lords, and the King of kings; how he made the name of his Son triumph over principalities and powers, and over the whole world. Here is a paradise full of delights; no tongue is able to speak them, they are so many; no heart is able to conceive them, they be so great.

Here is a shop wherein is set out the wisdom, and knowledge, the power, the judgments, and mercies

of God; which way soever we look, we see the works of his hands; his works of creation, and preservation of all things; his works of severe justice upon the wicked, and of gracious redemption to the believer.

If we desire pleasant music, or excellent harmony, it speaketh unto us the words of the Father, and the consent of the Son; the excellent reports of the prophets, apostles, angels, and saints of God, who have been all taught by the Holy Ghost.

If we would learn, it is a school; it giveth understanding to the simple. In it there is that may content the heart, the ear, the eye, the taste, and the smelling. It is a savour of life unto life. "Oh taste and see how gracious the Lord is," saith the Prophet David. (Psa. xxxiv.) So manifold and marvellous are the pleasures which are given us in the word of God; God hath made them and wrought them all for the sons of men.

Thus have I performed promise, and simply and homely opened those four things which I took in hand. I have declared what weight and majesty the word beareth; what huge harvest of profit we may reap by it; how needful it is for us travelling through the wilderness of this life, and what repast and pleasure we may find in it.

But all this notwithstanding, some take exception, and say, the Scriptures are dark and doubtful, the matters are deep, the words are hard, few can understand them. One taketh them in this sense, another in a sense clean contrary. The best learned cannot agree about them; they are the occasion of many great quarrels. John seeth this book sealed with seven seals, and an angel preaching with a loud voice, "Who is worthy to open the book, and to loose the seals thereof?" (Rev. v.) No man can open it, no man can read it. St. Peter saith (2 Ep.

iii.), "Among the Epistles of Paul, some things are hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable, pervert as they do all other Scriptures unto their own destruction." And St. Paul saith (1 Tim. vi.), "God dwelleth in the light that none can attain unto," whom man never saw, neither can see.

Therefore, although the majesty be never so weighty, the profit, the necessity, and the pleasure never so great, yet it is not good for the people to read them. Pearls must not be cast before swine, nor the bread of the children unto dogs. Thus they say. Indeed the word of God is pearls, but the people are not swine.

They may not read them (say some); they are not able to wield them; the Scriptures are not for the people. Hereof I will say something, and a word or two of the reverence and fear, with which we ought to come to the hearing of them.

They say the Scriptures are hard, and above the reach of the people. So said the Pelagian heretic, Julian, whom St. Augustine therefore reproveth: "Ye enlarge and lay out with many words, how hard a matter the knowledge of the Scripture is, and meet only for a few learned men." You say the Scriptures are hard, who may open them? There is no evidence or trial to be taken by them; they are fit only for a few learned men; they are in no wise fit for the people. Thus said Julian, an heretic.

But God himself, and the ancient fathers of the church, said otherwise. God saith (Deut. xxx.), "This commandment which I command thee this day is not hid from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go

over the sea for us, and bring it us, and cause us to hear it, that we may do it? But the word is very near thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart, for to do it." Thou needest not run hither and thither, nor wander over the sea, nor beat thy brains in searching what thou shouldest do, or by what means thou mayest live uprightly. The word and commandment of God will teach thee sufficiently.

The Prophet David saith (Psa. xix.), "The commandment of the Lord is pure, and giveth light unto the eyes." And (Psa. cxix.), "Thy word is a lantern unto my feet, and a light unto my paths." Thy word is not dark, it is a light unto my path, it giveth light unto the eyes. What is clear, if the light be dark? or what can he see, which cannot see the light?

Human knowledge is dark and uncertain; philosophy is dark, astrology is dark, and geometry is dark. The professors thereof oftentimes run a-muck; they lose themselves, and wander they know not whither; they seek the depth and bottom of natural causes, the change of the elements, the impressions in the air, the causes of the rainbow, of blazing stars, of thunder and lightning, of the trembling and shaking of the earth, the motions of the planets, the proportion and the influence of the celestial bodies.

They measure the compass of heaven, and count the number of the stars; they go down, and search the mines in the bowels of the earth; they rip up the secrets of the sea. The knowledge of these things is hard; it is uncertain; few are able to reach it; it is not fit for every man to understand it.

But the holy Spirit of God, like a good teacher, applieth himself to the dulness of our wits; he leadeth not us by the unknown places of the earth, nor by the air, nor by the clouds; he astonisheth not our spirits with natural vanities; he writeth his law

in our hearts; he teacheth us to know him and his Christ; he teacheth us (Tit. ii.), that we should "deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, and that we should live soberly, and righteously, and godly in this present world;" he teacheth us to look "for the blessed hope and appearing of the glory of the mighty God, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ." This matter is good, and it is plain; the words are plain, and the utterance is plain.

Chrysostom saith, "Therefore hath the grace of the Holy Spirit disposed and tempered them so, that publicans, and fishers, and tentmakers, shepherds, and the Apostles, and simple men, and unlearned, might be saved by these books; that none of the simpler sort might make excuse by the hardness of them; and that such things as are spoken might be easy for all men to look on; that the labouring man, and the servant, the widow woman, and whosoever is most unlearned, may take some good, when they are read. For they whom God ever from the beginning endued with the grace of his Spirit, have not gathered all these things for vain glory, as the heathen writers use, but for the salvation of the hearers."

Some things in the Scriptures are hard, I deny it not. It is very expedient that somewhat should be covered, to make us more diligent in reading, more desirous to understand, more fervent in prayer, more willing to ask the judgment of others, and to presume the less of our own judgment.

Gregory saith, "The hardness which is in the word of God is very profitable; for it causeth a man to take that profit by pains, which he could not take with negligence. If the understanding were open and manifest, it would be little set by."

Cyrillus saith, "All things are plain and straight to them that have found knowledge, but to such as are fools, the most easy places seem hard." And again: "Those things which are plain are hard unto

heretics; for how can wisdom enter into a wicked heart?" It is true which St. Peter hath said, some things are hard to be understood.

But it is also true, that they which pervert them unto their own destruction are unlearned and unstable; that is, they to whom they are hard, have not their eyes opened, that they may see the light of the word; or they be wicked, and turn the truth of God into lies, and abuse the Scriptures to their own damnation.

The howlet seeth not by the brightness of the sun, not because the sun-beams are dark, but for that his eyes are weak, and cannot abide so clear light; it is therefore but a pretence and colour for their ignorance, and a means to deceive the people more boldly with their errors, when they charge the word of God with darkness and hardness.

For how many hundred places are there which be as clear as noon-day? God saith (Exod. xx.), "I am the Lord thy God, thou shalt have none other gods before me; thou shalt make thee no graven images, neither any similitude of things that are in heaven above, neither that are in the earth beneath, nor that are in the waters under the earth; thou shalt neither bow down to them, neither serve them."

Again he saith (Wisd. xiv.), "That is cursed that is made with hands, both it, and he that made it; he, because he made it, and it, because it was called God, being a corruptible thing." Again (Psa. xcvii.), "Cursed be all they that worship carved images, and delight in vain gods." This is the word of God. What darkness is in any of these sayings?

God saith (Exod. xxii.), "If thou lend money to my people, to the poor with thee, thou shalt not be as an usurer unto him, ye shall not oppress him with usury." Again (Ezek. xviii.), "If a man hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any in-

crease, &c. he shall surely live; but he that hath given forth upon usury, or hath taken increase, shall he live? He shall not live."

And (Rom. vi.), "The wages of sin is death." And (Ezek. xviii.), "The soul that sinneth, it shall die." And again (Eph. v.), "This ye know, that no whoremongers, neither unclean person, nor covetous person, which is an idolater, hath any inheritance in the kingdom of Christ and of God. Let no man deceive you with vain words; for, for such things cometh the wrath of God upon the children of disobedience." These are the words of God; and what darkness is in them?

St. Paul saith (Rom. xii.), "If it be possible, as much as in you lieth, have peace with all men. Abhor that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good; avenge not yourselves, but give place unto wrath." Again (chap. xiii.), "Let every soul be subject to the higher powers; there is no power but of God. He is the minister of God for thy wealth; but if thou do evil, fear; for he beareth not the sword for nought." These be the words of God; what darkness is in them?

St. John saith (chap. i.), "Christ is the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world." And (1 John, i.), "The blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, cleanseth us from all sins." St. Peter saith (1 Ep. i.), "His own self bare our sins in his body on the tree, that we, being delivered from sin, should live in righteousness."

Christ saith (Luke, xi.), "Ask, and it shall be given you; seek, and ye shall find; knock, and it shall be opened unto you." And again (Matt. xi.), "Come unto me all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you." The Prophet saith (Joel, ii.), "Whosoever call on the name of the Lord shall be saved." These be the words of God; what darkness

is in them? what eye so simple, but he may see them?

The ways of the Lord are straight, and his words plain even unto the simple. Chrysostom saith, "All things are clear and plain in the holy Scriptures. Whatsoever things there are necessary for us, are also manifest." Some things are covered, as men cover precious stones and precious garments; they are covered, and yet we see them; we see them, and yet they are covered; yet all things that are necessary are plain and open.

Clemens saith, "The word of God is hid from no man; it is a light common unto all men; there is no darkness in God's word." Mark, it is a common light, and shineth to all men; it is as bright and beautiful as the sun, there is no dungeon or darkness in it. So saith Irenæus: "The Scriptures are plain, and without doubtfulness, and may be heard indifferently of all men." All men may hear them, even all sorts of men without exception.

Where be they then which say it is not lawful for the people to have the word of God, and that the Scriptures are not meet for their reading? They are bread; they are drink; they nourish unto everlasting life. Great cruelty it is to starve God's people to death. Are they unfit to have the Scriptures, because they be poor? Christ saith (Matt. xi.), "The poor receive the glad tidings of the Gospel." And (Matt. v.), "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven:" they want riches, and worldly glory, but God giveth his fear and grace to them, as well as to the rich.

Are they unfit to read the Scriptures, because they are not bred up in other learning? St. Paul saith (1 Cor. ii.), "I esteemed not to know any thing among you, but Jesus Christ and him crucified." The Prophet David saith (Psa. xciv.), "Blessed is

the man, O Lord, whom thou teachest in thy law." And Christ saith (Matt. xi.), "Thou hast hid these things from the wise and men of understanding, and hast opened them unto babes." The Apostles were sent into all the world to preach the Gospel unto every creature, to learned and unlearned, to poor and rich. There is no man too poor, none too rich, none too young, none too old. Whosoever hath ears to hear, he hath learning enough to be a hearer.

As for the wisest and learned men in matters of this world, they have not always proved the readiest and most willing to set forth the glory of God: they have not been the meetest scholars for this school. Who were they that resisted Moses and Aaron, the servants of God? Not the people, but the wisest and best learned in Egypt. Who were they that stood against Elias? Not the people, but the learned and wise men, and the prophets and priests of Baal. Who were they that stoned and killed the Prophets? Not the people, but the chiefest and wisest in Israel.

Who were they that resisted Christ and his Gospel, and sought to deface the glory of God? Not the people, but the Scribes, and Pharisees, and high-priests, and all the troop of their clergy. They called Christ a deceiver, and Beelzebub, a companion of publicans and harlots; they lay in wait every where to entrap him, they sued him to death.

St. Paul saith for conclusion in this matter (1 Cor. i.), "It is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will cast away the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? where is the Scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? For seeing the world by wisdom knew not God, in the wisdom of God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believed. Brethren, you see your calling, how that not many wise men

after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called, but God hath chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise; and God hath chosen the weak things of the world to confound the mighty things, and vile things of the world, and things which are despised, hath God chosen."

Mark, saith he, how mercifully God hath dealt with you. Few of the learned sort, few such as are counted wise, embrace the Gospel with you, or join with you in faith, or keep you company. God hath let them be deceived in their wisdom; they take themselves to be wise, and yet are become fools, and contrary to worldly judgment. God hath made you, which were weak and simple, and of no reputation, wise and righteous, and sanctified and redeemed in Christ Jesus. And Christ saith (Matt. xviii.), "Except ye be converted, and become as little children, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of heaven."

Therefore the godly father Chrysostom calleth upon the people to read and hear the Scriptures. "Hear me, ye men of the world; get ye the Bible, that most wholesome remedy for the soul; if ye will nothing else, yet at the least get the New Testament, St. Paul's Epistles, the Gospels, and the Acts, that they may be your continual and earnest teachers." And again: "Hearken not hereto, only here in the church, but also at home; let the husband with the wife, let the father with the child, talk together of these matters, and both to and fro, let them both inquire, and give their judgments; and would God they would begin this good custom."

In like sort saith Origen: "Would God we would all do accordingly as it is written, Search the Scriptures." It were a token that we do love Christ. Then would the Father love us, and Christ would love us, and shew himself unto us; and he and his Father would come unto us, and dwell in us.

Chrysostom saith, " This is the cause of all ill, that the Scriptures are not known. To know nothing of God's laws (saith he in another place) is the loss of salvation: ignorance hath brought in heresies and vicious life, ignorance hath turned all things upside down."

St. Jerome, expounding those words of the Apostle, " Let the word of Christ dwell in you plenteously," saith, " Here we are taught, that the lay-people ought to have the word of God, not only sufficiently, but also with abundance, and to teach and counsel one another."

And now to conclude what the learned fathers and ancient doctors have said in these matters. Theodoretus saith, " Ye may commonly see, that our doctrine is known not only of them that are the doctors of the church, and the masters of the people, but also even of the tailors, and smiths, and weavers, and of all artificers; yea, and further also of women, and that not only of them that be learned, but also of labouring women, and sewsters, and servants, and handmaids; neither only the citizens, but also the country folks do very well understand the same. Ye may find, yea, even the very ditchers, and delvers, and cow-herds, and gardeners, disputing of the Holy Trinity, and of the creation of all things."

Thus we see there was a time, before ignorance crept into the church, and got the upper hand, when the word of God was not counted hard, and dark, and doubtful; when children, and women, and servants, and men of the country, had the knowledge of God, and were able to reason of the works of God. Then went it well with them; they could not easily be deceived, because they had that word which bewrayeth the thief; they carried with them like good exchangers the weights and touchstone, and were able to try coins whether they were true or false.

Such were the people, such was the state of God's church in those days.

Gold, and silver, and lands, and possessions, are the portions but of few; they are not common to all alike. The wise man saith (Prov. xix.), "House and riches come by inheritance of the fathers." But the word of God, the law and the prophets, the apostles, the evangelists, the gift of the Spirit, and the knowledge of God, are given unto all men, they are made common for all men.

If the word were ordained but for a few, then Christ was given unto the world but for a few; the heaven was made but for a few; the mercy and love of God was but for a few. But the mercy of God is over all, and upon all, and for all. All have right to hear the word of God, all have need to know the word of God. "All have sinned, and are deprived of the glory of God." (Rom. iii.)

Therefore Christ calleth all (Matt. xi.): "Come unto me all ye that be weary and laden." Young men and old men, men and women, rich and poor, come to me. "God is no accepter of persons." (Acts, x.) "It is not the will of your Father which is in heaven (saith Christ, Matt. xviii.) that one of these little ones should perish." "Who will that all men should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth." (1 Tim. ii.) "God will look to him that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and trembleth at his words." (Isa. lxvi.) God will regard such a one, and make him a fit vessel to receive his truth. Upon him that is such a one shall the spirit of wisdom and understanding, the spirit of knowledge and of the fear of God, rest.

Not only upon the rich, the wise, and the learned, but upon him that is poor, and of a contrite heart, and trembleth at his words; upon him that humbleth himself under the mighty hand of God; he is the

temple and the tabernacle of the Holy Ghost. He that is humble in heart shall be saved; God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the lowly.

Therefore Christ said (Matt. xi.), "I give thee thanks, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast hid these things from the wise and men of understanding, and hast opened them unto babes," even to such as have no learning, which rejoice in nothing but in thee. The wise and learned of the world cannot hear them, cannot see them; but they to whom it pleased thee to give understanding. It is thy mercy. Flesh and blood cannot reach the knowledge of thy will. The Spirit of the Father hath revealed it.

Christ saith (John, x.), "My sheep hear my voice, and I know them, and they follow me; they will not follow a stranger." My people are simple as sheep, they are rude, and know not what they do; yet they know my voice, and follow me; they know their shepherd from a thief; they follow not the call and voice of a stranger. So we see that God chaseth no man away from hearing his word; he loatheth not the poor, because of his poverty; he refuseth him not, for he is the God of the poor, they be his creatures.

St. Augustine saith, "Almighty God, in the Scriptures, speaketh as a familiar friend, without dissimulation, unto the hearts both of the learned and of the unlearned." He abaseth himself, and speaketh to their capacity; for his will is, that all should come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved.

Now let us consider with what fear and reverence we ought to come to the hearing or reading of the word of God. "The angel of the Lord appeared unto Moses in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush." (Exod. iii.) When Moses turned aside to

see, God said unto him, "Come not hither, put thy shoes off thy feet, for the place whereon thou standest is holy ground."

Again, when God had appointed to speak unto the people from Mount Sinai, he said to Moses, "Go unto the people, and sanctify them to-day and to-morrow, and let them wash their clothes, and let them be ready on the third day; for the third day the Lord will come down in the sight of all the people upon Mount Sinai." (Exod. xix.)

The word of the Lord is the bush, out of which issueth a flame of fire. The Scriptures of God are the mount, from which the Lord of Hosts doth shew himself. In them God speaketh to us; in them we hear the words of everlasting life. We must be sanctified, and wash our garments, and be ready to hear the Lord. We must strip off all our affections; we must fall down before him with fear; we must know who it is that speaketh: even God the maker of heaven and earth; God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ; God which shall judge the quick and the dead, before whom all flesh shall appear.

This word is holy. Let us take heed into what hearts we bestow it. Whosoever abuseth it, shall be found guilty of high trespass against the Lord. We may not receive it to blow up our hearts, and wax proud with our knowledge; we may not use it to maintain debate and contention; we may not use it to vaunt ourselves, or to make show of our cunning.

The word of God teacheth lowliness of mind; it teacheth us to know ourselves. If we learn not humility, we learn nothing. Although we seem to know somewhat, yet know we not in such sort as we ought to know.

The Scriptures are the mysteries of God; let us

not be curious; let us not seek to know more than God hath revealed by them: they are the sea of God; let us take heed we be not drowned in them: they are the fire of God; let us take comfort by their heat, and warily take heed they burn us not. They that gaze over-hardly upon the sun, take blemish in their eyesight.

When the people of Israel saw the manna in the desert, they said, *Man Hu?* what is this? So they reasoned of it when they took it up in their hands, and beheld it. They asked one another what good it would do. The Scriptures are manna, given to us from heaven, to feed us in the desert of this world. Let us take them, and behold them, and reason of them, and learn one of another what profit may come to us by them; let us know that they are written for our sake, and for our learning, that through patience and comfort of the Scriptures we may have hope. They are given us to instruct us in faith, to strengthen us in hope, to open our eyes, and to direct our going.

If we withhold the truth in unrighteousness, if we know our master's will, and do it not; if the name of God be ill spoken of through us, the word of God shall be taken away from us, and given to a nation which shall bring forth the fruits thereof. God shall send us strong delusions, that we shall believe lies; our own heart shall condemn us, and we shall be beaten with many stripes.

Therefore we ought diligently to give heed to those things which we hear, we must consider of them, we must chew the cud. "Every beast that cheweth not the cud is unclean" (Levit. xi.), and not fit for the sacrifice. Let us be poor in spirit, and meek in heart; let us be gentle, as becometh the lambs of Christ, and as his sheep; let us hear his

voice, and follow him ; let us be of a contrite spirit, and tremble at the words of God ; let us, when we know God, glorify him as God.

So shall God look upon us ; so shall the spirit of wisdom, and understanding, and of counsel, and of knowledge, and of the fear of God, rest upon us ; so shall we be made perfect to all good works ; so shall we rejoice in his salvation, and with one mouth glorify God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

A

TREATISE

OF THE

SACRAMENTS,

GATHERED OUT OF CERTAIN

SERMONS,

WHICH THE REV. FATHER IN GOD

BISHOP JEWELL

PREACHED AT SALISBURY.

A TREATISE

OF THE

SACRAMENTS.

I HAVE opened unto you the contents of the Lord's Prayer, and shewed you upon whom we ought to call, and what to ask; and the articles of our Christian faith in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost; of the church, of remission of sins, of the resurrection, and of life everlasting, &c. And I have opened unto you the ten commandments, and in them what our duty is towards God, towards our prince and magistrates, towards our parents, towards our neighbour, and towards ourselves. All this have I done simply and plainly, without all show of learning, that it might the better sink into our hearts.

Now I think good to speak of the sacraments of the church, that all you may know what they are, because you are all partakers of the holy sacraments. Christ hath ordained them, that by them he might set before our eyes the mysteries of our salvation, and might more strongly confirm the faith which we have in his blood, and might seal his grace in our hearts.

As princes' seals confirm and warrant their deeds and charters, so do the sacraments witness unto our conscience, that God's promises are true, and shall continue for ever. Thus doth God make known his secret purpose to his church; first, he declareth his mercy by his word, then he sealeth it, and assureth it by his sacraments. In this word we have his promises; in the sacraments we see them.

It would require a long time, if I should utter that might be said in this matter, especially in laying

open such errors and abuses as have crept into the church. But I will have regard to this place, and so frame my speech, that the meanest and simplest may reap profit thereby.

That you may the better remember it, I will keep this order. I will shew you what a sacrament is; secondly, who hath ordained them; thirdly, wherefore they were ordained, and what they work in us; fourthly, how many there are; and then I will briefly speak of every one of them.

A sacrament is an outward and visible sign whereby God sealeth up his grace in our hearts, to the confirmation of our faith. St. Augustine saith, "A sacrament is a visible sign of grace invisible." And that we may the better understand him, he telleth us what thing we should call a sign. "A sign is a thing that, besides the sight itself which it offereth to the senses, causes of itself some other certain thing to come to knowledge."

In baptism, the water is the sign, and the thing signified is the grace of God. We see the water, but the grace of God is invisible; we cannot see it. Moreover he saith, "Signs, when they be applied to godly things, be called sacraments." The signification and the substance of the sacrament is to shew us, how we are washed with the passion of Christ, and how we are fed with the body of Christ.

And again: "If sacraments had not a certain likeness and representation of the things whereof they be sacraments, then indeed they were no sacraments." And because of this likeness which they have with the things they represent, they be oftentimes termed by the names of the things themselves. Therefore after a certain manner of speech (and not otherwise), the sacrament of the body of Christ is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the blood

of Christ is the blood of Christ; so the sacrament of faith is faith.

Who hath ordained the sacraments? Not any prelate, not any prince, not any angel, or archangel, but only God himself. For, he only hath authority to seal the charter, in whose authority only it is to grant it; and only he giveth the pledge, and confirmeth his grace to us, which giveth his grace into our hearts.

Chrysostom saith, "The mystery were not of God, nor perfect, if thou shouldest put any thing to it." In the days of Noah, when God determined to be merciful unto his people, and never to drown the whole world with water, he said (Gen. ix.), "I have set my bow in the cloud, and it shall be for a sign of the covenant between me and the earth; and when I shall cover the earth with a cloud, and the bow shall be seen in the cloud, then will I remember my covenant which is between me and you, and between every living thing in flesh, and there shall be no more waters of a flood to destroy all flesh."

In like manner, when God would witness and stablish to Abraham and his seed after him the promise of his mercy, he himself ordained a sacrament to confirm the same: "This is my covenant which ye shall keep between me and you, and thy seed after thee: let every man-child among you be circumcised." (Gen. xvii.) Thus God ordained the sacrament of circumcision.

This sacrament was a seal of God's promise to Abraham, and a seal of Abraham's faith and obedience towards God. By this sacrament was man bound to the Lord, and by the same sacrament God vouchsafed to bind himself to man. But how is the sacrament formed? of what parts is it made?

Augustine saith, "Join the word of Christ's institution with the sensible creature, and thereof is

made a sacrament." Join the word to the creature of water, and thereof is made the sacrament of baptism; take away the word, then what is the water other than water? The word of God and the creature make a sacrament. But why were sacraments ordained? He telleth you, "Men cannot be gathered together to the profession of any religion, whether it be true or false, unless they be bound in the fellowship of visible signs of sacraments."

The first cause why they were ordained is, that thereby one should acknowledge another, as fellows of one household, and members of one body. So was all Israel reckoned the children of Abraham, because of their circumcision; and all such as were uncircumcised, were cut off from the people, and had no part in the commonwealth of Israel, because they were uncircumcised; even as we take them that are not baptized, to be none of our brethren, to be no children of God, nor members of his church, because they will not take the sacrament of baptism.

Another cause is, to move, instruct, and teach our dull and heavy hearts, by sensible creatures, that so our negligence in not heeding or marking the word of God spoken unto us, might be amended. For if any man have the outward seal, and have not the faith thereof sealed within his heart, it availeth him not; he is but a hypocrite and dissembler. So the circumcision of the foreskin of the flesh taught them to mortify their fleshly affections, and to cut off the thoughts and devices of their wicked hearts. Therefore said Stephen to the Jews (Acts, vii.), "Ye stiffnecked and of uncircumcised hearts and ears, you have always resisted the Holy Ghost."

So, when in baptism our bodies are washed with water, we are taught that our souls are washed in the blood of Christ. The outward washing or sprinkling doth represent the sprinkling and washing

which is wrought within us: the water doth signify the blood of Christ. If we were nothing else but soul, he would give us his grace barely and alone, without joining it to any creature, as he doth to his angels; but seeing our spirit is drowned in our body, and our flesh doth make our understanding dull, therefore we receive his grace by sensible things.

Chrysostom saith, "I am otherwise affected than is he which believeth not: when he heareth of the water of baptism, he thinketh it is nothing else but water; but I see (not the creature only which mine eyes do see, but also) the cleansing of my soul by the Holy Ghost. He thinketh that my body only is washed; I believe that my soul is thereby made pure and holy; and withal, I consider Christ's burial, his resurrection, our sanctification, righteousness, redemption, adoption, our inheritance, the kingdom of heaven, and the fulness of the spirit." For I judge not of the things I see by my bodily eyes, but by the eyes of my mind.

When one that is unlearned, and cannot read, looketh upon a book, be the book never so true, never so well written, yet because he knoweth not the letters, and cannot read, he looketh upon it in vain. He may turn over all the leaves, and look upon all, and see nothing; but another that can read, and hath judgment to understand, considereth the whole story, the doughty deeds, grave counsels, discreet answers, examples, promises, the very drift and meaning of him that wrote it.

So do the faithful receive the fruit and comfort by the sacraments, which the wicked and ungodly neither consider nor receive. Thus do the sacraments lead us and instruct us to behold the secret and unknown mercies of God, and to carry ourselves to

the obedience of his will. And this is the other cause why sacraments were ordained.

Thirdly, they are seals and confirmations of God's promise. St. Paul saith (Rom. iv.), "Abraham received the sign of circumcision, as the seal of the righteousness of the faith which he had when he was uncircumcised." By these we stop the mouth of heretics: for if they deny that our Lord Jesus Christ was delivered to death for our sins, and is risen again for our justification, we shew them our sacraments, that they were ordained to put us in remembrance of Christ, and that by the use of them we shew the Lord's death till he come. We tell them these are proofs and signs that Christ suffered death for us on the cross. As Chrysostom saith, "Laying out these mysteries, we stop their mouths."

What! are they nothing else but bare and naked signs? God forbid. They are the seals of God; heavenly tokens and signs of the grace, and righteousness, and mercy, given and imputed to us. Circumcision was not a bare sign: "That is not circumcision which is outward in the flesh (saith Paul, Rom. ii.), but the circumcision of the heart." And again (Col. ii.), "In Christ ye are circumcised with the circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinful body of the flesh, through the circumcision of Christ." Even so is not baptism any bare sign.

Chrysostom saith, "Christ's baptism is Christ's passion." They are not bare signs; it were blasphemy so to say. The grace of God doth always work with his sacraments; but we are taught not to seek that grace in the sign, but to assure ourselves by receiving the sign, that it is given us by the thing signified. We are not washed from our sins by the water, we are not fed to eternal life by the

bread and wine, but by the precious blood of our Saviour Christ, that lieth hid in these sacraments.

Bernard saith, "The fashion is to deliver a ring when seizin and possession of inheritance is given; the ring is a sign of the possession; so that he which takes it may say, The ring is nothing, I care not for it; it is the inheritance which I sought for. In like manner, when Christ our Lord drew nigh to his passion, he thought good to give seizin and possession of his grace to his disciples, and that they might receive his invisible grace by some visible sign."

Chrysostom saith, "Plain or bare water worketh not in us; but when it hath received the grace of the Holy Ghost, it washeth away all our sins."

So saith Ambrose also, "The Holy Ghost cometh down and halloweth the water." And, "There is the presence of the Trinity." So saith Cyril: "As water thoroughly heated with fire, burneth as well as the fire, so the waters which wash the body of him that is baptized are changed into divine power by the working of the Holy Ghost."

So said Leo, sometime a bishop of Rome: "Christ hath given like pre-eminence to the water of baptism, as he gave to his mother: for that power of the Highest, and that overshadowing of the Holy Ghost, which brought to pass that Mary should bring forth the Saviour of the world, hath also brought to pass that the water should bear anew, or regenerate him that believeth."

Such opinion had the ancient learned fathers, and such reverend words they used when they entreated of the sacraments. For, it is not man, but God which worketh by them; yet is it not the creature of bread or water, but the soul of man that receiveth the grace of God. These corruptible creatures need it not, we have need of God's grace.

But this is a phrase of speaking. For the power of God, the grace of God, the presence of the Trinity, the Holy Ghost, the gift of God, are not in the water, but in us. And we were not made because of the sacraments, but the sacraments were ordained for our sake.

Now for the number of sacraments, how many there be, it may seem somewhat hard to say, and that it cannot be spoken without offence. For men's judgments herein have swerved very much; some have said there are two, others three, others four, and others that there are seven sacraments. This difference of opinions standeth rather in terms than in the matter.

For a sacrament, in the manner of speaking which the church useth, and in the writings of the holy Scripture, and of ancient fathers, sometimes signifieth properly every such sacrament which Christ hath ordained in the New Testament, for which he hath chosen some certain element, and spoken special words to make it a sacrament, and hath annexed thereto the promise of grace: sometimes it is used in a general kind of taking; and so every mystery set down to teach the people, and many things that indeed and by special property be no sacraments, may nevertheless pass under the general name of a sacrament.

The sacraments instituted by Christ are only two: the sacrament of baptism and of our Lord's supper, as the ancient learned fathers have made account of them. Saint Ambrose having occasion of purpose to entreat of the sacraments, speaketh but of two: saith he, "I begin to speak of the sacraments which you have received." And yet in his whole treatise, divided into six books, he writeth but of two. His book is extant; if any man doubt this, he may see it.

St. Augustine reckoneth them to be but two: "These be the two sacraments of the church." Again he saith, "Our Lord and his Apostles have delivered unto us a few sacraments instead of many, and the same in doing most easy, in signification most excellent, in observation most reverend, as is the sacrament of baptism, and the celebration of the body and blood of our Lord."

Thus Augustine and Ambrose, unto whom I might also join other ancient fathers, reckon but two sacraments. Let no man, then, be offended with us for so doing; we do no new thing, but restore the ordinance of Christ, and keep the example of the holy fathers.

What then? Do we refuse confirmation, penance, orders, and matrimony? Is there no use of these among us? Do we not allow them? Yes. For we do confirm, and teach repentance, and minister holy orders, and account matrimony, and so use it, as an honourable state of life. We visit the sick among us, and anoint them with the precious oil of the mercy of God. But we call not these sacraments, because they have not the like institution. Confirmation was not ordained by Christ. Penance hath not any outward element joined to the word: the same may be said of orders. And matrimony was not first instituted by Christ, but God ordained it in paradise long before. But in these two we have both the element and the institution. In baptism the element is water; in the Lord's supper, bread and wine.

Baptism hath the word of institution (Matt. xxviii.): "Teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost." The Lord's supper in like manner hath the word of institution (Luke, xxii.): "Do this in remembrance of me." Therefore these two are properly and

truly called the sacraments of the church, because in them the element is joined to the word, and they take their ordinance of Christ, and be visible signs of invisible grace.

Now, whatsoever lacketh either of these, it is no sacrament. Therefore are not the other five which are so reckoned, and make up the number of seven, in due signification and right meaning taken for sacraments; for in such sort as these are called sacraments, that is, because they signify some holy thing, we shall find a great number of things which the godly learned fathers have called sacraments; and yet, I trow, we must not hold them as sacraments ordained to be kept and continued in the church; for then should there not be seven, but seventeen sacraments.

St. Bernard calleth the washing of the Apostles' feet a sacrament: "The washing of feet is the sacrament of daily sins." So Leo calleth the cross of Christ a sacrament: "The cross of Christ, which was given to save the faithful, is both a sacrament and also an example." Tertullian calleth the whole state of Christian faith, "the sacrament of Christian religion." St. Hilary in divers places saith, "The sacrament of prayer, the sacrament of fasting, the sacrament of thirst, the sacrament of weeping, the sacrament of the Scriptures." Thus much for the number, that by the institution of Christ there are but two sacraments, as Cardinal Bessarion confesseth: "We read that these two only sacraments were delivered us plainly in the Gospel."

I will now speak briefly of the sacraments in several, and leave all idle and vain questions, and only lay open so much as is needful and profitable for you to know. Baptism, therefore, is our regeneration or new birth, whereby we are born anew in

Christ, and are made the sons of God and heirs of the kingdom of heaven; it is the sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christ.

We are all born the children of wrath, and have our part in the offence of Adam. St. Paul saith (Rom. v.), "By one man sin entered into the world." Augustine saith, "Christ said not, It shall come upon him, but it abideth on him." He had regard to our offspring when he saith the wrath of God abideth on him; upon which when the Apostle also looked he said, "And we ourselves also were sometimes the children of wrath." That which in Adam was imputed to his offence, and not to be of nature, is now in us, which are come of Adam, become natural.

Therefore saith the prophet (Psal. li.), "Behold, I was born in iniquity, and in sin hath my mother conceived me." So that we all have cause to cry out and moan with St. Paul (Rom. vii.), "I see another law in my members rebelling against the law of my mind, and leading me captive unto the law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from the body of this death?"

Hereof speaketh our Saviour (John, iii.): "That which is born of the flesh, is flesh; and that which is born of the spirit, is spirit." And for this cause saith he, "Except a man be born of the water and the spirit, he cannot enter into the kingdom of God."

For this cause are infants baptized, because they are born in sin, and cannot become spiritual, but by this new birth of the water and the spirit. They are the heirs of the promise; the covenant of God's favour is made unto them. God said to Abraham (Gen. xvii.), "I will establish my covenant between

me and thee, and thy seed after thee in their generations, for an everlasting covenant, to be God unto thee, and to thy seed after thee." Therefore saith the Apostle (Rom. xi.), "If the root be holy, so are the branches." And again (1 Cor. vii.), "The unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband; else were your children unclean, but now are they holy."

When the disciples rebuked those that brought little children to Christ, that he might touch them, he said (Mark, x.), "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not, for of such is the kingdom of God." And again (Matt. x.): "Their angels always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven."

The kingdom of heaven is of such, saith Christ; not only then of those, but of other like infants which shall be in all times.

As God took the seed of Abraham to be partakers of the covenant which he gave to Abraham, so he appointed that every man-child of eight days old should be circumcised. And "Abraham circumcised his son Isaac, when he was eight days old, as God had commanded him." (Gen. xxi.) May we think that the promise of God hath an end, so that it reacheth not to our children? or might the children of the Jews receive the sign of the covenant, and may not the children of the Christians?

Whatsoever was promised to Abraham, the same is also performed unto us. We enjoy the same blessing and free privilege of God's favour. St. Paul saith (Gal. iii.), "Know ye that they which are of faith are the children of Abraham." Again: "If ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs by promise."

Now is the sign of the covenant also changed, and baptism is instead of circumcision, as St. Paul declareth, and calleth them circumcised, which are

baptized. "In whom (meaning Christ) also ye are circumcised, with circumcision made without hands, by putting off the sinful body of the flesh, through the circumcision of Christ, in that you are buried with him through baptism." (Col. ii.)

Our Saviour giveth charge to his Apostles to baptize all nations in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. The Apostles baptized not only such as professed their belief, but whole households. "The keeper of the prison was baptized, with all that belonged unto him." (Acts, xvi.) So was Crispus, the chief ruler of the synagogue, and his household and the household of Stephanus.

Infants are a part of the church of God; they are the sheep of Christ, and belong to his flock. Why should they not bear the mark of Christ? They have the promise of salvation; why should they not receive the seal, whereby it is confirmed unto them? They are of the fellowship of the faithful. Augustine saith, "Where place you young children, which are not yet baptized? Verily, in the number of them that believe." Why then should not they be partakers of the sacrament together with the faithful?

And as the children of the faithful by right ought to be baptized, so such others also as were born of unbelieving parents, and were aliens from the commonwealth of Israel, and were strangers from the covenant of promise, and had no hope, if they acknowledge the errors in which they lived, and seek the forgiveness of their former sins, may well receive this sacrament of their regeneration.

So when they which heard Peter were pricked in their hearts, and said to Peter and the other Apostles, Men and brethren, what shall we do? Peter said unto them (Acts, ii.), "Amend your lives, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus

Christ for the remission of sins." They were buried with Christ by baptism into his death, and made partakers of his blood, and continued in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship.

Christ, saith the Apostle (Eph. v.), "loved the church, and gave himself for it, that he might sanctify it and cleanse it, by the washing of water through the word." Again (Tit. iii.): "According to his mercy he saved us, by the washing of the new birth, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost." For this cause is baptism called salvation, life, regeneration, the forgiveness of sins, the power of God to resurrection, the image and pledge of resurrection, and the weed of immortality.

And yet are not these things wrought by the water, for then what need had we of Christ? what good did his passion? what doth the Holy Ghost work in our hearts? what power or force is left to the word of God?

Augustine saith, "Why doth not Christ say, Now ye are clean, because of the baptism wherewith ye are washed; saying that because in the water it is the word that maketh clean? Take away the word, and what is water more than water?" It is the covenant, and promise, and mercy of God, which clotheth us with immortality, assureth our resurrection, by which we receive regeneration, forgiveness of sins, life, and salvation.

His word declareth his love towards us, and that word is sealed and made good by baptism. Our faith, which are baptized, and our continuance in the profession which we have made, establish in us this grace which we receive. As it is said, "True baptism standeth not so much in washing of the body, is in the faith of the heart."

As the doctrine of the Apostles has taught us, saying (Acts, xv.), "By faith purifying their hearts,"

And in another place, "Baptism saveth us, not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the examining of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ." Therefore Jerome saith, "They that receive not baptism with perfect faith, receive the water, but the Holy Ghost they receive not."

The water wherein we are baptized, doth not cleanse the soul; but "the blood of Jesus Christ, his Son, doth cleanse us from all sin." (1 John, i.) Not the water, but the blood of Christ, reconcileth us unto God, strengtheneth our conscience, and worketh our redemption. We must seek salvation in Christ alone, and not in any outward thing.

Hereof saith Cyprian, "The remission of sins, whether it be given by baptism, or by any other sacraments, doth properly appertain to the Holy Ghost. The solemnity of the words, and the invocation of God's holy name, and the outward signs appointed to the ministry of the priest by the institution of the Apostles, work the visible outward sacrament. But touching the substance thereof, it is the Holy Ghost that worketh it."

St. Ambrose also saith, "Thou hast seen the water, thou hast seen the priest, thou hast seen those things which thou mightest see with the eyes of thy body, and with such sight as man hath; but those things which work and do the deed of salvation, which no eye can see, thou hast not seen."

Such a change is made in the sacrament of baptism: through the power of God's working the water is turned into blood; they that be washed in it receive the remission of sins; their robes are made clean in the blood of the Lamb. The water itself is nothing; but by the working of God's Spirit, the death and merits of our Lord and Saviour Christ, are thereby assured unto us.

A figure hereof was given at the Red Sea. The

children of Israel passed through in safety, but Pharaoh and his whole army were drowned. Another figure hereof was given in the ark. The whole world was drowned, but Noah and his family were saved alive; even so in the fountain of baptism our spiritual Pharaoh the devil is choked; his army, that is, our sins, are drowned, and we saved.

The wicked of the world are swallowed in concupiscence and vanities, and we abide safe in the ark. God hath chosen us to be a peculiar people to himself; we walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit, therefore we are in Christ Jesus, and there is now no condemnation unto us.

Now touching the minister of this sacrament, whether he be a good man or an evil man, godly or godless, an heretic or a Catholic, an idolater or a true worshipper of God, the effect is all one; the value or the worthiness of the sacrament dependeth not of man, but of God.

Man pronounceth the word, but God settleth our hearts with grace; man toucheth or washeth us with water, but God maketh us clean by the cross of Christ. It is not the minister, but Christ himself, which is the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world.

Again, whether the infant be signed with the sign of the cross, or be put into the water once or thrice; whether one, or two, or three, or more, be godfathers, or witnesses of the baptism, it maketh nothing to the virtue of the sacrament; they are no part thereof; without these, baptism is whole and perfect.

Hereof Gregory saith, "The faith being one, the diversity of customs hurteth nothing." Christ left no order for the use of these things, neither did he by his word or example require them. The church of God hath liberty to dispose herein, as may be most fitting for decency and godliness.

Some make doubt of those infants, the children of

the faithful, which depart before baptism, whether they be saved or not. What! shall we say that they are damned? It is a hard matter, and too curious for man to enter into the judgments of God; his mercy is infinite, and his purpose secret; he sheweth mercy unto those upon whom he will have mercy. Who can appoint him, or set him an order what he shall do? It is not good, nor standeth with Christian reverence, to be contentious and busy in searching out, or reasoning of matters which the wisdom of God hath hid from our knowledge.

Yet, if any would fain be resolved, he may thus safely reason: it is true, that children are born in sin, and that by the sin of one man death hath entered into the world, and that the reward of sin is death; but who knoweth if God hath forgiven them their sin?

Who is his counsellor, who knoweth his meaning? Our children are the children of God; he is our God, and the God of our seed; they be under the covenant with us. The soberest way is to speak least, and to leave them to the judgment and mercy of God.

Howbeit, if any should despise, and of wilfulness refuse this holy ordinance, so that they would in no case be baptized, nor suffer their children to be baptized, that were damnable; otherwise the grace of God is not tied so to the ministration of the sacrament, that if any be prevented by death, so that he cannot be received to the fellowship thereof, he should therefore be thought to be damned. For many have suffered death for God's cause, for their faith in Christ, who never were baptized; yet are they reckoned, and are indeed, blessed martyrs.

So Valentinianus, a Christian Emperor, died without baptism; yet doth Ambrose commend him, and nothing doubteth but that he is saved.

He saith, "I have heard that you are grieved because he took not the sacrament of baptism. Tell me, what other thing is there in us, but our will and our desire?" Again, "He which was endued with thy Spirit, O God, how might it be that he should be void of thy grace? or, if this move you, because the mysteries were not solemnly ministered, are not the martyrs crowned if they be only novices (that be not yet Christians)? But if they be washed in their blood, then is he also washed in his godliness and in his desire."

St. Augustine saith, he is not deprived from the partaking and benefit of the sacrament, so long as he findeth in himself that thing, that the sacrament signifieth.

Constantinus the Great was the first Christian Emperor, yet was not baptized until the time of his death; "who, when he was at Nicomedia (saith Theodoretus), being grievously sick, and knowing the uncertainty of this life, was baptized." The thief upon the cross was not baptized; yet Christ said unto him, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise. The Prophet Jeremiah and John Baptist were sanctified in their mother's womb.

By these few it may appear, that the sacrament maketh not a Christian, but is a seal and assurance unto all that receive it of the grace of God, unless they make themselves unworthy thereof, and that no man may despise this holy ordinance, and keep back his infants from baptism, for in so doing he procureth his own damnation. In time of ignorance, many would see this and acknowledge it, that the outward baptism by water was not necessary unto salvation, so that the children or others that died without were for lack thereof damned.

The church hath always received three sorts of baptism—the baptism of the spirit, or of blood, or of water. If any were prevented by death, or hin-

dered by cruelty or persecution, so that they could not receive the sacrament of baptism at the hands of the minister, yet having the sanctification of the Holy Ghost, or making their faith known by their suffering, they were born anew, and baptized.

God hath his purpose in us and our children. Before we be born, when we had done neither good nor evil, he hath mercy and compassion on us. Judgment appertaineth unto God; he knoweth who are his. No man knoweth the things of God, but the Spirit of God only.

And thus much of the sacrament of baptism, which is the badge and cognizance of every Christian. If any be not baptized, but lacketh the mark of God's fold, we cannot discern him to be one of the flock. If any take not the seal of regeneration, we cannot say he is born the child of God.

This is the ordinary way; let us use it, let us not despise nor be slow to receive the sacraments; they are the means by which God maketh sure his good-will towards us.

It shall not be amiss to speak a word or two of the naming of your children. Some are herein overseen, they refuse to call their children by the names of holy men and women, because they think it to savour somewhat too much of religion, and therefore either they name them at adventure, having no regard at all how they be named, or else they give them the names of heathen men, and call them Julius Cæsar, Hercules, Lucretia, Scipio, or such-like.

These, although they were notable in wisdom, learning, chastity, boldness, and in conquests, yet were they heathen men, and knew not God. The name is nothing, it commendeth us not to God; yet may a Christian father be ashamed to call his child by the name of such, who were enemies to the cross of Christ.

Chrysostom, a godly father, saith, "In this thing,

that is, in the naming of their children, both the godliness of the parents and also their great care for their children is declared. And how have they forthwith and from the beginning taught the children which were born unto them, giving them warning, by the names wherewith they call them, that they should practise virtue?"

"They did not give names at adventure, and without reason, as is used now-a-days; for now men say, Let the child be called after the name of his grandfather, or great-grandfather. But our old fathers did not so; they took all heed to call their children by such names which should not only provoke them to virtue which carried the names, but should teach all others much wisdom, whosoever should remain many years after them."

Again he saith, "See how great understanding they of old time had, that even the women named not their children rashly or by chance, but called them by names that foreshewed such things as might happen after." And of Leah, Jacob's wife, he maketh a special commendation. "See how she nameth not her children simply, nor at adventure; she called him Simeon, because (saith she) the Lord hath heard."

Therefore he saith, "Let not us therefore give names unto our children that are common names, or because they were the names of our grandfathers or great-grandfathers, or of such who have been famous for their parentage; but rather let us call them by the names of such as have excelled in virtue, and have been most faithful towards God."

Let them carry the names of the Apostles, of the Prophets, of the martyrs, of such who have been constant in the faith, and have suffered death for Christ's sake; that so they may be taught by their name to remember whose name they bear, and that they neither speak nor do any thing unworthy of their name.

As if any be called John, that he pray for grace, and desire to be filled with grace; that he give witness of Christ that he is the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world; that he rebuke vice boldly, as John did in Herod, though he were a mighty prince.

Or if he be called Paul, that he so become a follower of Paul, as Paul was of Christ, and say with Paul (Gal. ii.), "That I might live unto God, I am crucified with Christ. Thus I live, yet not I now, but Christ liveth in me;" and hear Christ speaking unto him, as did Paul, and fall down and say, "Lord, what wilt thou that I do?" (Acts, ix.)

So let him that is called Thomas touch the bosom of Christ, and handle his wounds, and make a good confession, as Thomas did, and say, "My Lord and my God." Let Matthew forsake his custom, even the deceitful gains of the world, and follow Christ.

Let Daniel remember Daniel; and though he should be thrown into the den of lions, or be burnt in the fire, or suffer any cruel torments, yet let him not therefore forsake God, but put his whole trust in him.

Thus should our names teach us, that whether we write them, or utter them, or hear them spoken, they may put us in mind of Christian duty and godliness.

The other sacrament of Christ's church is the sacrament of the Lord's supper, which some have called the sacrament of the altar; some, the sacrament of the holy table; some, the sacrament of bread and wine: but we most properly may call it the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.

And that we wander not at large, but may stand in certain ground, I will expound those words of our Saviour (Matt. xxvi.), "This is my body, and this

is my blood of the new testament, that is shed for many, for the remission of sins."

This matter, these two or three hundred years late past, hath been encumbered with many questions and much controversy. Some say the words are plain, Christ himself spake them; he is almighty, and can do whatsoever he will; he hath not spoken otherwise than he meant. If we expound them by signs and figures, we take away the force of the holy mystery, and make nothing of it: the words must be taken even as they lie; they must not have any other construction. Therefore at this day, many wise men, which yield from other points of superstition, and in many other things receive the truth, stand here and stick at this, and cannot yield.

I will declare the whole matter simply and plainly, and submit myself to the understanding and capacity of all men. That which I will utter herein shall not be of myself, but of the fathers of the church, not of those which have been of later years, but of the most ancient; not of the heretics, but of the most catholic, which ever have been the enemies and confounders of heretics.

I will shew the use, and order, and faith of the primitive church, which was in the times of the Apostles, and of Tertullian, Cyprian, Basil, Nazianzene, Jerome, Augustine, Chrysostom, and other catholic and godly learned fathers. Let no man regard me, or my speech, I am only a finger, these are clear and bright stars; I do but shew them unto you, and point them, that you may behold them. God give us grace that we may see them truly, and by them be able to guide and to direct our way.

Let us lay aside all contention, and quietly hear that shall be spoken. Whatsoever shall be said, if it be true, if it be ancient, if it be catholic, if it be so clear as the sun-beams, let us humble our hearts,

and believe it. There is no truth but of God: whosoever resisteth the truth, resisteth God.

First, I will shew you, that we do truly and indeed eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood; and this shall be the foundation and key of entrance into all the rest.

Secondly, I will open these words, "This is my body," and there shew by what sort, in what sense and meaning, the bread is the body of Christ.

Thirdly, That the bread abideth still in former nature and substance as before, even as the nature and substance of water remaineth in baptism.

Fourthly, How the body of Christ is eaten, whether by faith, or with the mouth of our body, and how the body of Christ is present in the sacrament.

Fifthly, What difference is between the body of Christ and the sacrament of the body of Christ.

Sixthly, How we ought to prepare our minds, and with what faith and devotion we must come to the receiving thereof.

We say and believe, that we receive the body and blood of Christ truly, and not a figure or sign; but even that body which suffered death on the cross, and that blood which was shed for the forgiveness of sins. So saith Christ (John, vi.), "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed." And again, "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." And again, "He that eateth me, even he shall live by me." We say there is no other substantial food of our souls, and that he is divided among all the faithful; and that he is void of salvation, and the grace of Christ, whosoever is not partaker of his body and blood. This we say, and may not flee from it hereafter.

Yet, lest haply any should be deceived, we say, This meat is spiritual, and therefore it must be eaten

by faith, and not with the mouth of our body. Augustine saith, "Why preparest thou thy teeth and thy belly? Believe, and thou hast eaten." And again, "Prepare not thy jaws, but your heart." As material bread nourisheth our body, so doth the body of Christ nourish our soul, and is therefore called bread. "God is the inward bread of my soul," saith Augustine; "for we receive him, and eat him, and live by him." But hereof hereafter more at large.

Now let us consider the words of Christ, *This is my body*, and *This is my blood*. These words you say are plain, open, easy, and manifest. So are they; yet albeit they are plain, they must have a right construction. The plainest words that be, unless they be duly expounded, may breed error. St. John saith (chap. i.), "The word was made flesh." These words are plain, yet of these plain words Apollonarius did breed an heresy.

Christ saith (John, xiv.), "My Father is greater than I." His words are plain; yet did the Arians gather thereof an heresy, that Christ is not equal with his Father. Christ saith of John Baptist, "This is Elias which was to come." He saith not, He doth signify Elias, but, he is Elias. The words are plain; yet were there some that stood in the maintenance of their error thereby, and said that the soul of Elias did abide in John Baptist.

Christ saith (Matt. xviii.), "If thine eye cause thee to offend, pluck it out, and cast it from thee." And, "If thy hand or foot cause thee to offend, cut them off, and cast them from thee." The words are plain, yet he meaneth not that you should pick out your eyes out of your head, nor chop off your hands or feet from your body. John saith of Christ (Matt. v.), "He will baptize you with the Holy Ghost and with fire." These words are plain; yet hereof some

raised this error, that children at the time of their baptism should be marked in the forehead with a hot burning iron.

St. Paul saith (2 Cor. v.), "He hath made him to be sin for us, which knew no sin." The words are plain, yet Christ never sinned; he is the Lamb of God, in whom there is no spot; he is hereby said to be the sacrifice for sins. Christ saith (Matt. xix.), "They two shall be one flesh, and they are no more two, but one flesh." These words are plain, yet if you try the words by common sense, it is not so; they are not one, but two of several flesh.

Christ saith (Matt. vi.), "You are the salt of the earth, you are the light of the world." The words are plain, yet indeed the Apostles were neither material light nor material salt. Christ said of Judas (John, vi.), "One of you is a devil." The words are plain, yet Judas in nature and substance was not a devil.

St. Paul saith of Melchisedech (Heb. vii.), "He was without father, and without mother, without kindred, and hath neither beginning of his days, neither end of his life." These words are plain; yet indeed he had father and mother, and was a man, and was born, and died, as other men. So he saith, "The rock was Christ." (1 Cor. x.) So Moses saith, "The life of all flesh is his blood." (Levit. xvii.) And so is Christ called a lamb, a lion, a worm, a way, a bridegroom, a head, a door, a vine, the light, bread, water, a garment.

These speeches, and infinite others the like, are plain, open, and evident; yet are they not true, as the words sound them and literally; for Christ is not a lamb in substance and nature, but a spiritual lamb; so is he a spiritual garment, spiritual light, spiritual water, and spiritual bread.

Christ said to Nicodemus (John, iii.), "Except a man be born again, he cannot see the kingdom of God." These words are plain, yet Nicodemus mistook them, and was deceived, and said, "How can a man be born that is old? can he enter into his mother's womb again, and be born?" Christ meant the spiritual birth of the soul and the spirit, not the natural and corporal birth of the body.

And to come nearer to the matter in hand: when Christ said, "I am the bread which is come down from heaven; and except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." And, "My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth of this bread shall live for ever"—the Capernaites thought these words plain enough, therefore they say, "How can this man give us his flesh to eat? This is a hard saying, who can hear it?" And they departed away from him. Then said Jesus, "The words that I speak unto you are spirit and life."

Upon occasion hereof St. Augustine writeth thus: "Understand ye spiritually that I have spoken unto you; ye shall not eat this body that ye see, neither shall ye drink that blood, that they shall shed that shall crucify me; I have recommended unto you a certain sacrament; being spiritually understood, it will give you life."

Even so Chrysostom, "What is it that he saith, The flesh profiteth nothing? He speaketh it not of flesh indeed, God forbid, but of such which take the things carnally that are spoken. And what is it to understand carnally? Even to take things simply as they be spoken, and to seek no further meaning. For the things which are seen are not so to be judged of, but all mysteries should be considered with inward eyes, that is, spiritually."

Again upon these words: "If any man eat of this

bread, he shall live for ever," he saith, "He calleth bread in this place either doctrine, and salvation, and faith in him, or else his body. For either of these maketh the soul stronger." St. Paul saith (1 Cor. xi.), "He that eateth or drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation." Damnation is a spiritual thing, which is not received in by the mouth, or broken with the teeth.

Christ saith (Luke, xxii.), "This cup is the new testament in my blood, which is shed for you." Yet now is not his blood shed any more, for he is risen, and dieth not. And these words which are so plain, if they be examined, will not be so plain to yield the sense unto which they are forced. It is written, "He took bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body. This bread is my body." The bread was still bread, and neither his flesh nor his body. And, "This cup is the new testament." In due, and right, and open meaning, the cup cannot be the new testament.

Here we see how the words are not all so plain, but must have a reasonable construction. It is a rule in the law, "He doth wrong to the law, that, following only the bare words, defraudeth the meaning of the law."

Origen saith, "There is also in the New Testament a letter which killeth him that doth not spiritually understand those things which are spoken. For if he follow this after the letter, where it is said, Except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood, this letter killeth." Mark, if ye take the word of Christ barely and nakedly, and as the letter soundeth, it killeth.

St. Augustine saith, "This rule is to be kept in every allegory, that what is spoken by similitude be weighed by the meaning of the present place."

Jerome saith, "The Gospel is not in the words of Scriptures, but in the meaning." And, "It is not in the outward show, but in the inner marrow; not in the leaves of words, but in the root of reason."

When Christ said (John, ii.), "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up again;" the Jews, following the bare letter, did bear false witness against him, saying (Mark, xiv.), "We heard him say, I will destroy this temple made with hands, and within three days I will build another made without hands."

We may not take the letter in all places of the Scripture as it lieth. The Scriptures stand not in the reading, but in the understanding. By taking the bare letter, the Jews found matter to put Christ to death.

Origen saith, "There is a letter in the New Testament which killeth." Jerome saith, "The Gospel is not in the outward show, nor in the leaves, but in the meaning, in the marrow, and in the root, which are hid, and not open and manifest." So that they may not be taken by the bare sound, but must have some other construction. But what shall be the construction of these words, "This is my body?" Whose interpretation or judgment of them shall stand? The learned men which have been of late years, and which yet live, are suspected. Let us hear the elder ancient fathers, whom there is no cause that any should suspect; they were not Sacramentaries, nor Zuinglians, nor Lutherans; they were not divided into any of these sects.

Tertullian, an ancient father, who lived more than thirteen hundred years since, expoundeth them thus: "Christ, taking the bread, and distributing it to his disciples, made it his body, saying, This is my body, that is to say, this is a figure of my body." But a

figure it could not be, unless there were a body of a truth and indeed. For a void thing, as in a fantasy, can receive no figure.

Chrysostom saith, "If Christ died not, whose sign and whose token is this sacrament?" Again: "The very body of Christ itself is not in the holy vessels, but the mystery or sacrament thereof is there contained."

Augustine against the heretic Adimantus writeth: "Our Lord doubted not to say, This is my body, when he gave a token of his body." And in another place, "Christ took Judas unto his table, whereat he gave to his disciples the figure of his body." St. Jerome saith, "Christ represented the verity of his body."

St. Ambrose saith, "Before consecration, it is called another kind; after consecration, the body of Christ is signified." And again, "In eating and drinking (that is, in receiving the holy communion), we signify the body and blood of Christ that was offered for us." So also Gelasius saith, "The image and similitude of his body and blood is shewed in the action of the mysteries."

It would be over-long to lay forth unto you what other reverend old fathers have written to like effect, and have expounded those words of Christ by such terms as you have heard, of sign, figure, token, image, and likeness.

I trust no man be offended; these speeches are not mine own, but the speeches of most ancient fathers, and have been spoken or written, and continued in the church, these 1200, 1300, or 1400 years, and never condemned in them as false, though many of late times have sought otherwise to understand the words of Christ.

The gloss upon the canons joineth herein with the fathers. "It is called the body of Christ, but im-

properly; the meaning thereof may be this: it is called Christ's body, that is to say, it signifieth Christ's body."

Therefore doth St. Augustine give us good and wholesome advertisements. Thus he writeth to Bonifacius: "Unless sacraments had a certain likeness of the things of which they be sacraments, then indeed were they no sacraments; and of this likeness oftentimes they bear the names of the things themselves that are represented by the sacraments."

And again, "In sacraments, we must consider not what they be (in substance and nature), but what they signify." Again he saith, "It is a dangerous matter, and a servitude of the soul, to take the signs instead of the thing that is signified." And again, "If it be a speech that commandeth, either by forbidding an horrible wickedness, or requiring that which is profitable, it is not figurative; but if it seem to require horrible wickedness, and to forbid that which is good and profitable, it is spoken figuratively."

"Except ye eat (saith Christ) the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you." He seemeth to require the doing of that which is horrible, or most wicked; it is a figure therefore, commanding us to communicate with the passion of Christ, and comfortably and profitably to lay up in our remembrance, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for us."

In another place he saith, "It is a more horrible thing to eat man's flesh than to kill it, and to drink man's blood than it is to shed it." Again he saith, "We must beware that we take not a figurative speech according to the letter, for thereto it appertaineth, that the Apostle saith the letter killeth."

Besides that which hath been shewed you out of the godly learned old fathers, how they have expounded these words, whosoever will advisedly con-

sider these principal sentences, or rather rules of St. Augustine, shall be holpen much, and directed to the due and catholic construction and meaning of them.

The next matter, and the third of the six, is, whether the bread and wine abide still in former nature and substance as before, even as the nature and substance of water remaineth in the sacrament of baptism. There be some that say by virtue of these words, *This is my body*, the bread is changed into the body of Christ, that the substance of bread is gone, and nothing remaining but only accidents, that is, a show, and appearance, and likeness of bread.

They say, it seemeth to be the same it was, but it is changed; it seemeth to be bread, but it is not bread; and the wine, by the taste and colour, seemeth to be wine, but it is not wine. They say we may not believe our eyesight, nor stand to the judgment of our senses.

They say Christ is almighty, he spake the word, and all things were made; he hath said, *This is my body*, therefore it is now no more bread, but his body; and that this is the faith of the church, in which we were born and christened.

Indeed, this hath been lately received as a matter of faith. But if we examine it well, we shall find it to be an error, and no point of faith. I say it hath been received of late, for our old fathers never believed it, as I will declare and prove, and let you see that it hath not been the catholic faith, nor the faith of the primitive church, nor of the Apostles of Christ, therefore no faith at all.

The opening of this matter will be somewhat dark, and wherewith you have not been acquainted; but give me your attendance, lend me your senses, and I trust, by the grace of God, I shall make it plain.

They say, the bread is changed, and done away

utterly, and that it is no bread, though it seem to be bread; that in this case we may not trust our eyes, but lean to faith. Mark, I say, they tell us that the bread remaineth not; and for trial thereof, they require us not to lean to any other thing than faith. We will then close and shut up our senses, and hearken what Christ, what St. Paul, what the holy fathers of the church, who are best able to instruct our faith, have spoken.

St. Paul to the Corinthians, in one piece of a chapter, calleth it bread four times. Read the place, ye shall find it so in the eleventh of the first Epistle: "The Lord Jesus, in the night that he was betrayed, took bread; and, as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew the Lord's death till he come." Again: "Whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink the cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord." And again, "Let a man therefore examine himself, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup."

They say it is not bread; but Paul saith, and so many times saith, it is bread. And of the wine, Christ said, after he had given thanks, and it was consecrate, and after his supper, "I will not drink of this fruit of the vine henceforth, until that day when I shall drink it new with you in my Father's kingdom." (Matt. xxvi.) The fruit of the vine is wine; therefore the self-same fruit of the vine, the self-same wine in substance, did abide after consecration as before.

St. Augustine calleth this holy mystery "the sacrament of bread and wine." Justin Martyr saith, "The deacons divide unto every one of them that are present, part of that bread, over which thanks were given, and they carry of the wine and water to such as are not present." Again he saith, "By dry

and moist food (whereby he meaneth the sacrament), we are taught what things God, the Son of God, hath suffered for us." What meant he by dry food, but bread? or by moist food, but wine? It cannot be avoided, but that he thought that bread and wine remain after the consecration. He lived fourteen hundred years since.

And before him Ignatius: "It is one bread which is broken for all." So Irenæus, who also lived fourteen hundred years since, saith, "He made that cup, which is a creature, his body, by which he increaseth our bodies. Therefore when the cup of mixture, and the bread which is broken, receiveth the word, it is made the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, by which the substance of our flesh is increased and nourished." He saith, after consecration it is a creature, and such a creature as nourisheth the substance of our flesh.

Origen, who lived well nigh fourteen hundred years since, saith, "The meat which is sanctified by the word of God and prayer, as touching the material substance thereof, goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the privy." Certainly, unless bread, in the substance and nature of bread, did remain in the sacrament, these words were too horrible to be spoken.

Dionysius saith, "The bishop uncovereth the bread that was covered, and cutteth it in pieces." He noteth, that the loaf of the communion was of some bigness, and that the minister, after consecration, divided it, and gave to every man a portion.

St. Cyprian writeth, "Our Lord, at the table whereat he received his last supper with his disciples, with his own hands gave (not his very body, and very blood really, but) bread and wine; but upon the cross he gave his own body, by the hands of the soldiers to be wounded." He maketh a difference

between that which Christ gave upon the cross, and that which he gave at the table. At the table he gave bread and wine, upon the cross he gave his body and blood. Again, he calleth the bread, after consecration, " bread made (not of forms and accidents, but) of the substance and moulding of many corns."

Ambrose saith, " How much more effectual is the word of God, that the bread and wine may be (in substance and nature) the same that they were before, and yet be changed into another thing! They are changed into a sacrament, which they were not before, and remain bread and wine, which they were before."

Chrysostom saith, " He shewed us in a sacrament bread and wine, after the order of Melchisedech, to be the likeness of the body and blood of Christ." What should I stand to trouble you with the rest? As these say, so say the other, that the things which are seen in the sacrament are bread and wine.

But, say they, it is called bread, because it was bread, or because it hath a likeness of bread. A pretty shift, but it will not help. For St. Augustine saith, " The thing that you see is the bread and the cup, which thing your eyes do testify." Gelasius saith, " There leaveth not to be the substance of bread, or the nature of wine. And indeed, the image, or representation and likeness of the body and blood of Christ is published in the ministration of these mysteries." He saith, it leaveth not, it remaineth, it is still (not the form and appearance, but) the substance and nature.

Chrysostom saith, " The nature of bread remaineth in the sacrament." And Theodoretus, " The mystical tokens or sacraments after the consecration depart not from their own nature; for they remain still in their former substance, and form, and figure."

Not only in form and figure, not only in show, but it remaineth bread and wine in nature and substance.

Likewise Cyrillus, "Christ gave fragments or pieces of bread to his disciples." It was very bread, divided into sundry pieces. And Rabanus saith, "The sacrament is received with the mouth, and is turned into the nourishment of the body."

Bertramus saith, "Touching the substance of the creatures (of bread and wine), they abide the same after, as they were before the consecration." Even so saith Clemens, "Christ shewed that that was wine which was blessed, by saying again, I will no more drink of the fruit of the vine." I will bring forth no more witnesses in this matter, you have enough, and so many as may satisfy any reasonable man. You see the consent of the old doctors; I know not how any thing may be more plainly set down and declared.

Why then, say you, how came transubstantiation into the church? How it came in, I cannot shew you. The husbandman, that findeth his fields overgrown with cockle and ill weeds, knoweth not how they came; they grow of themselves, he soweth them not. But when, or since what time it hath been received and allowed of, I will tell you.

It was first determined and enacted in the council of Lateran, under Pope Innocent the Third, in the time of king John, king of England, and in the year of our Lord 1215, that is, 350 years ago, and not before. Then was it first so named, and made a matter of faith, and never before. This I speak not of myself; they that maintain that error confess it; the most learned, and wisest, and sagest of them, say it.

And yet then was it no catholic faith, for it was only received in the church of Rome; the other churches over all the world received it not, as ap-

peareth by a council holden at Florence. Therefore if transubstantiation be a matter of faith, it is a new late-found faith, and no old and catholic faith. In the time of our great-grandfathers it was not so taken.

Afterwards Pope Honorius III. commanded, that it should be kept under a canopy, and that the people should worship the sacrament. And after him Urbanus IV. made a new holiday in honour of it, which he called Corpus Christi day. And all these things have been done within these few years. For before, in the times of Augustine, Jerome, Chrysostom, and the old fathers, they were never heard of.

But to return to that we have in hand, whether the bread and wine in the sacrament remain in their proper nature. Yes, verily; for so is it avouched by our Saviour, by St. Paul, by Ignatius, Justinus, Irenæus, Origen, Dionysius, Cyprian, Ambrose, Chrysostom, Augustine, Gelasius, Theodoretus, Cyrillus, Bertramus, and Rabanus. By so many good and lawful witnesses it appeareth, that the bread and wine remain in the same nature and substance as before.

I seek not to astonish you, by bringing in such a heap of authors, nor yet to seek mine own glory thereby, God is my witness and his Christ. If I would seek mine own commodity, I should hold my peace, and not unfold these errors, wherewith the church of God hath been disquieted these late years.

As for glory, I have none in these things. Shame come upon them that seek the glory and commendation of men; our glory is to discharge our conscience, and to speak the truth, that we may be blameless in the day of our Lord.

And yet in speaking thus of the sacrament of the Lord's supper, and denying the strange and new learning of transubstantiation, and making it known

that the bread and wine continue still that they were before; we do not conceive basely or unreverently of the sacrament, we do not make it a bare and naked token.

Let no man be deceived. We do both think and speak soberly and with reverence of the holy mysteries. As we cannot call them more than they are, so may we not esteem them less than they are by the ordinance and institution of Christ.

We say they are changed, that they have a dignity and pre-eminence which they had not before; that they are not now common bread, or common wine, but the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; a holy mystery; a covenant between Christ and us; a testimony unto our conscience, that Christ is the Lamb of God; a perfect seal, and sufficient warrant of God's promises, whereby God bindeth himself to us, and we stand likewise bound unto God, so as God is our God, and we are his people.

In baptism, the nature and substance of water doth remain still, and yet it is not bare water; it is changed, and made the sacrament of our regeneration; it is water consecrated, and made holy by the blood of Christ; they which are washed therein are not washed with water, but in the blood of the unspotted Lamb. One thing is seen, and another understood. We see the water, but we understand the blood of Christ.

Even so we see the bread and wine; but with the eyes of our understanding we look beyond the creatures; we reach our spiritual senses into heaven, and behold the ransom and price of our salvation: we do behold in the sacrament, not what it is, but what it doth signify.

When we receive it with due reverence and faith, we say as said Gregory Nyssenus, "I know another kind of meat, bearing the likeness and resemblance

of our bodily meat, the pleasure and sweetness whereof passeth only into the soul." It goeth not into the mouth or belly, but only into the soul, and it feedeth the mind inwardly, as the other outwardly feedeth the body.

We say as St. Augustine, "Christ is the bread of our heart;" and as St. Basil, "There is a spiritual mouth of the inner man, by which he is nourished by receiving (Christ) the word of life, which is the bread that came from heaven." In this mystery of the death of Christ, his death and passion is renewed to our remembrance. We are so moved to sorrow for our sins, which have been the cause of his death, and to be thankful for the great mercy of God, which by this means wrought our redemption, as if we did see him present before our faces hanging upon the cross.

We know that Christ hath left his sacraments to his church, that they might be helpers to lift us up into heaven. By them we are joined with Christ, and made partakers of his passion.

Next, let us consider how and after what sort we eat the body of Christ in the sacrament. And here I beseech you, that you may take the comfort of the body and blood of Christ, to give good ear; for if, mistaking this mystery, grew the first error in the church, when the disciples of Christ heard Christ speak of this matter, and understood him not, they were offended, and shrunk back, and departed—if we take the words of Christ in such meaning as they did, we shall be deceived and offended as they were.

This it is then which we have to consider, whether the body of Christ go into our mouth and our bodies, as other meats; or whether it be received spiritually as a spiritual meat, and so pass into and nourish our souls. Hereof somewhat was said before, by the way and shortly. But for clearer understanding of

the same, we have to weigh and declare, that the eating of the body of Christ, is not gross or corporal, but ghostly and spiritual, as a peculiar work of the mind.

The truth hereof is founded in our creed, and is an article of our Christian faith. We believe that Christ did rise again from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God in glory. So saith St. Paul (Col. iii.), "If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God." And again (Phil. iii.), "Our conversation is in heaven, from whence we also look for the Saviour, even the Lord Jesus Christ."

Christ himself saith to his disciples (John, xvi.), "It is expedient for you that I go away." And (John, xii.), "The poor always ye have with you, but me ye shall not have always." So St. Peter saith (Acts, v.), "Whom the heavens must contain, until the time that all things be restored, which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy Prophets since the world began."

Which speeches have occasioned the old ancient learned fathers to teach the people after this sort, touching the body of Christ. Vigilius, a godly bishop and martyr, saith, "The flesh of Christ, when it was in earth, was not in heaven; and now, because it is in heaven, doubtless it is not in earth." Ambrose saith, "Seek the things that be above, and not the things that be upon earth. Therefore we must seek thee neither upon the earth, nor in the earth, nor according to the flesh, if we list to find thee."

St. Augustine saith, "According to the flesh that the Word receiveth, according to that he was born of the Virgin, according to that he was taken of the Jews, according to that he was nailed to the cross; according to that he was taken down, and wrapped in

a shroud, and laid in the grave, and rose again, and shewed himself; in this respect it is true that he said, Ye shall not evermore have me with you."

And again he said, "Until the world be ended, the Lord is above: yet, notwithstanding, even here is the truth of the Lord, for the body wherein he rose again must needs be in one place." So Cyrillus said, "Christ could not be conversant together with his disciples in his flesh after he had ascended unto his Father." It would be tedious to allege all that might be said to like purpose.

Thus Christ, and Paul, and Peter; thus Vigilius, Ambrose, Augustine, Cyril, and all the whole catholic fathers, say; and we are taught to believe, that Christ is not corporally in the church, but is ascended into heaven, and that he hath given to his body immortality, but hath not taken from the same the nature of a body. Vigilius having cause to prove this same article against Eutyches, shutteth up the matter thus: "This is the catholic faith and profession which the Apostles have delivered, the martyrs have confirmed, and the faithful hitherto do continue."

The body then which we eat is in heaven, above all angels, and archangels, and powers, and principalities. Our meat is in heaven on high, and we are here below on the earth. How may it be, that we may reach it, or taste, or eat it? Here let us imagine, that there are two men in every man, and that every man is flesh and spirit, body and soul.

This man thus doubled, must be furnished with double senses; bodily, to serve the body, and spiritual, to serve the soul; he must have eyes of the body, and eyes of the soul; ears of the body, and ears of the soul. Spiritual senses are quick, sharp, and lively; they pierce any thing, be it never so thick; they reach any thing, be it never so far off. Christ saith

of Abraham, "Abraham rejoiced to see my day; he saw it, and was glad" (John, viii.); he saw it, not with his bodily eyes, but with the inner eyes of the soul.

When we speak of the mystery of Christ, and of eating his body, we must shut up and abandon all our bodily senses. And, as we cannot say, that we see him with our bodily eyes, or hear him with our bodily ears, or touch him with bodily feeling, so likewise can we not, and therefore may we not say, we taste him or eat him with our bodily mouth.

In this work we must open all the inner and spiritual senses of our soul, so shall we not only see his body, but hear him, and feel him, and taste him, and eat him. This is the mouth and feeling of faith. By the hand of faith we reach unto him, and by the mouth of faith we receive his body.

Touching the eating of Christ's body, St. Augustine taught the people on this wise: "Believe in Christ, and thou hast eaten Christ; for believing in Christ, is the eating of the bread of life." Believe that he is that Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world; believe that there is no other name given unto men, wherein we shall be saved, but the name of Jesus Christ.

Believe that he hath paid the ransom for the sins of the whole world; believe that he hath made peace between God and man; believe that it is he which hath reconciled all things by his blood. Here is nothing to be done by the mouth of the body. Whosoever thus believeth, he eateth, he drinketh him.

Clemens saith, "This is the drinking of the blood of Jesus, to be made partakers of his immortality." Tertullian saith, "He must be received in cause of life; he must be devoured by hearing; he must be chewed by understanding; he must be digested by faith."

Thus did Christ himself teach his disciples to understand him (John, vi.): "The words which I speak are spirit and life." St. Jerome therefore saith, "When we hear the word of God, the flesh of Christ, and his blood, is poured into our ears."

The Patriarchs, and Prophets, and people of God, which lived before the birth of Christ, did by faith eat his flesh, and drink his blood. St. Paul saith, "They did all eat of the same spiritual meat, and did all drink of the same spiritual drink." Whosoever believed in Christ, they were nourished by him then, as we are now.

They did not see Christ; he was not yet born; he had not yet a natural body, yet did they eat his body; he had not yet any blood, yet did they drink his blood; they believed that it was he, in whom the promises should be fulfilled, that he should be that blessed seed, in whom all nations should be blessed. Thus they believed, thus they received, and did eat his body.

But, say some, the fathers of the old law were in darkness, in a shadow, and a figure; it was meet they should receive the sacrament spiritually, or the body of our Lord spiritually; but all otherwise with us, unto whose benefit the sacraments of the new testament work the thing itself that they signify, so that we receive Christ really, bodily, and with the mouth of our bodies.

St. Paul telleth us, the fathers of the old law did eat the same spiritual meat, that is to say, the same Christ that we eat. So saith Augustine, "These things were sacraments, in the outward tokens divers, but in the things signified all one with ours." Likewise saith Leo, "The sacraments are altered according to the diversity of times; but the faith whereby we live, was ever in all ages one."

If they did eat the same meat, if the things, that

is, if the matter of their sacraments were all one with ours, if their faith was all one with our faith, what difference is there between their and our eating? As they did eat Christ by faith, and not by the mouth of the body, so we eat Christ by faith, and not by the mouth of our body.

To make this somewhat more evident, let us take the judgment of the fathers. They teach us plainly, that the spiritual eating of Christ's body by faith, is the true eating, and that we do not grossly, fleshly, really, or naturally eat him in the sacrament.

St. Cyprian saith, the body of Christ "is meat for the mind, not for the belly; not for the teeth to chew, but for the soul to believe." Cyrillus saith, "Our sacrament avoucheth not the eating of a man, leading the minds of the faithful in ungodly manner to gross (or fleshly) cogitations." Athanasius saith, "Unto how many men could Christ's body have sufficed, that he should be the food of all the world?" Therefore he made mention of his ascension into heaven, that he might withdraw them from corporal and fleshly understanding.

What thing may be spoken more plainly? It were impossible his natural body, naturally received, might suffice all the world. To let them see he had no such meaning, he speaketh of his going up into heaven. Spiritually then, he is received of every one, and is digested, and becometh the nourishment of all the world.

St. Augustine, expounding these words of Christ, "Whoso eateth of this bread, shall not die," saith thus: "That pertaineth to the virtue and effect of the sacrament, not that pertaineth to the visible sacrament. He that eateth inwardly, and not he that eateth outwardly; that eateth with his heart, not that bruiseth (the sacrament) with his tooth."

Thus is Christ's body received, as these holy fa-

thers say, not to the filling or contentation of the body, not with mouth or tooth, but with spirit and faith, unto the holiness and sanctification of the mind. After this sort we eat his flesh, and drink his blood.

Therefore wicked men, and such as believe not, receive not the body of Christ, they have no portion in it. So saith Origen, "The body of Christ is the true food which no evil man can eat; for if the evil man could eat the body of our Lord, it should not be written, He that eateth this bread shall live for ever." Ambrose saith, "He that eateth this bread shall not hunger; it is the food of those that are holy; he shall not die the death of a sinner, because it is the remission of sins."

St. Augustine saith, "Whoso disagreeth from Christ, neither eateth his bread, nor drinketh his blood, although he daily receive the sacrament of so great a thing without difference to the judgment of his presumption." And again, "He that abideth not in me, and in whom I do not abide, let him not say or think that he either eateth my body or drinketh my blood." And again, "He that is blind in his heart within, seeth not Christ that is our bread. And is he blessed? No man will say so, unless he be one as blind as he."

Chrysostom saith, "Where the carcass is, there are eagles." The carcass is the body of Christ in respect of his death; but he nameth eagles to shew, that whoso will approach to this body must mount aloft, and have no dealing with the earth, nor be drawn and creep downward, but must evermore flee up, and behold the sun of justice, and have the eye of his mind quick and sharp. For this is a table of eagles (that flee on high), not of jays (that creep beneath).

So saith St. Jerome, "Let us go up with the Lord

(into heaven) into that great parlour, spread and clean, and let us receive of him above the cup of the new testament. He saith, They that rise not up by faith, receive not the cup of Christ." So saith Hilary, "The bread that came down from heaven is not received, but of him that hath our Lord, and is the member of Christ."

This is the undoubted meaning of the old fathers, that the wicked are not partakers of the passion of Christ, because they lack faith, whereby only Christ is received of us. St. Augustine saith, "How shall I hold Christ, being absent? how shall I thrust my hand up into heaven, that I may hold him sitting there? Send up thy faith, and thou holdest him." By this means we draw nigh to Christ, we hide ourselves in his wounds, we suck at his breast, we feed of his body, and comfortably lay up in our mind, that his flesh was crucified and wounded for our sakes.

Now let us examine what difference is between the body of Christ, and the sacrament of the body. It behoveth us to take each part aright, lest we be deceived, and take one for another. Origen saith, "Simple men, not being able to discern what things in the Scriptures ought to be applied to the outward man, and what to the inner, being deceived by the likeness of words, have turned themselves to a sort of peevish fables and vain fantasies."

Therefore saith Chrysostom, "Believe me, it is a great matter to understand what is the creature, and what is God the Creator; what are the works, and what is the workman." The difference herein is this: a sacrament is a figure or token; the body of Christ is figured or tokened: the sacrament bread is bread, it is not the body of Christ; the body of Christ is flesh, it is no bread.

The bread is beneath, the body is above; the bread is on the table, the body is in heaven; the

bread is in the mouth, the body in the heart; the bread feedeth the outward man, the body feedeth the inward man; the bread feedeth the body, the body feedeth the soul; the bread shall come to nothing, the body is immortal, and shall not perish; the bread is vile, the body of Christ glorious: such a difference is there between the bread, which is a sacrament of the body, and the body of Christ itself.

The sacrament is eaten as well of the wicked, as of the faithful; the body is only eaten of the faithful; the sacrament may be eaten unto judgment, the body cannot be eaten but unto salvation. Without the sacrament we may be saved, but without the body of Christ we have no salvation, we cannot be saved. As St. Augustine saith, "He that receiveth not the flesh of Christ hath not life; and he that receiveth the same hath life, and that for ever."

Such a difference maketh Epiphanius: "This thing (that is, the sacrament) is of a round form (for it was a great round cake), and, touching any power that is in it, utterly void of sense. But we know that our Lord is whole sense, whole sensible, whole God, whole moving." Again St. Augustine saith for the difference of them, "The sacrament (of Christ's body) is received of some unto life, of some unto destruction; but the thing itself (that is, the flesh of Christ) whereof this is a sacrament, is received of all men unto life, and of no man to destruction, whosoever shall be partaker of it."

Of the difference which is between a figure of any thing and the thing itself, Chrysostom saith, "Ye have heard that it was a figure, therefore marvel not; and being a figure, requires not all things to agree, for otherwise it were no figure." These and such-like reasons, no doubt, moved the godly father to say, as we have learned to say, "The sacrament is one thing, and the matter of the sacrament (which

is Christ's very body) is another thing. And therefore he saith, "These things (speaking of the sacrament of Christ's body) may have honour, as things appointed to religion, but wonder, as things marvellous they cannot have."

Thus are we plainly taught by the catholic learned fathers to put a difference between the sacrament and the body of Christ; and that the one of them is not really lapped up or shut within the other: that the one (as Epiphanius saith) is utterly void of sense, the other whole sense and whole sensible; that the one is received to destruction unto some, as Augustine saith, the other is received of all men unto life; that the one is a figure, as Chrysostom saith, the other a truth.

It remaineth, that we consider how we ought to prepare our hearts, and with what faith and reverence we should resort to those holy mysteries. We may not come, as we use to do, to our usual meats; for here, in a mystery and sacrament of bread, is set before us the body of Christ our Saviour, and his blood in the sacrament of wine. We see one thing, we must conceive another thing; therefore we must in such manner be affected, as if we were present to behold his death upon the cross, and the shedding of his blood for our sins.

Let us set before our eyes that dreadful tragedy, and the causes and effects of his death, that so our hearts may be the rather moved to yield that allegiance, obedience, and reverence which is due. We were the children of wrath, the enemies of God, shut up under sin, and the heirs of everlasting damnation. In this case God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have life everlasting. And as St. Paul saith (Rom. viii.), "God sent his own Son

in the similitude of sinful flesh, and by sin condemned sin in the flesh."

There was no other thing in heaven or earth, which would be taken for our ransom, therefore was the Son of God brought before the Judge, and arraigned as a thief, and condemned and scourged, and put to death; his side was opened with a spear, and the blood flowed out, and he said, It is finished; that is to say, The price for man is now paid.

Thus "being in the form of God, he thought it no robbery to be equal with God; but he made himself of no reputation, and took on him the form of a servant, and was made like unto men, and was found in shape as a man. He humbled himself, and became obedient unto the death, even the death of the cross." (Phil. ii.) He gave his body to be crucified, and his blood to be shed for our sakes. There was no other sacrifice left for sins, wo worth the sin of man, that was the cause of the death of Christ.

What were the effects of his death? what followed? "God hath highly exalted him, and given him a name above every name; that at the name of Jesus should every knee bow; and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord, to the glory of God the Father." God spake out of the heavens, and said, This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. He crowned him with glory and honour; he hath not only advanced Christ, but us also together with him; "and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus; he hath made us like to the image of his Son." (Eph. ii.)

Thus hath he made us an acceptable people, and hath renewed the face of the earth. See that now he saith not, as he did to Adam, Thou art earth, and shalt return to earth; but he saith, Thou art heaven; an immortal and undefiled inheritance, that

fadeth not away, is reserved in heaven for thee. This is the effect and value of the death of Christ.

All these things are laid before us in the holy table, if we have eyes to see and behold them. There may we see the crucifying of his body, and the shedding of his blood, as it were in a glass. Therefore Christ saith, Do this in remembrance of me, in remembrance of my benefit wrought for you, in remembrance of your salvation purchased by me. St. Paul saith (1 Cor. xi.), "As often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shew the Lord's death till he come."

In this supper lieth a hidden mystery. There is a horror of sin, there is the death of our Lord for our sin represented, how he was wounded for our sins, and tormented for our iniquities, and led as a lamb to the slaughter. There may we see the shame of the cross, the darkness over the world, the earth to quake, the stones to cleave asunder, the graves to open, and the dead to rise. These things may we see in the supper; this is the meaning of these holy mysteries.

Therefore let every one examine himself, and search and weigh his own heart, whether he be the child of God, and a member of the body of Christ, and so let him eat of this bread, and drink of this cup. The sacrament of the Lord's supper is a holy food, the seal of our faith, the assurance of God's promises, and a covenant between God and man. He that doth unworthily thrust himself to this table, eateth and drinketh his own damnation.

When a sick man, of a weak and feeble stomach, sitteth down to eat with them that are whole, whatsoever he eateth or drinketh, it doth increase his sickness. To them that perish, the word of God is a savour of death unto death. Whoso disagreeth from Christ,

neither eateth his bread, nor drinketh his blood, as saith St. Augustine.

If any of us come to the sacrament of the body of Christ, and yet make ourselves the members of the devil, we tread Christ under our feet, we regard not his body crucified, nor his blood shed for us; we regard not the price of our salvation, we are guilty of his death, we betray the innocent blood, we are fallen from grace, and Christ hath died in vain for us.

Let us remember, Christ was forsaken, scorned, buffeted, crucified, and left upon the cross; he was a worm, and no man, a reproach among men. Nature itself yearned, and yielded, at the sight hereof. The whole land grew dark, the earth did quake, the sun lost his light, the powers of heaven were moved, the rocks were cloven, the vail of the temple rent, the thief repented, and said, Lord, remember me, when thou comest into thy kingdom. The Centurion glorified God, and said, Of a surety, this man was just.

Where is the power of Christ's death now? where is the force and power of his word? By these means he speaketh to thee, and calleth, saying, Behold, O man, thus have I sought thee; these things I suffer for thy sake, that thou shouldest eat my flesh, and drink my blood, and be made one with me; that thou mightest come into me, and I into thee; I have made thee a member of my body, bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh.

Thou that wallowest in thy sins, thou Sodom and Gomorrah, thou child of destruction, which hast rejoiced in my shame, and art not moved with the pains which I have suffered, what might I do for thy sake to save thee, that I have not done? what might I suffer, and have not endured it? Oh, be a partner of my death, that thou mayest have part in my resurrection.

Let us die with Christ; let us be crucified unto the world; let us be holy eagles, and soar above; let us go up into the great parlour, and receive of our Lord the cup of the new testament. There let us behold the body that was crucified for us, and the blood which was shed for us. There let us say, This is the ransom of the world, this was once offered, and hath made perfect for ever all them that believe; this entered once into the holy place, and obtained everlasting redemption for us; this standeth always in the presence of God, and maketh intercession for us; this is the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world; by this body I am now no more earth and ashes; by this I am now not a bondsman, but made free.

This body hath broken the gates of hell, and hath opened heaven. In this are all the treasures of God's mercy; by this the prince of darkness is cast forth; in this body shall he come again to judge the quick and the dead.

Let no unclean or filthy person, no adulterer, no usurer, no cruel extortioner or devourer of God's people, offer himself to the receiving of this sacrament. If any be such a one, I require him by the body and blood of Jesus Christ, and by the Judge of the quick and the dead, that he come not to the Lord's table; that he betray not the Son of God. It were better he had never been born, and that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he thrown into the sea. Let us not deceive ourselves; God will not be mocked. He receiveth damnation that receiveth unworthily.

Let us fall down before our Lord, and give thanks unto him; let us say, What shall I give unto the Lord for all that he hath given unto me? I will take the cup of salvation, and call upon the name of the Lord. Let us say, O Lord our Lord, how wonderful

is thy name in all the world? Let us say, Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, praise his holy name. Let us purpose and promise amendment of our life; let us go out with Peter, and weep; let us fall at Christ's feet with Mary Magdalen, and with our tears wash his feet; let us say with David, I have sinned to the Lord; let us say with the prodigal son, Father, I have sinned against heaven and against thee, I am no more worthy to be called thy son; let us say, Have mercy on me, O God, according to thy great mercy; thou art my God, I am thy servant, O save me for thy mercy's sake; let us offer up our bodies a living, pure, holy, and acceptable sacrifice to God. So shall we be partakers of the death of Christ, and of his resurrection.

Thus have we briefly gone through the whole matter of the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, and followed the same order which was set down. First, that we do in the sacrament truly eat the body of Christ; secondly, what is the meaning of the words, *This is my body*; thirdly, whether the bread remain in nature and substance; fourthly, whether it be eaten with the mouth of the body, or by faith only; fifthly, what difference is between the body of Christ, and the mystical signs; sixthly, how we must be prepared, and with what devotion we ought to come to receive this sacrament.

Having thus treated of the sacraments of the new testament, and said so much as is needful for you to know of them both, as well of baptism, which is the sacrament of our regeneration, as of our Lord's supper, which is the sacrament of our refection or nourishment, I will now in few words speak something of confirmation, of matrimony, of ecclesiastical ministry, which some call holy orders, of repentance or penance, and of extreme unction, which some of late years have called sacraments, and by

joining these to the other, have made up the number of seven sacraments, and so have charged the church with five sacraments more than Christ did ever ordain.

For these five want either the word, or the element, or both, and therefore may not be taken for true sacraments. Such as have with all their skill shewed themselves helpers and furtherers of our adversaries, yet have plainly confessed that they are no sacraments of Christ's institution.

Alexander, of Hales, saith of confirmation, "The sacrament of confirmation, as it is a sacrament, was not ordained either by Christ or by the Apostles, but afterwards in the council of Meldas," which council was kept many years after Christ.

And Durandus saith of matrimony, "Matrimony, in due and proper kind of speech, is no sacrament." And Bessarion, a cardinal, confesseth (as it was shewed before), that, in due and right consideration, none of these five may be called sacraments. "We read (saith he) that these two only sacraments were delivered us plainly in the Gospel."

First of confirmation, which is so called, because that which was done on our behalf in baptism, is ratified and confirmed; many parents had not such due care as they ought in the godly bringing up of their children, so that many children knew not whether they were baptized or no; many were never taught what covenant was made between them and God in their baptism; many swerved away from Christian profession, and carried themselves to the fellowship of the heathens, and of the sons of God became the sons of the devil.

Upon this occasion the church of God layeth charge upon the parents, and the witnesses of the baptizing of young children, that they teach them the ways of the Lord, and to know the holy mysteries that they

have received, and what they have promised and professed in baptism; that they put them in mind how God hath called them out of the kingdom of darkness unto his wonderful light, and to the fellowship of the saints in light.

When the children of the Christians were thus brought up, and had learned the religion of Christ, and to walk in the ways of godliness, they were brought to the church, and by their parents presented unto the bishop, and yielded a reason of their faith openly, before the whole congregation; they professed they would so believe, that they would live and die in that faith.

Then the bishop and all the people fell down on their knees, and prayed unto God, that he would continue the good thing he had begun; and the bishop laying his hand upon them, commended them unto God. This was the ratifying of the profession which they made by others at their baptism, and for that cause called confirmation.

Now whether it be a sacrament; and when I say a sacrament, I mean a ceremony commanded by God in express words; for God only hath the authority to institute a sacrament. Sacraments are confirmations and seals of the promises of God, and are not of the earth, but from heaven. As Christ saith, "The baptism of John, whence was it? from heaven or of men?" Chrysostom saith, The mystery were not of God, nor perfect, if thou shouldest put any thing to it.

Mark and judge, and yourselves shall see whether this were a sacrament instituted by Christ. Augustine said, "Join the word to the creature, and it is made a sacrament." This creature or element is visible, as are water, bread, and wine. The word which must be joined, is the commandment and in-

stitution of Christ; without the word, and the commandment and institution, it is no sacrament.

I protest, that the use and order of confirmation, rightly used, is profitable and necessary in the church, and no way to be broken. But all that is profitable and necessary is not a sacrament; Christ did not command it; he spoke no word of it. Look and read, if you doubt it; Christ's words are written, and may be seen. You shall never find that he commanded confirmation, or that he ever made any special promise to it; therefore may you conclude that it is no sacrament: otherwise, being rightly used, it is a good ceremony, and well ordained of our ancient fathers.

The Apostles laid their hands on them, and confirmed them which were baptized of John. But that proveth not this confirmation; that was extraordinary, it was a miracle. The Holy Ghost came down upon them, and enlightened their hearts by this laying on of the Apostles' hands.

But it is not so now; the Holy Ghost doth not now descend in visible form upon those which are confirmed; there is no such miracle wrought; there is no need that it should so be; there was no commandment, either to appoint it to the church, or to continue it until the coming of Christ, and the end of the world: therefore it is no sacrament by the institution of Christ. Hitherto of the use, now somewhat of the abuse.

Nothing so good and holy, but it may be abused. The word of God hath been abused to heresies, to necromancy, to charms, and sorcery, and witchcraft. The supper of the Lord was abused in the time of St. Paul. He telleth the Corinthians (1 Ep. xi.), "This is not to eat the Lord's supper." Less marvel then, if this happen to a ceremony.

Time rusteth and consumeth all things, and maketh

many a thing to prove nought in the end, which was first devised for good. The brazen serpent, at the first was made by Moses, and set up for good purpose; but afterwards it was abused. The children of Israel did burn incense unto it, and therefore Hezekiah brake it in pieces.

The first abuse in confirmation was, that it was done in a strange tongue, that no man might understand what was meant. Then, that they received to confirmation such children and so young, as were not able to make profession of their faith, so that the infant promised he knew not what; and the bishop ratified and confirmed, where there was nothing to be confirmed; he set to his seal, where there was nothing to be sealed. These abuses were far unmeet for the church of God.

Besides these, there was great abuse in the manner of doing. For thus the bishop said, "I sign thee with the sign of the cross, and confirm thee with the oil of salvation." Thus they used to do; these were their words, "with the oil of salvation." They took not this of Christ, nor of his Apostles, nor of the holy ancient fathers. It agreeth not with our Christian faith to give the power of salvation unto oil; he that seeketh salvation in oil, loseth his salvation in Christ, and hath no part in the kingdom of God. Oil for the belly, and for necessary uses of life; it is no fit instrument, without commandment or promise by the word, to work salvation.

More they said; he was no perfect Christian that was not anointed by the bishop with this holy oil. This was another abuse. For, whosoever is baptized receiveth thereby the full name of a perfect Christian, and hath the full and perfect covenant and assurance of salvation; he is perfectly buried with Christ, doth perfectly put on Christ, and is perfectly made partaker of his resurrection. Therefore they

are deceived, that say no man is a perfect Christian that is not marked with this oil.

Else the Apostles and holy martyrs were but half Christians, because they lacked this oil; else what hope and comfort might the poor fathers have? in what state shall he think to find his child if he die before confirmation, and pass without perfect christendom? Verily, they write thus: "Without the oil of chrism, no man can appear before the judgment-seat of Christ."

Again, they say confirmation is more honourable than baptism, because any priest may baptize, but confirmation is given only by a bishop, or a suffragan. So do they give a greater pre-eminence to confirmation, which is devised by man, than to the holy sacrament of baptism, which Christ himself ordained. I need not speak more hereof, the error is so gross, so thick, so sensible and palpable.

Again, when they blessed or hallowed their oil, they used these words: "O Lord, let this oil by thy blessing be made a spiritual ointment, to purify both soul and body." O Christ Jesu, where was thy cross, where was thy blood, and the price of thy death and passion, when a drop of oil was of power to work remission of sins, to save and defend against all the darts of the wicked spirits, and to refresh both body and soul? Yet so were we taught, so were we led.

I feign not these things; the words may be seen. Neither do I speak this to bring you to a misliking or loathing of our late fathers, but only that we may humble our hearts, and give thanks to God, that hath brought us out of that darkness, and given us better knowledge.

Now a word or two of the bringing up of children, and preparing them to confirmation, wherein I would God the old order were duly observed, that

they were instructed perfectly to know religion, and their duty to God, and so might be brought before the congregation, and make an open profession of their faith, with promise, that neither tribulation, nor anguish, nor persecution, nor famine, nor nakedness, nor fire, nor sword, nor life, nor death, shall ever make them deny their faith. Hereof might much be spoken, but I will be short.

The whole standeth in knowledge, and in the fear of God, that they may know God, and walk before him in reverence and in fear, and serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of their life. The Jews are a miserable people, that live in error; they die in their own blood, yet have they so much understanding, that they bring up their children in the knowledge of God, and that knowledge they teach out of the word of God. They remember what charge God gave them (Deut. iv.), "Thou shalt teach them, thy sons, and thy sons' sons."

Therefore a father must teach his child what God is; that he is our Father, that he hath made us, and doth feed us, and giveth us all things needful both for body and soul; that he is our Lord, and therefore we must serve him, and obey him, and do nothing whereby he may be displeased; that he is our judge, and shall come to judge the quick and the dead; and that all men shall come before him, to receive according as they have done in the flesh.

He must put his child in mind of his baptism, and teach him that it is a covenant of God's mercy to us, and of our duty to God; that it is a mystery of our salvation, that our soul is so washed with the blood of Christ, as the water of baptism washeth our body.

So must he also teach his child the mystery of the Lord's supper; what and how he receiveth these to his comfort; that as the bread is broken, and the wine poured out, so the body of Christ was crucified, and

his blood shed for the remission of sins; that if we believe in Christ, we are through the promise of God so certainly nourished in our souls to everlasting life by the passion of Christ Jesus our Saviour, as our bodies are truly nourished with the creatures of bread and wine.

Thus Paul was brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, and instructed according to the perfect manner of the law of the fathers. Thus Timothy was brought up to know the holy Scriptures of a child. How are we become so superstitious? why have we been so delighted in darkness? why is it so hard a matter to remove us from the errors wherein we have lived? why had we rather fall down before dumb things, and worship them, and continue still in ignorance, rather than hearken unto the word of God?

Why have we played the part of the Jews, and cried *Crucifige* upon our dear friends and kinsmen, upon those whom we could not justly accuse of any crime, who offended us no ways, but in that they did point us to Christ, and called us to seek salvation only in him? Hereof there cannot any better cause be yielded than this, that we were ignorantly bred up without knowledge of God, without understanding of his word.

The wise man saith (Prov. xxii.), "Teach a child the trade of his way, and when he is old he shall not depart from it." And again (Wisd. vi.), "Whoso awaketh unto wisdom betimes, shall have no great travail, for he shall find her sitting at her doors."

Therefore wicked rulers, as Julianus, Licinius, Maximinus, and such others, have forbidden that children should be brought up in the knowledge of God. They taught them to blaspheme Christ and holy men, and to speak ill of them before they knew them. But let us look upon our children as upon the great blessings of God; they are the Lord's ves-

sels ordained to honour, let us keep them clean; they are Christ's lambs and sheep of his flock, let us lead them forth into wholesome pasture; they are the seed-plot of heaven, let us water them, that God may give the increase; their angels behold the face of God, let us not offend them; they are the temples and tabernacles of the Holy Ghost, let us not suffer the foul spirit to possess them, and dwell within them.

God saith, Your children are my children; they are the sons of God; they are born anew, and are well shapen in beautiful proportion; make them not monsters; he is a monster whosoever knoweth not God. By you they are born into the world, be careful also that by your means they may be begotten unto God; you are careful to train them in nurture and comely behaviour of the body, seek also to fashion their minds unto godliness.

You have brought them to the fountain of baptism to receive the mark of Christ, bring them up in knowledge, and watch over them, that they be not lost; so shall they be confirmed, and will keep the promise they have made, and will grow to perfect age in Christ.

Of marriage I shall need say the less, the matter is so known and common. This fellowship was first ordained by God himself in paradise. God himself said (Gen. ii.), "It is not good that man should be himself alone; I will make him an helper meet for him." God, which fashioned man, and breathed in him the breath of life, and knoweth his very heart and reins, said, It is not good, it is not fit, that man should be himself alone.

Although man were in paradise, although he were in the perfection of virtue, yet saith God he hath need of an helper. Christ disdained not to be at a marriage; he honoured it both by his presence, and

by the working of a miracle. St. Paul saith (Heb. xiii.), "Marriage is honourable in all men, and the bed undefiled." In all men, saith he, in the patriarchs, in the prophets, in the apostles, in martyrs, in bishops.

That all the Apostles, St. John only excepted, were married, appeareth by Ignatius, Clemens, and Eusebius. Spiridion was a married bishop, and yet he was thereby nothing hindered, neither to discharge his duty, nor to any other godly purpose. Tertullian was a priest, and married, as appeareth by his own book, written to his wife. Gregory, St. Basil's brother, was bishop of Nyssa, yet married. Another Gregory was bishop of Nazianzene, yet married, and nevertheless a faithful servant and steward of the mysteries of God. Hilary was bishop of Poictiers, yet married. All these were holy, and godly, and chaste in body and in spirit, and yet were married.

Gregory Nazianzene saith, marriage is worthy of praise, for the quietness and contentation that is in it. And Clemens Alexandrinus saith, "As well marriage as also chastity have their peculiar offices pertaining to God." And Chrysostom saith, "Marriage is void of fault, and is no hindrance to virtue." Again: "So precious a thing is matrimony, that, with the same, thou mayest be promoted even to a bishop's chair."

What are they then that call marriage uncleanness, filthiness, a work of the flesh? that say it defileth a man, and therefore God's ministers may not be married? How can they thus speak that have any knowledge of that which God hath spoken? May we not worthily say unto such despisers of lawful matrimony that which St. Bernard in like case said, "They bear us in hand that they speak these things for love of chastity;" whereas indeed they have devised the same to the end to nourish and to increase

their filthiness. Or as St. Augustine sometime said to the Manichees, "Ye forbid not copulation: but as it was long ago forespoken by the Apostle, indeed ye forbid very marriage."

If you mark these few words which I delivered, it will easily appear, how reverend an account is to be made of that state of life; for if you regard the necessity thereof, God found it good to give man a wife; if the antiquity, it was ordained in the beginning of the world; if the place, in paradise; if the time, in the innocency of man.

If you regard any thing the rather because of him that ordained it, God was the author of marriage, even God which made heaven and earth, and which is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. If you seek the allowance, Christ approved it by his birth in marriage, and by his presence at marriage; if the dignity, it is honourable; if among whom, in all men, of all estates, of all callings, in prince, in subject, in minister, in priest, and in people. It is honourable in prophets, honourable in apostles, in martyrs, in bishops.

Marriage is honourable in all men, but whoremongers and adulterers God will judge; their portion shall be with the infidels, they shall be cast into utter darkness, their worm shall never die, their fire shall never be quenched, they shall go down headlong into the fire that is prepared for the devil and his angels. "Be not deceived (saith St. Paul, 1 Cor. vi.); neither fornicators, nor adulterers, nor wantons, nor abusers of themselves with mankind, shall inherit the kingdom of God."

Now are we to speak in the next place of the ministry of the church, which some have called holy orders. Shall we account it a sacrament? There is no reason so to do. It is a heavenly office, a holy ministry or service. By such as have this office,

God lighteneth our darkness, he declareth his mind to us, he gathereth together his scattered sheep, and publisheth unto the world the glad tidings of salvation.

The Patriarchs did bear this office. This was the office of the Prophets. God saith (Jer. vii.), "I have sent unto you all my servants, the Prophets, rising up every day, and sending them." Again he saith (Isa. li.), "I have put my words in thy mouth." Therefore when they taught the people of God, the Prophets signed their speech thus: The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it; The Lord hath said; The voice and the word of the Lord; Hear the word of the Lord.

But when the fulness of time came, God sent his Son, and hath spoken unto us by him. He became our Prophet, to shew us the will of his Father. He saith (John, xii.), "I have not spoken of myself, but the Father which sent me; he gave me a commandment what I should say, and what I should speak." Hereof St. John saith (chap. i.), "No man hath seen God at any time." He is invisible, he is incomprehensible, no mind can conceive him, no eye can see him; but, "the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared him."

Of him the Father said (Matt. iii.), "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear him." Hearken unto him, receive his word, credit him, believe him. No doubt the ministry of the Gospel is highly to be esteemed, seeing our Saviour was not ashamed to publish the will of his Father in his own person; yet it appeareth not wherever he did ordain it to be a sacrament.

He appointed that the comfort thereof should be carried into all nations, and gave that charge unto his Apostles (Matt. xxviii.), "Go teach all nations." Again (Matt. x.): "What I tell you in darkness,

that speak you in light; and what you hear in the ear, that preach you on the houses." He saw the people, and had compassion on them; he saw they were dispersed, and scattered abroad like sheep without a shepherd, and that they perished, because they had no knowledge of the will of God.

Therefore he saith (Matt. ix.), "Pray the Lord of the harvest that he would send labourers into the harvest." Therefore he ordaineth them to this ministry (Matt. iv.), "I will make you fishers of men." And sendeth them forth (John, xx.): "As my Father sent me, so send I you." And (Matt. x.), "Go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." He willed them to call the people to repentance, and to preach the kingdom of God.

By this ministry, God hath gathered to himself an acceptable people, and hath brought them to the obedience of the Gospel of Christ, and hath turned the hearts of the fathers unto their children, and so made it to be the foundation of religion.

They that exercise this ministry are the eyes of Christ, the pillars of the church, the interpreters of God's will, the watchmen of the Lord's tower, the leaders of Christ's sheep, the salt of the earth, the light of the world. Daniel saith (chap. xii.), "They that turn many to righteousness shall shine as the stars for ever and ever."

Not that there is any so great wisdom or eloquence in men; they are but weak, they are unfit to do this service. Isaiah saith of himself (chap. vi.), "I am a man of polluted lips." And Jeremiah saith, "O Lord God, behold I cannot speak, for I am a child." So saith Paul (1 Cor. iii.), "I have planted, Apollos watered, but God gave the increase; so then, neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase." So said St. John, "that he was not Christ, nor that Prophet,

but the voice of him that crieth in the wilderness, and not worthy to unloose the latchet of his shoe that should come after him."

The power, whereby they did conquer the world, was not in them, but in the word which they preached. "It is the power of God to salvation to every one that believeth." (Rom. i.) "It is like a fire, and like a hammer that breaketh a stone." (Jer. xxiii.) "When ye received of us the word of the preaching of God (saith St. Paul to the Thessalonians, 1 Ep. ii.), ye received it not as the word of men, but, as it is indeed, the word of God, which also worketh in you that believe."

The power of an earthly prince is great. The wise man saith (Prov. xx.), "The fear of a king is like the roaring of a lion." Yet is a prince but mortal, and the law of a prince is but mortal; it hath no power to force the conscience. But the word of God doth break into the heart; it forceth a way into the conscience; it is sharper than any two-edged sword; it entereth through, even to the dividing asunder of the soul and the spirit, because it is the word of God.

For, it is no man, but God, that speaketh; as Christ telleth the Apostles (Matt. x.), "It is not ye that speak, but the Spirit of your Father, which speaketh in you." So saith the Prophet Zechariah, "He spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets, which have been since the world began." (Luke, i.) The Prophets, and Apostles, and holy men of God, were but instruments; it was God which gave his holy Spirit, which gave them tongues to speak, and words to utter.

Therefore saith Christ (Luke, xxi.), "I will give you a mouth, and wisdom whereagainst all your adversaries shall not be able to speak nor resist." Though men be but simple, yet the word they deliver

is mighty; though they be mortal, the word of the Lord endureth for ever.

Where this word is received, it is fire, and burneth; it is a hammer, and breaketh the hardness of the heart; it is mighty in operation, it cleanseth the inner man, it openeth the conscience, it is a savour of life unto life, it is the means of salvation. He that receiveth this word, and believeth, shall be saved. This is the word of reconciliation. God hath committed it unto us.

If any hide this word, he slayeth the people; he is a dumb dog. Of such God saith (Jer. xxiii.), "Behold, I will come against the Prophets that steal my word every one from his neighbour." They are thieves and robbers. "Woe be unto you, interpreters of the law, for ye have taken away the key of knowledge (saith Christ, Luke, xi.); ye entered not in yourselves, and them that came in ye forbad."

And again (Matt. xxiii.): "Woe be unto you, Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites, because ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men; for ye yourselves go not in, neither suffer ye them, that would enter, to come in." Of these, and against them, God speaketh by the Prophet Jeremiah (chap. xxiii.), "Woe be unto the pastors, that destroy and scatter the sheep of my pasture." And by the Prophet Zechariah (chap. xi.), "O idol shepherd, that leaveth the flock."

Thou hast ears, and hearest not; thou hast eyes, and seest not; thou hast a tongue, and speakest not; and a heart, that understandeth not; thou art an idol. Christ said to thee, Feed my lambs, feed my sheep, but thou carest not for them; thou hast the room of an evangelist, and pastor, and teacher, but thou gatherest not the saints together; thou doest not the work of the ministry; thou buildest not up the body of Christ. They shall perish in their

wickedness, but their blood will I require at thy hands.

Here note, this ministry of the church was not ordained to offer sacrifice for forgiveness of sins. Whosoever taketh that office upon him, he doth wrong, and injury to the death and passion of Christ. He "only is called of God an high priest after the order of Melchisedech." He "only, by his own blood, entered in once into the holy place, and obtained eternal redemption for us." He "only with one offering hath consecrated for ever them that are sanctified." (Heb. v. ix. x.)

He only hath said, It is finished. The ransom or price for man's salvation, and for forgiveness of the sins of the world, is paid in me, in my death upon the cross. Of him alone, and only of him, hath it been spoken, "This is my well-beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased." And by Isaiah, "With his stripes only we are healed." It is he only "which hath made of both one." (Eph. ii.) It is he only "which did put out the hand-writing of ordinances that was against us; he even took it out of the way, and fastened it upon the cross." (Col. ii.)

He alone is our high priest, the Lamb of God, the sacrifice for sins, the altar, the propitiation for sins, and Redeemer of the world; he only hath appeased the wrath of God; he only appeareth in the sight of God, to make intercession for our sins. All others whatsoever, apostles, prophets, teachers, and pastors, are not in office to offer any propitiatory sacrifice; but are called to the ministry of the saints, to the edification of the body of Christ, and to the repairing of the church of God.

Thus much of the holy ministry of the church, which standeth in the setting forth of the mystery of our salvation, both by the preaching of the word of God, and by the due and reverend ministration of

the sacraments. The principallest part of this office is to preach repentance, that so we may amend our lives, and be converted unto God. So Joel the Prophet followed his ministry, saying, "Rend your hearts, and not your garments, and turn to the Lord your God, for he is gracious and merciful."

So St. Paul teacheth, "That true circumcision is by putting off the sinful body of the flesh;" that it is in mortifying our members that be on the earth; "fornication, uncleanness, the inordinate affections, evil concupiscence, and covetousness, which is idolatry;" that it is in putting away all these things, "wrath, anger, maliciousness, cursed speaking, filthy speaking out of your mouth, in putting off the old man with his works," and putting on the new, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him. (Col. ii. iii.)

So John Baptist saith (Matt. iii.), "Repent, for the kingdom of God is at hand. Prepare ye the ways of the Lord, and make his paths straight." So our Saviour Christ, when he began to preach, said (Matt. iv.), "Amend your lives, for the kingdom of God is at hand."

Therefore it will not be amiss now to speak of repentance, which some of late years have changed into penance, and thereof have also made a sacrament. Here it behoveth to rip up the whole life of man. There is not any man that liveth, and sinneth not. God saith (Gen. ix.), "The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth." The Prophet Jeremiah saith (chap. xvii.), "The heart is deceitful, and wicked above all things; who can know it?" St. John therefore saith (1 Ep. i.), "If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and truth is not in us."

Of himself St. Paul saith (Rom. vii.), "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good

thing." Of himself the Prophet David saith (Psa. xxxviii.), "There is nothing sound in my flesh, because of thine anger; neither is there rest in my bones, because of my sins; for mine iniquities are gone over mine head, and as a weighty burden they are too heavy for me." He saith, "If thou, O Lord, straitly markest iniquities, O Lord, who shall abide it?" So saith the wise man (Prov. xxiv.), "A just man falleth seven times."

God is a righteous God, and the avenger of all them that offend. St. Paul saith (Rom. vi.), "The wages of sin is death." And the Prophet Ezekiel (chap. xviii.), "The soul that sinneth shall die." For this cause then God ordained the ministry of his word, and appointed certain to this office, that they should warn his people of their sins, and fear them by the terror of God's assured displeasure and heavy wrath.

As it is seen by that to Isaiah (chap. lviii.), "Cry aloud, spare not, lift up thyself like a trumpet, and shew my people their transgressions, and the house of Jacob their sins." So St. Paul (1 Tim. iv.), "I charge thee, before God and the Lord Jesus Christ, which shall judge the quick and the dead at his appearing, and in his kingdom, preach the word; be instant in season and out of season; improve, rebuke, exhort, with all long suffering and doctrine."

So would God have our filth laid open before our eyes, that we might weigh and judge our own hearts, that every man might make charge upon himself, and say, I am an unprofitable servant, my righteousness is as a foul and stained cloth, my soul hath sinned, and hath deserved to die the death.

In this case, some fall into desperation, and say, as sometimes did Cain (Gen. iv.), "My sin is greater than can be pardoned." God withdraweth his mercy from me; I am unworthy of it; I have offended

against the holy Spirit of God; mine own conscience accuseth me; I have no part in the kingdom of God, and of Christ; there is no sacrifice left for my sins.

Thus the wicked live in trembling and agony, as did Cain; thus they leave their life with horror and misery; so have they no grace to repent, no taste nor feeling of the mercy of God.

But the children of God, though they be wounded, yet they find relief in the certain hope of God's mercy. Though they say, I am a sinner, my sins are more in number than the hairs of my head, I have offended against Heaven and earth; yet they know that Christ came to call sinners to repentance, and that he healeth those that are sick: that he said (Matt. xi.), "Come unto me all ye that are weary and laden, and I will ease you."

For what layeth he on his shoulders with joy? is it not the lost sheep? Wherefore doth the woman light a candle, and sweep the house, and seek diligently till she find it? is it not for the piece of silver which she had lost? Over whom had the father compassion, and ran and fell on his neck, and kissed him? was not this done for him which was dead, but lived again, and for him which was lost, but was found again? "The Son of Man came to save that which was lost." (Matt. xviii.) And, "There is joy in the presence of the angels of God, for one sinner that converteth." (Luke, xv.)

God is merciful, and his mercy endureth for ever. So saith the Prophet David (Psa. cxxx.), "Mercy is with the Lord." By the Prophet Ezekiel (chap. xviii), "I desire not the death of him that dieth," saith the Lord God. It is the will of God, "that all men shall be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth." By Isaiah the Prophet, God saith, "If your sins were as crimson, they shall be made as white as snow; for I, even I am he that putteth

away thine iniquities, for mine own sake, and will not remember thy sins." (Isa. i. xliii.)

The children of God hear this, and are glad; they lift themselves up in the faith of the mercy of God; they see the filthiness of their sin; they know, though the wrath of God be kindled against sin, yet he doth not utterly destroy those that have sinned, but such as continue in their sins without repentance; they know God will not despise an humble and contrite heart.

Therefore they say, "Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord, for no flesh is righteous in thy sight." (Psa. cxliii.) Take away the iniquity of thy servant. They say, Why art thou heavy, O my soul, and why art thou unquiet within me? Wait on God, for I will yet give him thanks for the help of his presence. They say, There is no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus.

Though I should walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, because thou art with me. They say, "If our hearts condemn us, God is greater than our heart." (1 John, iii.) Thus are we taught by the office of the ministry, and by the word of God, to see ourselves, to know our weakness, to repent our sins, to believe the forgiveness of our sins, and to turn unto God.

We are taught to lay open and acknowledge our sins; not to hide them, but to make confession of them. This is done two ways; either in the secret thought of thy heart before God, or else in the hearing and presence of men. David made confession of his sins before God. (Psa. xxxii.), "I acknowledged my sin before thee, neither hid I mine iniquity. I said, I will confess against myself my wickedness unto the Lord, and thou forgavest the punishment of my sin."

And again (Psa. xv.), "I know mine iniquities, and

my sin is ever before me. Against thee, against thee only have I sinned, and done evil in thy sight." Such a confession made Daniel (chap. ix.), "We have sinned, and have committed iniquity, and have done wickedly; yea, we have rebelled, and have departed from thy precepts, and from thy judgments. For we would not obey thy servants the Prophets, which spake in thy name to our kings, to our princes, and to our fathers, and to all the people of the land."

Even so the Prophet Isaiah (chap. lxiv.), "Behold, thou art angry, for we have sinned; we have all been as an unclean thing, and all our righteousness is as filthy clouts, and we all do fade like a leaf, and our iniquities like the wind have taken us away. But now, O Lord, thou art our father; we are the clay, and thou art our potter, and we all are the work of thine hands."

This is true and Christian confession. We are required after this sort to examine ourselves, and confess our sins before God; who doth not so, he shall not find mercy and forgiveness of his sins.

The other sort of confession made unto men, I do not condemn; it may do much good, if it be well used. St. James commendeth it among the faithful. "Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed." (James, v.) He speaketh not of priest or minister, but of every one of the faithful. Every Christian may do this help unto another, to take knowledge of the secret and inner grief of the heart, to look upon the wound which sin and wickedness have made, and by godly advice and earnest prayer for him to recover his brother.

This is a private exhortation, and as it were a catechising or instructing in the faith, and a means to lead us, by familiar and especial conference, to examine our conscience, and to espy wherein we have offended God. The use and practice hereof is not only

to be allowed, but most needful and requisite, if so the superstition, and necessity, and conscience, which many have fondly used and put therein, be taken away.

That the priests should hear the private confessions of the people, and listen to their whisperings; that every man should be bound to their auricular confession, it is no commandment or ordinance of God. It is devised and established by men, and was lately confirmed by Innocent the Third. The church of God, in the time of our elder fathers, was not tied to any such necessity.

Chrysostom saith, "I will thee not to confess thy sins to thy fellow-servant (that is, to the priest); confess them unto God that may heal them." Again he saith, "Examine thy sins in thy heart within thee, let this judgment be without witness, let God only see thee making thy confession." And again, "I say not to thee, that thou openly shew forth thyself, nor that thou accuse thyself in the presence of others; but I will have thee obey God, which saith, Disclose thy ways unto the Lord."

Confess thy sins therefore before God, declare thine offences, and make thy prayer for them before God, which is the true and righteous Judge. Make thy confession not with the tongue, but in the record of thine own conscience.

Likewise St. Augustine, "What have I to do with men, that they should hear my confessions, as if they could heal all my wounds or diseases? They be a curious sort, in searching out the life of others, and slothful in correcting their own life." St. Ambrose, "The tear washeth away that offence which shame would not suffer to confess in speech."

The church of God in Greece never received it. And Erasmus witnesseth, it was not used in the time of St. Jerome. "It appeareth, that in the time of

St. Jerome (which was four hundred years after Christ), secret confession of sins was not yet ordained."

And Beatus Rhenanus, a man of great reading, saith, "Tertullian speaketh nothing of this secret confession of sins, and we read not any where, that it was commanded in times past."

By these testimonies of Chrysostom, Augustine, Ambrose, and by the observation of Erasmus and Rhenanus, it may appear, that this secret confession in the ear of the priest hath not been taken to be necessary, and that it is not of God's determinate appointment, but an ordinance of man. As the gloss upon the decrees something plainly confesseth: "It is better said, that confession was appointed by some tradition of the universal church, than by any authority or commandment of the New or Old Testament."

Now in a word or two, I will somewhat speak of satisfaction or recompense for offences which we have done, whereby we satisfy and make amends to the full contentation of him that is offended. Such a recompense the law required, "an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a hand for a hand, a foot for a foot." (Exod. xxi.) Such amends for such harm, so much for so much; and this was accounted due and lawful satisfaction.

This is of two sorts, either that which is done unto God, or that which is done unto man. We are not able to satisfy and make amends unto God; we must always confess that we are unprofitable servants, and unworthy to stand in his presence, and by no means able of ourselves to make recompense for that we have offended him. Our only and full satisfaction for our trespasses done against him, is the blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

The thief upon the cross called upon Jesus:

" Lord, remember me when thou comest into thy kingdom." He knew he had offended God, but found not how he might make amends, otherwise than by the righteousness of Christ. Jesus answered him, " Verily I say unto thee, To-day thou shalt be with me in paradise ;" to-day, that is, by and by.

He refuseth him not, nor feareth him that God will refuse him, because he had done amiss, and made no recompense ; but promised him, because he repented, and believed that he shall be saved. Paul was thrown down a persecutor, and raised up a preacher. What amends might he make in so short time ?

St. Cyprian saith, " Thy blood, O Christ, looketh not for any revenge." And St. Ambrose, " I read of Peter's tears, but I read nothing of any satisfaction he made." For our whole life cannot sufficiently acquit us from the guiltiness of one sin, much less is any man able to work or deserve the forgiveness of all his sins.

The only things that God requireth of us when we have sinned, are, that we sorrow for our sins, and amend our lives. So John the Baptist spake to the Pharisees (Matt. iii.), " Bring forth fruit worthy amendment of life." So St. Paul calleth the Ephesians to make recompense for their former naughtiness. " Cast off lying, and speak every man the truth to his neighbour. Let him that stole, steal no more, but let him rather labour, and work with his hands the thing that is good." (Eph. iv.) Other recompense, God looketh not for at our hands.

But when the godly have taken offence at any of our doings that are evil, we must give all heed to content their minds, and reconcile ourselves again unto them. It hath been an ancient order in the church of God, that, if any had openly offended the congregation, he should come openly again before

them to satisfy them by amends. There he fell down on his knees, confessed his fault, wept, and lamented for it, prayed the brethren that they would forgive him, and would also pray unto God to be merciful unto him. There the whole congregation fell down before God; their hearts melted, their eyes gushed out in tears, they held up their hands, prayed together for him, and gave thanks to God that their brother, which had been lost, was found again. Such satisfaction was it which hath been made to the church of God.

The last of those which some have of late misused and counted one of the sacraments of the church, is, *extreme unction*. And this they have founded upon the words of St. James, "Is any sick among you? Let him call the elders of the church, and let them pray for him, and anoint him with oil in the name of the Lord; and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up; and if he have committed sin, it shall be forgiven him."

For the better understanding of which words, consider that God is merciful to the sons of men, and sheweth forth his mercy at sundry times by sundry ways. And to leave the examples of the Old Testament, in the time of the Gospel, hath given to some the gift of tongues, and hath made them able, being simple men, to speak the wonderful works of God in tongues which they never learned.

To some he hath given the gift of power, and of the operation of great works. By this power many signs and wonders were wrought by the hands of the Apostles. At the word of "Peter, Ananias, and Sapphira his wife, fell down dead." In this power Paul struck "Elymas the sorcerer with blindness." (Acts, v. xiii.)

To some he gave the gift of healing. By this St.

Peter healed a man, which was a cripple from his mother's womb, and said, "In the name of Jesus Christ of Nazareth, rise up and walk; and he took him by the right hand, and lifted him up, and immediately his feet and ankle-bones received strength." They were able to make the blind see, the lame to walk, the lepers to be clean, the dead to receive life again. For when he sent forth his Apostles to preach, Christ gave them power against unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal every sickness and every disease." (Matt. x.)

These things they wrought, sometimes by their shadow, as many were healed by the shadow of Peter; sometimes with their word; sometimes with handkerchiefs; sometimes by laying on of hands, and by touching; sometimes with oil, as in the sixth of St. Mark, "They cast out many devils, and they anointed many that were sick with oil, and healed them," even as Christ also by many sundry ways healed many.

He healeth sometimes, though he were absent, sometimes by his word, sometimes by mourning and sorrowing, sometimes by touching, sometimes with spittle and dust; for at that time the church had the especial gift of working miracles.

Therefore St. James putteth them in mind that they despise not to use the means which God hath appointed; that whosoever falleth into sickness, he call for the elders, and that they use their gift of healing, and anoint him with oil, because it hath pleased God thereby to work health. This was the manner and order of those times. Even as Christ used dust and spittle, so St. James willeth them to use oil for the restoring of health.

As the Corinthians did abuse the gift of tongues, and were taught by St. Paul how to use it better, so did many abuse the gift of healing, and were there-

fore warned by St. James how they should use it better. As the gift of tongues was not to last for ever, but only for a time, so the gift of healing was not to continue for ever, but for a time.

Christ saith (Matt. vi.), "When thou fastest, anoint thine head, and wash thy face." He doth not in these words give an universal commandment that must ever be kept in our fasting, that we use the ceremony of anointing, but meaneth thereby, that in our fast we be fresh and merry.

Even so St. James, in saying, "Anoint him with oil," doth not set down an order, whereunto he would have the church of God tied for ever; it is not an universal commandment, that the after-ages should do the like, but only a particular ordinance for the time, to use the gift of healing. This is the meaning of his words.

Let us mark what abuses have grown by mistaking them. St. James speaketh of bare and simple oil; they understand it of their oil, which they consecrate, and hallow in unadvised order. For these words the bishop useth when he consecrateth it: "Hail, O holy oil, and chrism, and balsam." Again: "I adjure thee, thou unclean spirit, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, that thou depart from this oil, that it may be a spiritual ointment, and that the Holy Ghost may dwell in it." Again: "O holy Father, we beseech thee send down thy holy Spirit, the Comforter, from heaven into this fatness of the olive, to the refreshing of body and soul."

In like sort they are taught to pray over the sick: "By this holy anointing, and by his great mercy, God pardon thee, that by this anointing thou mayest have remission of all thy sins."

I devise not these things, I imagine them not of myself, nor report them untruly. The bishop in

such words blesseth the oil; and with such words doth the priest anoint the sick with oil; in their books it is easy to be seen. Now judge you, if this were St. James's doctrine, or if this order were kept in the church in the time of the Apostles.

Would you think that St. James gave curtesy by bowing his body, and saying *Ave* to the oil? did he speak words of conjuration to drive away the evil spirit? would he ever say that the oil doth heal both body and soul? or that remission of all sins is given by anointing?

St. James knew that remission of sins is not given by any creature; that there is no name in heaven or earth, by which we are saved, but the name of Jesus only; that the Holy Ghost resteth not, nor dwelleth in oil, but in the hearts of the faithful; that God giveth health, not in respect of the corruptible creature, but at the prayers of the church, which are offered up to him by his Son our Saviour: so great difference is there between the late meaning, and the meaning of St. James.

Such use of the oil we have not, neither doth the church of God allow; yet hold we the rule of the Apostle in visitation of the sick. When any is sick among us, the minister cometh unto him, and discreetly instructeth him in what sort he should prepare himself to depart this life, and so leadeth him to comfort, and laboureth to make him strong in the certain hope of everlasting life.

Thus he saith, Brother, you are entering the way of all flesh. All the sons of Adam are heirs of this sentence of God upon Adam. Thou art dust, and to dust thou shalt return. Man that is born of a woman is of short continuance, and full of trouble; he shooteth forth as a flower, and is cut down; he vanisheth also as a shadow, and continueth not. Humble thyself under the mighty hand of God; he

is our good Father, and doth correct those children whom he loveth. Blessed is he whom the Lord doth chastise and instruct in his ways.

Here is the proof and trial of your patience and faith. Remember the patience of Job; in all his miseries he praised the name of the Lord. Although (said he) he should kill me, yet will I put my trust in God. Although my bowels be consumed within me, and my members of my body be rent asunder, and the pangs be never so great, yet can I not but trust in him. Love not the world, nor the things that be in the world. The world passeth away, and the lust thereof.

The wise man saith, "I have considered all the works that are done under the sun, and behold all is vanity and vexation of spirit." Again: "Great travail is created for all men, and an heavy yoke upon the sons of Adam from the day that they go out of their mother's womb, till the day that they return to the mother of all things." (Eccles. i. xl.) Christ hath therefore willed us to wake and be ready, because we know not in what hour our Master will come. He saith (Rev. xvi.), "Behold, I come as a thief. Blessed is he which watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked, and men see his filthiness."

Examine yourself, consider how and in what things you have offended God; make a true and humble confession of your sins; say with David, "I have sinned against the Lord, and I will confess against myself my wickedness unto the Lord." Call to mind how you have gotten your goods, how you have used them, and whether you have delighted in them, or put any confidence in them; call to mind how you have taken care for your children and servants, if by your good means they have been nurtured in the fear of the Lord.

In these, and such other parts of your life, lay open your sins; let them come forth before you; acknowledge them against yourself unto the Lord; say boldly, because you may say it truly, I am an unprofitable servant, I have not done that which I ought to have done; there is no good thing dwelling in me; the law in my members hath prevailed against the law of my mind. It cannot be, that God will cast his eyes upon you, and will hear you, and will pardon the wickedness of your sins.

What wanteth in you to the fulness of righteousness is already satisfied in the righteousness of Christ. God hath said and sworn (Ezek. xxxiii.), "As I live (saith the Lord God), I desire not the death of the wicked, but that the wicked turn from his way, and live." And again (Ezek. xviii.), "If the wicked will return from all his sins that he hath committed, all his transgressions that he hath committed, they shall not be mentioned unto him."

The Lord is full of compassion and mercy. For as high as the heaven is above the earth, so great is his mercy towards them that fear him; as far as the east is from the west, so far hath he removed our sins from us. Christ himself saith (John, iii.), "God so loved the world, that he hath given his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have life everlasting." And St. Paul (Rom. v.), "God setteth out his love towards us, seeing that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us; much more then, being justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him." Thus in time of sickness are we put in mind to examine and view our sins, and to solace ourselves in that blood-shedding of Christ.

Further, he that is sick is counselled to call to mind what any man hath trespassed him, and to forgive him, because God is the God of love; and if

any man hate his brother, he abideth in death; and we are commanded to say, Forgive us our trespasses, as we forgive them that trespass against us; and if we do forgive men their trespasses, our heavenly Father will also forgive us. If we do not forgive men their trespasses, no more will our heavenly Father forgive us our trespasses.

That so, all we which are redeemed with one price, by the precious blood of the unspotted Lamb, may join together as partakers of one inheritance, and the children of one Father, and so go forward to one glory by one way, and become all one in Jesus Christ our Lord.

In this case, the good father calleth his son unto him, and exhorteth him in this manner: My son, hearken unto me; these be the last words which I shall speak unto thee: thou seest in me the weakness and decay of flesh: thou shalt be as I am now. One passeth before another; the world and the beauty thereof fade away, and come to an end.

Trust not the world, it will deceive thee; walk advisedly; know, thou shalt give an account of thy doings. "For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil." (2 Cor. v.)

Deceive no man by wrongful dealing; increase not thy goods by extortion, nor by usury. He that giveth his money unto usury, shall not enter into the tabernacle of the Lord; he that taketh usury of his neighbour, killeth him without a sword. The Lord will avenge it; he will not bless ill-gotten goods; they cannot prosper; they will never continue nor remain unto the third heir.

My son, in all thy doings fear the Lord. If thou fear the Lord, thou shalt prosper, and in the day of thine end thou shalt be blessed. Meddle not much

with other men's business, lest thou be entangled with controversies; abhor the slanderer and double-tongued. Let my doings, which am thy father, be ever before thine eyes. Those few goods which I have were truly gotten; I have not gathered them of the tears, and heaviness, and undoing, or hindering of any.

Be faithful to thy wife, and, besides her, know none other. Help thy neighbour according to thy power, and turn not thy face from the poor and needy. Be merciful after thy power. If thou hast much, give plenteously; if thou hast little, do thy diligence gladly to give of that little. Be not slow to visit the sick; whatsoever thou takest in hand, remember the end, and thou shalt never do amiss.

As for me, I have passed the vanities and miseries of this world. The Lord hath given, and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord; he is the Lord my God, let him do with me as it seemeth good unto him. I know that this shall hasten my salvation, and that Christ shall be magnified in my body, whether it be by life or by death. I have not so lived, that I am ashamed to live, neither am I afraid to die, for we have a gracious Lord.

I know, that if my earthly house of this tabernacle be destroyed, I have a building given of God, that is, an house not made with hands, but eternal in the heavens. They that die in the Lord are blessed, they shall rest from their labours. Christ is unto me, both in life and in death, advantage.

In such sort do the godly prepare themselves to their journey out of this life.

When the minister prayeth that he may be constant in this faith, he strengtheneth him, and confirmeth him in it: he exhorteth the sick to commend himself unto God; he prayeth unto God, that he

will give his angels charge over him, to keep him and defend him, that he fall not into temptation.

He teacheth him to say, O Lord, in thee have I trusted, let me never be confounded. Come, Lord Jesus, come, and take me unto thee; Lord, let thy servant depart in peace; thy kingdom come. I am thy son, thine am I. O save me. Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; thou hast redeemed me, O Lord God of truth.—In this state he dieth, and hath his eyes always fastened upon God, and so seeth, how indeed the dead are blessed which die in the Lord.

Thus doth the church of God instruct all men to live, and to die, and to be in readiness. Thus are the sick among us anointed with the inward and invisible oil of the mercy of God. Thus are they put in mind to have the oil of faith, and of a good conscience, and that their lamps may ever be burning, that so they may enter in with the bridegroom; that the day-spring from on high may visit their hearts; and that it may be said unto them, Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit ye the kingdom prepared for you from the foundations of the world.

SERMONS AND EXTRACTS

FROM

THE WRITINGS

OF

BISHOP JEWELL.

SERMONS,

&c.

ROMANS, XIII.

Ver. 12. *The night is past, and the day is at hand; let us cast away the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.*

THIS little portion of the Scripture hath been often expounded and opened in your hearing, yet shall it not be unprofitable once again to entreat thereof. For albeit the proportion and ground of matter be one, yet some difference may be in the manner of utterance.

The word of God is the water of life; the more ye lave it forth, the fresher it runneth; it is the fire of God's glory, the more ye blow it, the clearer it burneth; it is the corn of the Lord's field, the better you grind it, the more it yieldeth; it is the bread of heaven, the more it is broken and given forth, the more remaineth; it is the sword of the Spirit, the more it is scoured, the brighter it shineth. The voice of God cannot be unpleasant to their ears which are the children of God; the oftener they hear it, the more comfort they receive; they can never have overmuch, who never have enough.

St. Paul in these words stirred up the Romans, and awaked them out of the slumber of death, that they might behold the clear light of the Gospel, and know the time of their visitation, and shake off the works of darkness, and apparel themselves with the righteousness of Christ our Saviour.

But before I proceed further to declare that which is to be spoken at this present, let us turn our hearts

to God, even the Father of lights, that it may please him to open the eyes of our understanding, and to direct all our doings to his glory, &c.

In worldly business, it is reckoned a great point of wisdom, to do things in due time, and to choose the fittest season to speak or to hold silence, to buy or to sell, to build or to pull down. Solomon therefore said (Eccles. iii.), "To all things there is an appointed time, and a time to every purpose under the heaven." Whoso doth not weigh the season, and take his convenient time, he is unwise, and defeateth himself, and bewrayeth his folly.

But of all wisdom this is the greatest, that a man lift up his eyes to the throne of God's mercy, and know the time of his blessing, and direct his life to the service of God, as he warneth (Eccles. v.), "Make no tarrying to turn unto the Lord, and put not off from day to day; for suddenly shall the wrath of the Lord break forth, and in thy security thou shalt be destroyed." If the good man of the house were wise, if he knew at what hour the thief would come, he would surely watch, and stand in readiness, and not suffer his house to be digged through.

Of this wisdom, in taking the vantage of time, spake the Prophet David (Psa. xciv.), "This day, if you hear his voice, harden not your hearts." Foreslow not the time, lose not this good occasion, hear his voice now, this day. Of this wisdom spake St. Paul (2 Cor. xvi.), "We, as workers together, beseech you, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain." For he saith, "I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee. Behold now the accepted time, behold now the day of salvation."

Whoso knoweth not this time, is not wise. Of this blindness and heaviness of the people, God complaineth in many places of the Prophets. In the

eighth chapter of Jeremiah, "Even the stork in the air knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle, and the crane, and the swallow, observe the time of their coming; but my people knoweth not the judgment of the Lord."

Of this their blindness and folly, our Saviour reproveth Jerusalem (Luke, xix.): "Oh! if thou hadst (even now at the least in this thy day) known those things which belong unto thy peace; but now are they hid from thine eyes. For the days shall come upon thee, that thine enemies shall cast a trench about thee, and compass thee round, and keep thee in on every side, and shall make thee even with the ground, and thy children which are within thee; and they shall not leave in thee a stone upon a stone, because thou knewest not the time of thy visitation."

Therefore the Apostle calleth upon the Romans, telleth them that the sun is up, and the day open, and warneth them not to lose the season; for now, even now (saith he), it is time to rise.

That we may the better discern the light, let us behold the darkness of that time which was before. The whole world was divided into the people of the Jews and the heathens; and besides these, there were no other people; the heathens were forsaken of God, the Jews were his chosen people.

The heathens worshipped the works of their own hands, and gave the glory of God unto creatures, which are not God. They went after idols, even as they were led; they had many gods, according to the number of their cities; they delivered up their bodies to all manner of filthiness. God gave them over to follow their lusts. The fathers among them slew their own children, and offered them up in sacrifice to devils.

So strongly did the prince of darkness possess them, they had not the ark of the testimony; they

lived without prophets, or covenant, or Christ, or God; they lived without hope, or light, or comfort. In such a night, and such a darkness, lay the heathen.

The Jews, God's chosen people, they were also bereft of knowledge; there was no Prophet left among them, nor any to teach them the will of the Lord. The law did perish from the priest, and counsel from the ancient; light was turned into darkness, and judgment into wormwood; they were bitter and grievous to the poor; they slew the Prophets which were sent unto them; they did forsake the fountain of living waters, and followed Baal and Ashtaroth. "Like people, like priests: from the sole of the foot unto the head, there was nothing whole in them."

Of them God spake by the Prophets (Mal. i.), "I have no pleasure in you, neither will I accept an offering at your hand." Of them he said (Isa. i.), "When you shall stretch out your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you; and though you make many prayers, I will not hear you." In such a darkness lay the Jews, in such a darkness lay the gentiles. All had sinned; they were all corrupt and abominable in their ways; they were the children of wrath, and the vessels of destruction. So were they wrapt in the cloud of ignorance, and covered in the shadow of death. Such was the night St. Paul spake of, so ugly, so dark, so void of comfort.

But God gave forth his light to shine upon them; he sent the patriarchs, and prophets, and holy fathers; he sent unto them Moses and Aaron, and angels from heaven, to give out sparks of this light. He made it appear by his Prophet Isaiah (chap. vii.), "Behold, the Virgin shall conceive, and bear a son, and she shall call his name Emmanuel. In him shall all Israel be saved; he is the light to lighten the gentiles; his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor,

the mighty God, the everlasting Father, the Prince of Peace; in him shall all the ends of the world be blessed." This light they beheld, when it was not clearly opened unto them; they did see it coming, and rejoiced in it; they were under a schoolmaster, and had not the perfect knowledge of this light.

But now God hath scattered all these clouds, and we behold as in a mirror the glory of the Lord with open face. Our elder fathers in the Old Testament had only a dim candle to guide their feet, we have the bright sun-beams; they had only the green blade of the corn, we have the plentiful increase, even as in the time of harvest; they had the shadow, we have the light; they had only a drop to refresh themselves, we have the whole stream of God's mercy poured out upon us.

Now hath God remembered his holy covenant, and the oath which he sware to our father Abraham; now the word was made flesh, and dwelt with us, the day-star is sprung up in our hearts, the Spirit of God hath filled the whole world, the earth is full of his glory. The idols of the heathen are fallen, and are put to silence; their greatest miseries appear to be follies, and are laughed to scorn; the children make game of them in their streets. Satan, the prince of this world, which is the accuser of our brethren, is now cast forth.

Now is it known that salvation, and power, and glory belongeth to our God; he hath raised his Christ, and hath established his kingdom; the kings and nations of the world shall walk in his light, and his light shall not be put out, and his kingdom shall have no end.

Now is that new Jerusalem, the glorious city of our God, revealed from on high; now hath God made the heavens new, and a new earth, and hath fixed his tabernacle and dwelling-place among men.

The fulness of time is come, the sound of the Apostles is gone through all the earth, the Sun of righteousness hath appeared, he is the light and comfort of the whole world. This is the gracious year of mercy, this is the day which the Lord hath made.

Now is the mercy of the Lord shewed more and more towards us, and his truth endureth for ever. When Balaam the false prophet beheld the glory of this time, he brake out and said (Numb. xxiv.), "Who shall live when God doth this? who shall live and see, and enjoy these things?"

Awake therefore, or arise from sleep, the time so requireth. "For now is our salvation nearer than when we believed it." Of these few words have grown divers senses, all good and godly; yet in my judgment the simplest and plainest sense is this: When we were heathen, and sat in darkness, we thought we did well, and that we should be saved in that way in which we walked, and that there was no hope of salvation, but only in that, and we had a great liking in our doings. This is the vanity and misery of man; oftentimes where he thinketh himself most sure, he is deeply deceived.

The Turks and the Jews at this day, and others the enemies of the cross of Christ, think there is no other true religion but theirs; and in that they are wonderful zealous, and stand in it unto death; no persuasion nor force can remove them.

When the people of Ephesus heard of the preaching of Paul, they raised uproar, and filled the city full of tumult; they caught Gaius and Aristarchus, men of Macedonia, and Paul's companions in his journey, and would have slain them; they made an outcry, saying, "Great is Diana of the Ephesians." (Acts, xix.) She is a goddess, she hath made heaven and earth, we have put our trust in her, we will call upon her, and she will hear us.

Christ sheweth his disciples (Matt. x.), "The brother shall betray the brother to death, and the father the son, and the children shall rise against their parents, and shall cause them to die; and ye shall be hated of all men for my name." For zeal to their God, the priests of Baal cut themselves with knives and lancets. (1 Kings, xviii.) Through zeal, many fathers slew their own children, and burnt them quick in fire, in honour of the idol Moloch.

The Circumcelliones, which were a sort of heretics sprung out of the Donatists about 420 years after Christ, through zeal murdered one another; they threw themselves down from high rocks, and destroyed themselves, and thought that the only way to please God; so hot and fervent was their devotion. The children of light have seldom suffered more, or more willingly, or with more affiance, than the children of darkness; so strived they for God, but against God, and abused his name against himself, and wittingly and willingly went down into hell.

They had great zeal and earnest desire of the glory of God, but not according to knowledge; they contented themselves with that they had received of their fathers, and would seek no further; they thought they did serve God, but they blasphemed the name of the Son of God. In such sort did God suffer them to walk in the blindness of their heart.

In the latter day many shall say unto Christ, "Lord, Lord, have we not by thy name prophesied, and by thy name cast out devils, and by thy name done many great works?" (Matt. vii.) We have prayed, and given alms for thy sake; was it not done out of zeal and devotion towards thee? So well shall they be persuaded of their doings, they shall press boldly to the throne of God's majesty, and require their meed.

But Christ shall answer them, "I never knew you, you served your fancy, you served not me; your alms, and miracles, and your prayers, shall condemn you." Therefore Christ said to the woman of Samaria, "Ye worship that which you know not." (John, iv.) You are led with a zeal, and follow your fathers, but are deceived. Even so he prayed his Father for them that crucified him, and stood by, and reviled him: O Father, thou art full of mercy, forgive them, they are moved with zeal, and think they please thee; they know not what they do; they know not thee, nor me thy Son, whom thou hast sent.

St. Jerome saith, "Infidelity hath been written under the name of faith and unity." For herein they thought themselves good and holy, and catholic, if they departed not from the unity of the world. Therefore they followed the general consent of others; they thought themselves (saith he) the true church, and seemed to follow unity, though indeed they fell to infidelity; "whatsoever is not of faith is sin" (Rom. xiv.); whatsoever it be, be it never so holy, never so glorious, it is sin, it displeaseth God, the end thereof is destruction.

Therefore Christ saith (John, viii.), "I am the light of the world; he that followeth me, shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life." So spake Almighty God to his people (Deut. v.), "Take heed that you do as the Lord your God hath commanded you; turn not aside to the right hand, nor to the left." Thou shalt not do the thing that seemeth right in thine own eyes; thou shalt not follow the zeal of thine own heart.

Think that thou mayest be deceived; dispose thyself to hearken to the voice of the Lord; whatsoever he shall command thee, that only shalt thou do; "For my thoughts are not your thoughts, neither

are your ways my ways, saith the Lord; for as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts above your thoughts." (Isa. lv.) The will of the Lord is the only measure whereby all truth must be tried.

Hereunto the Prophet David humbled himself, and speaketh unto God in this manner: "Lighten mine eyes, O Lord, O teach me to do thy will, teach me to follow it, and to practise it." Hereof St. Paul speaketh (Eph. v.), "Understand what the will of the Lord is." Leave the pretence of zeal, leave the devotion of your own heart, rest not upon the will of your forefathers, nor of flesh and blood. Learn to feel and taste the will of God; it is good, and gracious, and merciful; thereby direct your steps, therein shall you find the possession of life.

We were drowned in darkness (saith the Apostle), yet thought we had the light. I myself (saith he) was a blasphemer, and did persecute the church of God; I followed the way of my fathers, I had a great zeal, and thought I did well; but the way wherein I walked was slippery, the light was darkness, I delighted in vanity, and had pleasure in leasings; I was blind, yet perceived it not, and therefore was my blindness and misery so much the more.

But now is our salvation come near unto us; our bodies are made the temples of God, and his Spirit dwelleth within us. We have the word of life put both in our mouth and in our heart; the kingdom of God is in the midst among us. The Son of God calleth unto us, "Come unto me all ye that travail, and be heavily laden, and I will refresh you." St. John saith, "We have looked upon, and our hands have handled the word of life." (1 John, i.)

And again, "The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we saw the glory thereof as the

glory of the only begotten Son of the Father, full of grace and truth." (John, i.) So near is the Lord to them that seek them, so near unto us is our salvation.

When David heard the voice of the Lord, he awaked, and rose up, he gave thanks unto God, and poured out his heart before him, saying, "O Lord our Lord, how wonderful is thy name in all the world!" And again, "Praise the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me praise his holy name."

When the Apostles heard this voice of the Lord, they were awaked, they forsook all they had, they took up their cross, and went over all the world preaching the Gospel of salvation. When Paul heard the voice of Christ from heaven above, he fell flat on the earth, and, being astonished, said, Lord, what wilt thou that I do? I am thy servant, and the son of thy handmaid; make me to do that thou commandest me to do.

Then could neither life, nor death, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, separate Paul from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord; then he esteemed not to know any thing, saving Jesus Christ, and him crucified. He brake his sleep, rose up, and went forward.

In like manner the Prophet Isaiah stirreth up Jerusalem: "Arise, be bright, for the light is come, and the glory of the Lord is risen upon thee." (Isa. lx.) Know thy time, and the day of thy visitation; awake thou that sleepest, and stand up from the dead, for the Son of God hath shined over thee.

The Apostle therefore saith, "It is now time that we should rise from sleep." We are the children of God, we are the children of the truth, we are the sons of the prophets, we are they whom God hath chosen out of the world. Whosoever putteth his

hand to the plough, and looketh back, is unmeet for the kingdom of heaven.

These things are sent for our understanding. God hath given his word unto us; we have seen the works of God, the dumb to speak, the deaf to hear, the blind to see, the lame to go, the dead to rise and come out of their graves, the sun to be darkened, the earth to quake, the rocks to rend, and the devil to confess the Son of God; for he was forced to say, "Thou art Christ, the Son of God." Now doth the kingdom of heaven suffer violence.

The night is passed, the day is at hand; we have slumbered enough in ignorance, it is now time we know the blessings which God hath bestowed upon us; it is time we should be thankful, and awake out of the sleep of forgetfulness, that we humble ourselves under the mighty hand of God, and dream no more of our own strength. Our conscience is charged; we cannot plead ignorance; it is time that we rise; the mercy of God, the abundance of his blessing, the fear of his judgment, the regard of our salvation, so requireth.

Let us cast away the works of darkness, they be unfruitful, loathsome, and horrible; they darken the heart, and blind the conscience; he that doth them shall be cast into utter darkness. Let us be afraid, let us be ashamed hereof, such things are not fit for the children of light.

Let us put on the armour of light. God hath chosen us to be his soldiers, and hath called us forth into the field. Our fight is not against flesh and blood, but against the devil, the prince of this world, and the father of darkness: he rampeth like a lion, and lieth in wait, and seeketh whom he may devour. All the vanities of this life, our bodies, our own hearts, conspire against us; the fight is terrible, the

danger is great. Let us not be unprovided, let us not stand open to the stroke of the enemy.

Let us take unto us the whole armour of God; let our loins be girded with verity; let us put on the shield of faith, the breast-plate of righteousness, the sword of the Spirit, and the helmet of salvation. These be the weapons of righteousness, these be the armour of light. Let us not fear to declare the truth, though thereby we should danger our life.

Let us be faithful unto the end; let it appear that the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to cast down holds, and imaginations, and every high thing that is exalted against God; so shall our armour be complete, so shall we shew glorious in the field, and be terrible to the enemy; so shall we stand strong and boldly against sword, and fire, and death; so shall we, like faithful soldiers of our captain Christ, manfully stand against the gates of hell, and resist all the assaults, and quench all the fiery darts of the wicked; then shall we eat of the fruit in the midst of paradise, and shall receive the crown of everlasting glory.

"Let us walk honestly, as in the day, not in gluttony and drunkenness, neither in chambering and wantonness, nor in strife and envying." He setteth down three things as three botches and carbuncles of the soul; they oppress the body, defile the mind, and break the bond and unity of the church of God.

The first is gluttony and drunkenness, the root and mother of all evil; nothing standeth safe, where wine prevaileth. This was the iniquity of Sodom, abundance and fulness of bread; they abused the gifts of God, to the dishonour of God. This was the cause of all her filthiness, and her filthiness was the cause of her destruction.

Hereof God speaketh (Deut. xxxii.), "My chosen

people, my darling, is waxed fat; therefore he forsook God that made him, and regarded not the strong God of his salvation." And again by the Prophet Isaiah (chap. v.), "The harp and viol, timbrel and pipe, are in their feasts; but they regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the work of his hands." And in the twenty-first chapter, "Behold, joy and gladness, slaying oxen, and killing sheep, eating flesh, and drinking wine, eating and drinking, for tomorrow we shall die." So through gluttony and drunkenness they despised the threatenings of God, and entered not into the way of repentance, but continued in their sins, and made scorn of the Prophets of God.

"The people of Israel sat them down to eat and drink, and rose up to play." (Exod. xxxii.) They forgat God, and the mercies he had shewed upon them, and worshipped a golden calf: so gross and so deadly are the clouds of drunkenness. Our Saviour Christ saith, towards the latter day the people shall eat and drink, and be void of care, as in the days of Noah, and destruction shall suddenly fall upon them; therefore Christ saith (Luke, vi.), "Woe be to you that are full, for you shall hunger."

Many have been slain in the fields, but many more have taken their deadly wound by surfeiting; many have been drowned in the sea, but many more have perished by the strength of wine. It is not set down, that the rich glutton was an oppressor, an extortioner, an usurer, or that he came unjustly by his goods, but that he abused the same, that he fared deliciously, and became unthankful, and therefore was punished in hell fire. Then he which before had abundance, and did swim in wine, had not one drop to quench his thirst.

Many make their belly their god; they have more comfort in the taste of sweet fare, than in the consideration of the works of God; their table is turned

into a snare, their glory is to their shame. Here will I speak nothing of forcing and quaffing. God keep it far from Christian tables; it is too, too wild and barbarous; the heathens hate it; nature abhorreth it; the horse and mule would not use it.

St. Augustine saith, "A drunken man doth not commit sin, but he is altogether sin." And therefore his reward is death. St. Paul saith (1 Cor. vi.), "Drunkards shall not inherit the kingdom of God; they shall drink the cup of the wine of the Lord's wrath." Therefore Christ saith (Luke, xxi.), "Take heed to yourselves, lest at any time your hearts be oppressed with surfeiting and drunkenness, and the cares of this life; and lest that day come on you at unawares." Therefore saith the Apostle, "Let us not walk in eating and gluttony; it will drown our senses, it will oppress our nature."

The kingdom of God is neither meat nor drink; our meat is to do the will of our Father. Let us not abuse the creatures of God. Let us eat and drink, that we may live only to the sustenance of our bodies; that we, by the moderate and sober use of those things, may be the better able to follow and please God in our vocation. The meat for the belly, and the belly for the meats; but God shall destroy both it and them.

Let us think of the cup which Christ had on the cross; his cup was eisel, and tempered with gall; at his hand let us take the cup of thanksgiving, and call upon the name of the Lord. Let us, whether we eat or drink, remember who it is that hath bestowed his gifts upon us; and whatsoever we do, let us do it to the glory of God.

Another botch and carbuncle is chambering and wantonness. Of this also the Apostle warneth us; for adulterers and fornicators God shall judge; they shall have their part in the lake which burneth

with fire and brimstone, which is the second death: the Lord is the avenger of all such. It is the will of God, that our bodies be kept in holiness; they are the temples of God; he hath called us to be vessels of honour, that we should be holy in body and holy in Spirit; that we serve him in holiness and righteousness all the days of our life.

The last is strife and envying. We are one body in Christ Jesus, we are endued with one spirit, we are members one of another. The Gospel of Christ is the Gospel of peace; he hath broken the stop of the partition-wall; he hath set all things at peace. He hath taught us, "Learn of me, for I am humble and meek."—"Let us not (saith Paul, Gal. v.) be desirous of vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another."

Let not one of you say, I am Paul's; and another, I am of Apollos: the body of Christ is one, it is not divided. If you bite and devour one another, take heed lest you consume one another. If there be envying, and strife, and dissensions among you, you are yet carnal, you savour not of the Spirit of God. You are but a little flock, the world hateth you, join together, love one another, bear you one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ.

The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, and temperance. Love suffereth long, and is bountiful; love envieth not, love doth not boast itself; it is not puffed up; it disdains not; it seeketh not her own things; it is not provoked to anger; it thinketh not evil; it rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth; it suffereth all things, it believeth all things, it hopeth all things, in endureth all things; love is the bond of perfection.

The servant of Christ is not quarrellous. Let us keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace; let

not dissension or malice trouble our hearts ; let us walk after this manner, and so let us glorifyGod in our mortal bodies ; let us avoid these things, gluttony, drunkenness, chambering and wantonness, strife and envying ; they be the unfruitful works of darkness, the way of them leadeth unto damnation.

"*But put you on the Lord Jesus Christ.*"

If we behold ourselves, and consider our own nakedness, we shall find, that by nature we are nothing else but the children of wrath. Who can call that clean, that is conceived of unclean seed ? David saith, "Behold, I am conceived in sin, my sins have gone over my head, there is no health in my flesh. None that liveth shall be justified in thy sight. Who can understand his faults ? Cleanse me from my secret faults."

Job saith, "I stood in fear of all my works, knowing that thou wilt not judge me innocent." Again : "The stars are unclean in his sight ; how much more man, a worm, even the son of man, which is but a worm ?" (Job, ix. xxv.) In like sort saith Isaiah, "We have all been as an unclean thing, and all our righteousness is as filthy clouts." Our virtue, our holiness, our fasting, our prayers, are filthy, when they come to his sight. We cannot say our heart is clean ; we cannot say we have not sinned.

God hath shut up all in unbelief, that he may have mercy upon all. That is born of the flesh is flesh ; the spirit fighteth against the flesh, and the flesh against the spirit. Open shame belongeth unto us, and to our fathers. Cursed is he that abideth not in all things that are written in the book of the law ; and whosoever offendeth in one, is made guilty of all the commandments.

When the miserable and wretched soul boasteth itself, saying, "I am rich, and increased with goods,

and have need of nothing;" the Spirit of God maketh answer, "Thou art wretched, and miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked. Thou hast nothing to put upon thee to cover thy shame; I counsel thee to buy of me, gold tried by the fire, that thou mayest be rich, and white raiment, that thou mayest be clothed, and that thy filthy nakedness do not appear; and anoint thine eyes with eye-salve, that thou mayest see." (Rev. iii.)

The same spirit in the Apostle giveth his counsel, that we put on us Jesus Christ. Let him cover us with his body, and with his blood, as with a garment; his blood hath cleansed us from all our sins; he is the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world; he is become unto us, wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.

St. Jerome saith, "If we weigh our own deservings, if we appear in our own apparel, we must despair." And Basil saith, "He that trusteth not to good deeds, nor hopeth to be justified by his works, hath no other hope of salvation but by the mercies of the Lord."

Let us therefore put on us Jesus Christ; let us cover us under his apparel, as Jacob covered himself under the coat of his brother Esau, and so let us present ourselves before our heavenly Father. The phrase of putting on is usual, whereby he meaneth, we must be wholly clad, and possessed with Christ.

In like phrase it is said, in the twelfth of Revelation, "There appeared a great wonder in heaven, a woman clothed with the sun." And in Psalm civ. "My soul, praise thou the Lord. O my God, thou art exceeding great, thou art clothed with glory and honour." And, "Which covereth himself with light as with a garment." And (Col. iii.), "Put on tender mercy, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering." Chrysostom saith, "Behold,

he giveth us Christ, to be put on as a garment, which is a heinous thing to be spoken." It passeth all sense of nature; it passeth the judgment of flesh and blood.

Here remember, these words may not be taken, as if Christ were a material and earthly coat, made of cloth to cover our bodies; they are spiritual words, and have a spiritual understanding. Chrysostom saith, "Christ is become all things for thee, thy table, thy garment, thy house, thy head, and thy root." Origen saith, "The word of God is called flesh, and bread, and milk, and herbs." Nazianzen also saith, "After the same manner as our Lord Jesus Christ is called the life, the way, the bread, the vine, the true light, and a thousand things else, so is he also called the sword."

He is spiritually a table, a garment, a house, a root, a head, flesh, milk, herbs, the way, the light, a sword, bread, or drink; we dwell in him spiritually; we are clothed with him spiritually; we grow out of him, and walk upon him, and are made one with him, even members of his body spiritually; we do spiritually eat him and drink him; we live by him spiritually; we eat him by hearing, and digest him by faith. Origen saith, "He is called the bread of life, that the soul may have whereon to feed."

Oh brethren! Oh that we had senses to feel this food, that we could savour of the bread of life, and taste and see how sweet the Lord is! He that thus tasteth of this bread, shall live for ever.

Chrysostom saith, "We thrust our teeth into the flesh of Christ." And Cyprian, "We fasten our tongue within the wounds of our Redeemer." These be vehement and spiritual kind of speeches, to raise up our senses, and to teach us to feel the unspeakable sweetness of this heavenly feeding.

Likewise said Bernard, "I desire to behold whole

Christ, and to touch him, and not so only, but also to come to the holy wound of his side, which is the door that was made in the side of the ark, that I may enter wholly, and go in, even unto the heart of Jesus." Thus are we taught to lift up our hearts, and to seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God.

Why should we then follow the fleshly error of the Capernaites? why should we be so insensible in heavenly things? Let us have some feeling hereof in our heart. Solomon saith (Eccles. ii.), "The wise man's eyes are in his head, but the fool walketh in darkness." Our Saviour therefore saith (John, vi.), "The words that I speak unto you are spirit and life." To eat the body of Christ, and drink his blood, is not the part of the body, it is rather a work of our mind.

And therefore St. Ambrose saith, "We touch not Christ by bodily touching, but we touch him by faith." And again, "Stephen, being in the earth, touched Christ, being in heaven." By faith therefore we eat Christ, and by faith we drink Christ; by faith we are apparelled and clothed with Christ. And this is that the Apostle saith (Rom. xiii.), "Put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ." Let us be incorporate in him; let God see nothing in us but the image of his Son, so shall he dwell in us, and we in him.

"*Take no thought for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.*"

The sons of God rest upon the providence of God their Father; he giveth them water out of the rocks; he raineth down bread from heaven; he openeth his hands, and filleth every living thing with his blessing. The Prophet saith (Psa. xxiii.), "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want." The things of this world shall have an end; they fade away, and will not continue. If riches abound,

we must not set our heart upon them, but rather be careful for the life to come. We must seek the kingdom of God, and the righteousness thereof, then all these things shall be ministered unto us.

He doth not forbid honest and moderate forecast and provision, as if it were not lawful for Christians to deal in matters appertaining to the good estate of this life; for he hath said unto Timothy (1 Ep. v.), "If there be any that provideth not for his own, and namely, for them of his household, he denieth the faith, and is worse than an infidel." Again he saith (Eph. v.), "No man ever yet hated his own flesh, but nourisheth it, and cherisheth it." Again, writing to Timothy, "Drink no longer water, but use a little wine for thy stomach's sake, and thine often infirmities." In which speeches he sheweth we are bound to nourish, and feed, and be careful for our bodies.

Though the conversation of the faithful be in heaven, and they seek after the things which are on high, yet, whiles they pass the pilgrimage of this life, they must needs have the fellowship and company of their natural bodies; the which they must not so weaken, that thereby they shall become unprofitable, and not able to do service in the church of God, and yet so keep them under, that they may be made obedient to the spirit.

Only we may not be over-careful. To take great care for the body, is to cast away all care for the soul. For "they that will be rich, fall into temptations and snares, and into many foolish and noisome lusts, which drown men in perdition and destruction; for the desire of money is the root of all evil, which while some lusted after, they erred from the faith, and pierced themselves with many sorrows." (1 Tim. vi.) Of this care speaketh our Saviour (Matt. xix.), "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a

needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God."

No care can satisfy the uncontented mind. "The righteous eateth, and is satisfied; but the belly of the wicked ever wanteth." (Prov. xiii.) He hath enlarged his desire as hell, and ladeth himself with thick clay; he increaseth that which is not his, and cannot be satisfied. "The horse-leech hath two daughters, which cry, Give, give. There are three things that will not be satisfied; yea, four, that say not, It is enough." (Prov. xxxi.)

They care not by what means they make their gains; they live in usury, a most filthy trade, a trade which God detesteth, a trade which is the very overthrow of all Christian love; they eat up the people as they eat bread. Such are the ways of every one that is greedy of gain. "He would take away the life of the owners thereof." (Prov. i.) They have hardened their heart against God, they do not serve God, but Mammon.

But their gain shall be to their loss, and their money to their destruction. He that giveth his money unto usury, shall not dwell in the tabernacle of the Lord, nor rest upon his holy mountain.

We have here no continuing city; we are strangers, as were all our fathers before us. If we gather riches to ourselves, and be not rich in God, he shall say unto us, O fool, this night will they fetch away thy soul from thee. Then whose shall those things be which thou hast provided? Let him therefore that hath this world's goods, be as if he had them not. They are the gifts of God. The Lord giveth them, and the Lord taketh them away.

Settle not your hearts upon them; as they come, so will they fade away; they be uncertain; they will deceive you. Set your desire upon heavenly things; seek after the life which is to come in the land of

the living. When we shall see those unspeakable joys, we shall perceive that all the pleasures of this life, in comparison of them, were nothing.

Now somewhat more especially to apply the words of the Apostle to this present time. *It is now time also* that we should arise from sleep. God hath delivered us also from the night. We may say, This is the day which the Lord hath made. Let us rejoice, and be glad in it. We may say, He hath shewed his mercies towards us, and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever.

Let us look back to the time late past, and behold the night of error and ignorance. What shall I say? where shall I begin, or how may I end? The matter is of great compass, the time I have to speak is but short, and I have no delight to speak of darkness. After God had delivered the people of Israel, and given them passage through the Red Sea, Miriam, the prophetess, sister of Aaron, looked back into Egypt. There she remembered Pharaoh, and his cruelty, how he plagued the children of God; she remembered how, by a mighty hand and outstretched arm, he delivered them, and wrought his wonders upon Pharaoh, and all the land of Egypt.

She looked back upon the great darkness, and upon the frogs, and flies, and botches; she beheld the waters turned into blood, the killing of the first-born of man and beast, the overthrow of Pharaoh and all his chariots in the midst of the sea. And therefore she answered the men, "Sing ye unto the Lord, for he hath triumphed gloriously; the horse and his rider hath he overthrown in the sea." (Exod. xv.)

Even so, let us cast back our eyes, and make a view of the church. Loth I am to speak of it; yet it is needful to say somewhat thereof, that we may rejoice in our deliverance. All things were done in a

strange tongue; the priest spake, and the people heard they knew not what; no man could say Amen to their prayers; the matters were such, that he might be reckoned happy which heard them not; they abused the church of God with vain fables. If you doubt hereof, read their legends and festivals; they know this, they acknowledge it. It might well be spoken of them which St. Hilary said, "The ears of the people are more holy than the hearts of the priests."

I beseech you, mark the form and fashion of their prayers. To the blessed Virgin they said, "Hail Mary, the Saviour and Comforter both of quick and dead." And again, "O glorious Virgin Mary, deliver us from all evil, and from the pains of hell." Again: "Shew that thou art a mother." They call her "Queen of heaven, lady of the world, the only hope of them that be in misery." It were tedious and unpleasant to recite the like their blasphemies. How did these men account of the cross and passion of Christ? what leave they to be wrought by the price of his blood?

To speak nothing of the multitude of their intercessors and patrons, of their false miracles, of their deceivable merits and works of supererogation; how foul a kind of idolatry was it, to worship the image with the self-same honour, wherewith they worship the thing itself, that is represented by the image! As if the thing itself be worshipped with godly honour, then must the image thereof be worshipped with godly honour.

The holy Scriptures, which are the light to direct our ways, and the power of God to save our souls, were hid under a bushel. Whosoever built himself and his faith upon them, was adjudged an heretic. Marriage was forbidden, and fornication suffered; they did not only devour widows' houses, but drew to themselves the fat of the land, by pretence of their

long prayers. I spare your chaste and godly ears, otherwise I were able to rehearse many their foul abuses and works of darkness.

Yet I will shew you one of their night-birds, lately hatched in the nest of all superstition. It is the *Agnus Dei*, here it is. It was lately consecrate by the holy father, and sent from Rome. They teach that by the virtue of their consecration (or rather conjuration) and blessing, these little things have power to defend the faithful from lightning and tempest.

O merciful God! what hath the Pope to do with the lightning, what can a piece of wax prevail to the staying of a tempest? The Lord of heaven and earth, it is he that sendeth forth lightnings, and raiseth up tempests: fire and hail, snow and vapours, stormy wind, execute his word. (Psa. cxlviii.) God will send forth his lightning, and consume them. "Behold (saith Jeremiah, chap. xxv.), the tempest of the Lord goeth forth in his wrath, and a violent whirlwind shall fall down upon the head of the wicked."

Oh! what a shepherd is he, that now in this light of the day thus mocketh and deceiveth the lambs and sheep of Christ! Is this to worship Christ in spirit and truth? is this the hope we have in Christ? is this the profession of the Gospel? is this the will of God, to commit our lives to so vile a cake?

Howbeit, there is no cause why any man should marvel hereat. For ignorance, which is the mother of error, by their own confession is become the mother of devotion; and these be the fruits and children of blindness and ignorance. I will speak nothing of that man from whence this gear cometh. Would God he were the man he would seem to be! But if the light itself be darkness, how great then is the darkness! Yet they say of him, his voice must be received as the voice of Peter, and the word of God himself must take authority and credit of him.

Thus hath he come between, like a cloud, and eclipsed the sun of God's glorious Gospel.

If we behold either their schools, or their churches, their choir, their pulpit, their prayers, their sacraments, their clergy, their people, their doctrine, or their life, we may truly say, as the Prophet said (Jer. xvi.), "Surely our fathers have inherited lies and vanity, wherein was no profit." We may truly say, The law hath perished from the priest, and counsel from the wise, and the word from the Prophet; the blind did lead the blind; they have turned silver into dross, and fed the people with chaff, instead of wholesome and good meats. Blessed be the name of God, who hath given us eyes to espy their dealings, and hath revealed unto us his word to guide our feet into the way of peace.

I know these things are defended boldly and obstinately; no marvel; for the Apostle saith (Rom. x.), "They have not all obeyed the Gospel." There have been, that have called the light darkness, and the darkness light. "If our Gospel be hid (saith he, 2 Cor. iv.), it is hid in them that perish, in whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds."

I will not here make answer to any particular, albeit occasion be offered, and happily it be looked for. Contentions and quarrels have no end. All doctrine shall be brought to trial, the day of the Lord shall reveal errors, and give witness for the truth. God will turn all to his glory. Whatsoever stir is raised up against the truth, it is but a smoke, it will fade and come to nothing.

There are this day many, to all appearance godly men of good life, of righteous dealing, of great zeal and conscience, but yet have not eyes to see these things. I protest in their behalf, as did Paul, they have a great zeal of God's glory; would God it were according to knowledge! We may say with

the Prophet (Psa. xxxvi.), "O Lord, thy judgments are like a great deep."

Who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who is of his counsel? God knoweth his time. He hath the key of David; he openeth, and no man shutteth; he is the Father of lights. We are in his hands, both we and all our counsels. God grant we may put off all fleshly affections, and put on Jesus Christ, and that all the earth may see his glory.

Now on the other side, let us consider how mercifully God hath dealt with us. He hath restored unto us the light of his Gospel, and hath taught us the secrets of his heavenly will. We hear him talk with us familiarly in the Scriptures as a father talketh with his child. Thereby he kindleth our faith, and strengtheneth our hope; thereby our hearts receive joy and comfort.

We have the holy ministration of the sacraments; we know the covenant of baptism; we know the covenant and mystery of the Lord's supper; we fall down together, and confess our life before God; we pray together, and understand what we pray. This was the order of the primitive church; this was the order of the Apostles of Christ. If we compare this with the former, we shall soon see the difference between light and darkness.

The kingdom of God now suffereth violence; the sound of the Gospel hath gone over all the world, and the whole world is awaked therewith, and draweth to it. The sun is risen, the day is open, God hath made his kingdom wonderful among us. It is now time, now is it time that we should arise from sleep, for now is our salvation near. Now it is in our mouth, we can speak of it. God grant it it may be nearer us, even in our hearts.

The night is past, God grant it be past for ever, that we be never again thrown into the darkness of

death; that the word of life, the truth of Christ, be never again taken from us. And it shall never be taken away, if we be thankful. Unkindness can never escape unplagued. Let us wake, let us wake, our sleep is deadly; let us pray God to awake us, he is able to raise the dead.

Our Saviour saith (John, v.), "The hour shall come when the dead shall hear the voice of the Son of God, and they that hear it shall live." Lazarus was dead, yet he heard the voice of Christ, and rose up again, and came abroad.

Let us put on Jesus Christ; let it appear upon us that we wear him; let us not be ashamed of his Gospel; it is the power of God to salvation. If we be ashamed of him and of his word, he will also be ashamed of us when he cometh in the glory of his Father with the holy angels.

Let us cast away the works of darkness, and all doctrines of superstition and ignorance; let us behold the troubles and miseries of other countries. Heaven and earth, our brethren, the care of our salvation, the Son of God himself, put us in mind, that it is now time. While we have time, let us do good, let us seek God while he may be found. The Lord waiteth when he may shew his mercies.

Let us turn unto him with an upright heart; so shall he turn to us; so shall we walk as the children of light; so shall we shine as the sun in the kingdom of our Father; so shall God be our God, and will abide with us for ever.

And thou, O most merciful Father, we beseech thee, for thy mercy's sake, continue thy grace and favour towards us; let the sun of thy Gospel never go down out of our hearts; let thy truth abide and be established among us for ever. Help our unbelief, increase our faith, give us hearts to consider the time

of our visitation. Apparel us thoroughly with Christ, that he may live in us, and so thy name may be glorified in us in the sight of all the world. Amen.

SERMON ON ROMANS, VI. 19.

Like as ye have given over your members to the service of uncleanness from one wickedness to another, even so now also give over your members to the service of righteousness, that ye may be holy, &c.

For the better understanding of these words, written by the Apostle St. Paul, we must consider, that there be two princes of contrary dispositions and natures, which have the rule and governance of this world; that is to wit, God and the devil; and that never was there man, since the first foundation of the world, but was in subjection and under obedience either of the one or of the other.

And as God is the Father of light, the God of all good men, so is the devil, the father and prince of this world, the lord of darkness, the king of this age, as saith St. Paul (Eph. vi.), and ruler of the wicked. And like as all good men fight under the banner of God their Lord, so all ungodly fight under the standard of the devil their prince; and even as the just man hath his reward of God, so hath the wicked man his stipend of the devil.

And thus be infidels, Turks, Jews, and all heathen people, under the power and dominion of the devil, under the standard of Satan, and therefore are they not able to think any good, to conceive one good thought, because they fight under his banner, because they have given over all their members to be

ordered of the devil, without any feeling of good, without any fear of God. And thus, as I said, do the Turks, thus do the infidels, thus do all heathen people at this day; and so did the Jews in the time of Paul (Eph. iv.): "They walked in the shadow of death."

But after that it pleased God the Father, by the coming of his dear Son Jesus Christ, to reveal himself unto them, to open and declare his Gospel among them, then began the people to renounce the devil, to forsake his law and service, and to betake themselves wholly to the governance of God. And therefore St. Paul, the further to encourage them thereunto, willeth them in this Epistle of his, "That like as beforetime they gave over their members to the service of uncleanness, from one wickedness to another, so should they now give over the same their members to the service of righteousness."

For to this end was Christ born into this world; to this end lived he here among us; to this end preached he, and taught the people God's holy word, that we, by his example, and the doctrine of his Gospel, should live an upright and holy life. And therefore Zechariah, that holy Prophet, being filled with the Holy Ghost, prophesied and said, before Christ's birth, that Christ should for this cause appear in this world, "that we, being by him delivered from the fear of our enemies, might serve him in pureness and holiness all the days of our life." (Luke, i.)

And St. Paul likewise saith (Eph. v.), "Ye were in darkness, but now ye are light; walk therefore as becometh the children of light." Therefore are we delivered from the power of darkness, saith St. Paul, that we should walk in the light, and have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness. And so in like (1 Thess. iv.), "God hath not called

us to uncleanness, but to holiness and sanctity of life. Thus hath he called us, that we, not only in body but in soul, should be pure and unspotted."

And therefore St. Paul unto the Romans, "Know you not (saith he, chap. vi.), that all we which are baptized into Jesus Christ, are baptized into his death? Therefore are we buried with him by baptism into death, that like as Christ was raised up from the dead, even so also should we walk in a new life." And for this cause this same Paul likewise saith (Rom. xii.), "Shew yourselves as quick and lively members." And in another place, "Give over your bodies for a sacrifice, holy and acceptable before God." And also (1 Cor. iii.), "Know you not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you?"

These and such other many lessons hath St. Paul given us to call us unto pureness and holiness of life. Let us therefore (good brethren) live holily. Consider that God hath not called you to uncleanness, but to purity of life; consider, if ye be baptized with Christ into death, you must also walk with him in a new life; let our bodies be a sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God; shew yourselves lively members of Christ, and the temple of the Holy Ghost. St. Paul saith (1 Thess. iv.), "God hath called us, God hath appointed us to live in soberness, to live in pureness, to live in holiness;" and this not in one part of our bodies, not in one part of our souls, but in our whole bodies, in our whole souls.

For Christ our Saviour suffered not his body to be crucified in one part; "but even from the sole of the foot to the crown of his head" (Matt. xxvii.) was he beaten, rent, and torn, and miserably tormented in his whole body; his body was scourged with whips, his head pricked with thorns, his hands and feet nailed to the cross, his side pierced with a sharp

spear. For Christ, speaking of himself, saith (Psa. xxii.), "They have digged my hands and my feet, they have made holes through them."

And thus, since Christ suffered all his whole body to be tormented for us, since he suffered all his members to be crucified for our sakes, let us apply ourselves and all our members to serve and please him in holiness and upright living all the days of our lives. And therefore saith St. Paul here, "Ye have now betaken yourselves unto Christ, therefore let your conversation be according, live as becometh the servants of Christ; for even as before this time ye gave over your members to uncleanness, from one wickedness to another, so now give over your members to the service of righteousness."

And such (good brethren) was the life of all Christian men in the beginning of God's church; such was, I say, their life and living; they subdued their flesh, they mortified their members, and gave them over wholly unto Christ, and so made them members unto righteousness.

When Christ walked here on this earth, and was conversant in our flesh, and this nature of ours, at what time he entered into the house of Zaccheus, who was a ruler of the publicans, and desired to see Jesus; by and by Zaccheus was turned into a new man, and by and by he stood forth, and said unto the Lord (Luke, xix.), "Behold, Lord, the half of my goods I give unto the poor; and if I have defrauded any man, I restore him fourfold."

Thus was he only by the presence of Christ turned into a new man; thus he, of an uncircumcised publican, was made the child of Abraham, and of a sinful and wretched creature, he became forthwith a Christian. And so in like, when Christ had but once called unto Matthew, and bade him follow him, immediately he left the toll-gathering, he left the

receipt of the custom, he left his own proper gain and profit, and ran after Christ. Of such force was the presence of Christ unto Zaccheus, of such power was the commandment of Christ with Matthew the toll-gatherer.

St. Augustine, a little before he returned unto Christ, and embraced his truth, he feared, he trembled, and always stood in doubt; but so soon as Christ had once inspired him with his holy Spirit, and revealed his truth unto him, forthwith, without any further doubt or delay, he renounced his errors, and became a perfect Christian.

There was once a Christian man, whose name was Eusebius, and being demanded what he was, answered, a Christian; being asked what countryman, said, a Christian; who was his father, a Christian; where he dwelt, a Christian; and so to each other demand, he answered, a Christian; as who would say, Whatsoever I be, I am nothing else but a Christian.

In the beginning of God's church, all good men were called Christian men; and yet was it not one thing to be a Christian and a good man. The Christian men, for that they considered they were called to salvation, to redemption by the death of Christ, and to the inheritance of heaven, they had their delight and only felicity in heavenly things; they esteemed not the vain pleasures of this world; and because they thus carried Christ in their bodies, because they had their members crucified unto Christ, therefore were they called Christians.

And so should we do, good brethren; so should we consider our redemption, so should we mortify our members; and renouncing the vain delights of this world, we should fix our eyes, our minds, and all our doings, on heavenly things alone. St. Cyprian saith, The people come to learn the Gospel, to hear

the word of God; and wherefore? that they might work according unto the Gospel, that they might bring forth fruits worthy the word of God, that they may thus do, therefore they hear God's word, saith St. Cyprian.

And thus if we do not, whatever we brag of our redemption, whatever we brag of our profession, whatever we boast of the knowledge of God's Gospel, it is to no end, it is not to effect or purpose.

And therefore, if we have heretofore time given over our members unto uncleanness, from one wickedness unto another, now let us give over the same our members unto the service of righteousness. For saith St. Paul, What profit, what fruit had ye at that time in those things, whereof ye are now ashamed? For the end of such things is death.

It is the part of a wise man, and the office of a discreet man, in such good order to dispose all his business, and to bring all his doings to so good end, that he take no foil, nor have any shame therefor. Ye have committed sin, saith St. Paul, ye have given over your members, from one wickedness to another, and now ye be ashamed, now are ye sorry for those your misdoings; but what profit then had ye of those things whereof you are now ashamed?

This is an horror, and the greatest horror that may be, that no man can commit sin without a great burden of conscience, without a great torment and disquietness of mind. (Matt. xxvii.) Judas, when he had betrayed his master Christ, by and by his conscience accused himself, and was so great a burden to him, that, to be delivered and eased thereof, he went immediately and hanged himself.

When Cain had slain his own brother, and committed that execrable murder, God said unto him (Gen. ix.), "Why dost thou lour?" Such a thing is sin, that whosoever committeth it, it will forth-

with appear in his face; it will appear, and shew in his countenance. But happy is that man that soonest cometh to repentance; happy is he that is soonest sorry for his sins and misdoings.

Adam, so soon as he had eaten of the forbidden fruit, and so transgressed the commandment of God, God called unto him, and said (Gen. iii.), "Adam, where art thou?" He answered, "I am fled away, Lord, I hide myself." And why fled he away? why hid he himself from the sight of God? Because he was ashamed. The prodigal son spoken of in the Gospel, after he had riotously consumed his whole substance, and so brought to extreme poverty, he returned again, came home to his father, fell down before his feet, and said "O father, I have sinned against heaven and against thee." (Luke, xv.) And why said he thus? Because he was ashamed.

The people in the time of Daniel the Prophet, when they saw their own wickedness, and repented them thereof, cried out, and said (Dan. ix.), "Shame is come upon us, shame and confusion is this day fallen upon us." David the Prophet, when he had by tyranny caused his faithful and trusty servant Uriah to be slain, thereby to have his pleasure of Bathsheba his wife; and after he had seen his own folly, cried out unto God, saying (Psa. li.), "Have mercy upon me, O Lord, because I know mine iniquities." And why said he thus? Because he was ashamed. Jeremiah said, "After thou hadst, O Lord, shewed me mine offences, I was ashamed."

Thus, good brethren, a wicked conscience evermore beareth shame about with it, evermore carrieth a most heavy burden, evermore is pricked and tormented, and never at quiet. And though there be some men so given over unto sin, that they feel no shame in this life, that are not moved in their conscience in this world, yet may they assure themselves

they shall feel bitter torments in the world to come, and eternal shame that never shall have end. And if there be any that will now say, as the people in the time of Daniel did, Whatsoever we do, God will not look unto us, he regardeth not our doings, whether we do good or evil, God hath no respect unto it, and so be nothing moved in their conscience for their sinful living; when they shall be cast into utter darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, then shall their conscience be moved with repentance, then shall they be ashamed, but then all too late.

Remember the glutton, the rich glutton, that in his lifetime had nothing but pleasure, never felt adversity, nor ever was pricked in conscience for his misliving, after he fell into hell-fire, was there tormented, and the worm of his conscience began to gnaw him; then he cried out unto Abraham, then he was ashamed, but then it was too late. (Luke, xvi.).

And thus shall the wicked people do at the last day, the wicked people, I say, that shall then be living, and see the great terror of that day (Luke, xxiii.): "They shall say unto the hills, Fall upon us; unto the mountains, Come cover us;" then shall their own wicked conscience accuse them, then shall they be ashamed, but then too late.

Now, good brethren, what profit had all these of their own sinfulness? what profit and commodity had they of all their wickedness? What profit had Adam, by transgressing the commandment of God? What profit had Cain for murdering his brother? What profit won the prodigal son, by mis-spending of his father's goods? What profit had the people in the time of Daniel for their misliving?

What profit had David by killing of Uriah? What profit had the rich glutton that lived in such pleasure?

What profit, I say, had all these of their own wickedness? No profit, no commodity, no pleasure at all, nothing else but shame and confusion.

Even so here St. Paul; "What profit (said he) had ye then of all those things, of which ye are now ashamed?" It appears well ye have gotten nothing but displeasure, nothing but shame and confusion. For the end of such things is death.

And this that is well spoken of honesty of life, this that is well applied to honest conversation, may well be spoken and applied to religion. For it behoveth a man so to worship God, that he have no shame, no confusion therefor.

But, alas! from the beginning, even from the first creation of man, there have been good, there have been bad: some there have been, that, forsaking the living God, have worshipped their own devices: some, instead of God, have worshipped stocks and stones; some have sacrificed to the sun and moon, and made them their gods, and this hath been from the beginning.

And therefore Jeremiah writeth, that the people in his time said, "We will do sacrifice, and offer oblations unto the queen of heaven; for so (said they) our fathers did, and did prosper in their doings." Some said unto the stone, Thou art our father, and to a stock, Thou art our God, arise and save us. (Jer. xliv. 2.)

And this hath been even from the beginning. The Babylonians worshipped Bel their god, which was but a block: they worshipped also a dragon, which they called their living God, and this did they in good sooth. The Jews made a golden calf, and fell down before the same, and worshipped it, and said, "These are thy gods, O Israel;" these are they that brought thee out of the land of Egypt, and delivered thee.

We read also, that they worshipped a brazen serpent, and burnt incense and sacrifice unto it. And

as they had these vain idols for their gods, so likewise had they a number of superstitious ceremonies of their own devising, which here were too long to be spoken of. And all this did they of blindness, thinking they had done well, meaning nothing but good therein.

But afterwards, when it pleased God to shew them their own blindness, to shew them their folly, to shew them the wickedness they walked in, then were they ashamed of their doings; then (I say) they were ashamed and confounded. And therefore, said Jeremiah the Prophet, "Truly our forefathers followed after lies."

The Gentiles, when they perceived that the sun and moon, their chief gods, were indeed no gods, and able to do them no pleasure, then were they ashamed, when the people of Babylon saw and understood their own folly, in worshipping their god Bel and their dragon, that they were not such as they took them to be; then they were ashamed. And so in like, when the Jews saw before their eyes their golden calf molten, and their brazen serpent broken and ground into powder; then were they ashamed; then were they sorry and ashamed of their former doings.

Thus saith the Prophet Isaiah, or rather God by the mouth of his Prophet, "Why offer ye so many sacrifices unto me? Offer me no more oblations; I abhor your incense; I may not away with your new moons and sabbaths; I am troubled with them, I am weary of them: who looketh for these things, who commandeth you so to do?" Isaiah, in another place also, "Why do ye lay out your money for the thing that feedeth not, and spend your labour about the thing that satisfieth not?"

And so, likewise, in another place, the same Prophet saith, "They make my people forget my name

for their own traditions." He saith also, "They weave the spider's web; they do nothing else but breed the cockatrice eggs, and weave the spider's web," saith he. "My people," saith God, by his Prophet Jeremiah, "have forsaken me, their Lord, and digged themselves pits, that can hold no water."

Isaiah calleth man's invention "dross;" Jeremiah calleth it "chaff;" Malachi, "very man's dung;" Zechariah, "God's curse." Christ himself calleth it, "the leaven of the Pharisees." He calleth it also "utter darkness." Thus it pleased God to describe unto us man's invention, to call it cobwebs, to call it filth, to call it dross and chaff, man's dung, God's curse, the leaven of the Pharisees, and utter darkness. And this doth he for none other purpose, than only to make his people ashamed of their own inventions, ashamed of their own devices.

Paul, notwithstanding he was a great learned man, skilful in the laws and customs among the Jews, brought up at the feet of Gamaliel; yet when he knew Christ, when he was filled with the Holy Ghost, and embraced God's gospel, he was ashamed of all he had learned before; he was ashamed of his own ignorance.

St. Thomas, who would not believe Christ to be risen from death, when he felt Christ's side, and had put his finger into his wound, then he was ashamed, then he was sorry for his unbelief. The Jews, when they perceived their own folly and ignorance, said, "O men and brethren, what shall we do?" (Acts, ii.) The Ephesians, when St. Paul had preached unto them, and they received the doctrine of Christ, by and by, such as used curious crafts, came and brought their books of enchantment, their books of witchcraft, and burnt them; cast them into the fire, and burnt them, so much were they ashamed of their own folly.

And so St. Paul; "When I was a child I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I imagined as a child;

but as soon as I was a man, I left all childishness. Now I am become a man, and therefore I am now ashamed of my childishness." (1 Cor. xiii.)

Thus might the Prophets have said to the Gentiles, What profit had you of your gods, the sun and the moon? What profit had you of them, whereof ye are now ashamed? So might Moses have said to the children of Israel, What profit had ye in this golden calf? So Hezekiah, What profit had ye in this brazen serpent, of which ye are now ashamed? Even thus Isaiah might likewise have said, What profit had ye in your calends, and new moons, in your holy days and sacrifices?

And so other the Prophets might well have said, What profit had ye in your dreams, in your spider cobs, in your dross, in your chaff? What commodity had ye of all these things? Alas! ye are now ashamed of them, and therefore ye had no profit of them; ye had no pleasure by them; they brought you no commodity; they brought you only shame and confusion.

Thus, good brethren, let us weigh and consider what profit we had in times past of those things, of which we are now ashamed. And let us consider how much we are beholden to God, that now we may see and know our own folly and ignorance, and so be ashamed.

But herein, good brethren, there needs not many words, for there is no man so blind, but may well see, no man so deaf, but may well hear, no man so dull, but may well perceive and understand the great error, the great blindness, the great darkness, that we have been in.

And therefore let us all now give God thanks that he hath restored his light unto us, and taken that great error and darkness from us. Loth I am here to speak of those things whereof we may be ashamed;

loth and sorry I am to repeat, that unto you whereof we are now ashamed; but this place now requireth the same; this time and place willeth me somewhat to speak thereof.

The time hath been, that we have put our trust in pardons, in bulls of the Pope's, in vain scrolls and writings of his; yea, and in them we have had greater hope and affiance than in the death of Christ, or merits of his passion. We have fallen down before images, before stocks and stones, such as had eyes, and saw not; ears, and heard not: before them we prayed; before them we kneeled, and stuck up candles. But now we are ashamed of them; we all are, I think, now sorry and ashamed of this our folly; but what profit had we then of all these things?

Sometimes we prayed in a strange tongue, in a tongue that we understood not; we prayed contrary to the use that was in the Patriarchs' times, in the Prophets' times, in the Apostles' times; but then what profit had we of those prayers whereof we are now ashamed? We have seen lawful marriage forbidden, and men's lawful wives taken from them, and yet the use of a concubine granted, as though God were displeased with marriage, and pleased with whoredom: but what profit had ye then of that thing of which ye now are ashamed?

We had baptism, but we understood not the principles of our faith; and even as the Prophet spake of his time (Hosea, iv.), "The priest is become like the people;" so might we well have said of our own time, Blind were they both, and therefore both fell into the dike. This we are now ashamed of; but what profit had we then thereby? "The Prophets (said Jeremiah, chap. ix.) teach falsely, and the priests follow them, and my people hath pleasure therein."

And lo, even this same which the Prophet Jeremiah said, the priests and Prophets did, in his time, we

ourselves have seen done in our days, and now we are ashamed thereof, but what profit had we then by it? We had the sacrament of Christ's body, but we knew not why Christ instituted the same; we knew not why Christ left us that sacrament; we did all things contrary to Christ's institution.

Christ ordained a communion; but we had a private mass: Christ ordained that the whole people should receive in both kinds; but we ministered it under one kind alone. Christ, when he instituted this sacrament, spake in the common tongue, that all might understand him; but we, contrary to Christ, contrary to the Apostles, contrary to the primitive church, consecrated the same in an unknown tongue, that no man might understand us. And hereof are we now ashamed; but what profit had we then thereby?

We have known this to be taught, that the bread in the sacrament was turned into the very body and blood of Christ our Saviour: this we all know, and do yet remember. But Christ, when he said the sacrament should be turned, meant not that the bread should be turned into his body, but that we which receive the same should be turned; that we, I say, should be turned, and made one body with him.

This was the meaning; this, I say, was the meaning of our Saviour Christ. And therefore St. Paul; "The bread which we break is the participation of the body and blood of Christ. For we many are one bread, and one body, inasmuch as we all are partakers of one bread." (1 Cor. x.) Christ himself said, "I will drink no more of the liquor of the vine." (Matt. xiv.) Christ, I say, after the consecration, said he would not drink any more of the liquor of the vine. The blood of Christ is not wine; it is not the liquor of the vine.

St. Augustine saith plainly, "That which you see

on the table is bread." Theodoretus also: "The substance and nature of the bread is not changed," saith he. Gelasius likewise, whom peradventure ye will the more credit, because he was sometime bishop of Rome, saith, "There leaveth not to be the substance of bread." The nature of the bread remaineth in the sacrament. Chrysostom also: "The substance of the bread is not altered."

I could say more; but this is, for this time, enough; this only, I trust, amongst a number of other, shall be now sufficient to persuade you the truth herein. You see here, that St. Augustine, Theodoretus, Gelasius, and St. Chrysostom, do all affirm and herein agree, that the substance or nature of the bread, after the consecration, is not changed.

Let us therefore, good brethren, notwithstanding we have been otherwise taught; let us, I say, believe these holy doctors; let us credit them; they will not mock us; they will not deceive nor beguile us. But this other doctrine, this doctrine of transubstantiation, was of late devised, not past three hundred years ago, in the council of Lateran. And there, upon this new device of theirs, they made a great solemn and festival day, and called it *Corpus Christi* day. And now we are ashamed of this; but then what commodity, what profit had we thereof?

We found out of ourselves a new sacrifice, the sacrifice (I mean) of the mass, as though the death of Christ had not been a sacrifice sufficient; as though Christ's blood had not, once for all, washed away our iniquities; as though Christ had not said, "I have paid the ransom for your sins." It were an infinite labour to repeat unto you particularly, all the abuses of late days used in the church of Christ; you yourselves can well remember them; I need not here to rehearse them unto you. But then what profit had ye of all such things of which you are now ashamed?

But some men there be peradventure, that will not be ashamed of these abuses, but always uphold and maintain the same; and such, if there be any, are like them whom Jeremiah prophesied of, saying, "Thou hast taken an harlot's countenance; thou hast gotten thee a whore's forehead, and canst not be ashamed; they are like them also whom Isaiah the Prophet speaketh of, and saith, "Malice hath made you blind: you bark against the truth." This is the sin that never will be forgiven; this is so great an offence, that it will never be pardoned.

Therefore let us, to whom God hath given eyes to see, ears to hear, and hearts of understanding; let us, I say, consider that it is no shame to confess our errors, to acknowledge our blindness; but shame it is to continue in error; too much shame it is to remain still in blindness; and such as will not be ashamed of their evil, but laugh at, and scorn others that are sorry and ashamed, may well be likened unto them whom St. Paul, writing to the Ephesians, speaketh of, saying, "They being past repentance, have given themselves over unto wantonness, to work all manner of uncleanness, even with greediness."

And such are given over "unto a lewd mind." Such David the Prophet speaketh of, saying, "They cast their eyes down to the ground." For such as wilfully offend, and wittingly cast away themselves, there is no salvation. Paul saith (Rom. vi.), "Their end is death; their end is only destruction." This is the same that St. John speaketh of, which neither "shall be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come."

Wherefore were they cast into hell, that now lie therein? For what cause continue they in those endless torments? Because they would not acknowledge their errors; because they would not be ashamed of their own folly.

Wherefore are there in hell-fire unquenchable torments, such as cannot be thought, utter darkness and eternal death, but only to punish such as wilfully live in wickedness; to plague them that will not be ashamed of their sins and offences? "They shall be cast into utter darkness, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth, into fire that never shall be quenched, where the worm of the conscience never dieth." (Mark, ix.)

If we delight in covetousness, in adultery, in fornication, and filthy living, the end, let us say, is death: the end thereof is none other than eternal death. The Prophet David said (Psal. xv.), O Lord, who shall dwell in thy tabernacle, or who shall rest upon thy holy hill? Even he that leadeth an uncorrupt life, that doth the thing which is right, and speaketh the truth from his heart; he that hath not sworn and deceived his neighbour." But, O merciful God, who walketh now innocently? who leadeth an uncorrupt life? who doth the thing that is right? who speaketh truth from his heart? What man is there that hath not sworn and deceived his neighbour?

Jeremiah, speaking of the people in his time, saith, "They are ashamed, nay, they are not ashamed." And even so may we of our days well say, The people are not ashamed; they are nothing sorry nor ashamed of their evil living. These St. Paul speaketh of writing unto the Philippians: "I speak with tears," saith he; "they are the enemies of Christ's cross; their end is damnation; their glory shall be turned into shame." (Phil. iii.)

And shall we then live thus? shall we thus die? shall we thus end our lives? shall we thus appear at the latter day, and not be ashamed? Shall adulterers, fornicators, whoremongers, covetous persons, come and stand before the judgment-seat of God, before the throne of his majesty, and not be ashamed? Is this the marriage-garment that we should be clad

with? Are we those that are called to the feast by the bridegroom? Are we Christ's brethren, and heirs of the kingdom of God? No. "The wicked shall not arise in judgment," saith the Prophet David; "the ungodly shall not be able to stand in the judgment, neither the sinners in the congregation of the righteous." (Psal. i.)

Wo be unto them that run from God with a desperate mind; wo be unto them that wilfully forsake and fly from him. St. Gregory saith, "One sin linketh another, as one link of a chain holdeth the other." It is an horrible thing to turn from God; it is a terrible thing to fly from him; for if we turn from God, whither shall we go? If we fly from him, whither shall we run? Our own conscience, though we hide ourselves never so close, shall be as a thousand witnesses against us; our own conscience shall utter and bewray us. St. Augustine saith, "If we do not indeed repent, we feign that we do repent; we only feign, saith he, that we do repent, and so we mock with God."

But God will not be mocked of us; he will not be deluded by us; but we shall be ashamed and confounded when we appear before God; when we appear, I say, before the judgment-seat of God. But then what profit shall we have of that we are ashamed? what commodity shall we then have of that whereof we are now ashamed? Let us consider, that we are flesh of God's flesh, bones of his bones, and members of his members.

And therefore let us give over our whole bodies, let us give over all our members; let us give over our eyes, our ears, our tongues, our hearts, unto the homage and service of God. So shall we have profit of Christ our Saviour; so shall we have profit of his death and passion, and so shall Christ say unto us, "Come ye blessed of my Father, and inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the beginning of the world." Amen.

EXTRACTS FROM OTHER SERMONS OF BISHOP JEWELL.

ON CHRISTIAN LOVE.

(Page 239.)

THESE words, "God is a righteous Judge, &c." (Psa. vii. 11, 12, 13), David the Prophet (being persecuted of his enemies, and beset round about of them) spake unto Saul, the proud king, and his adherents and soldiers, putting them in remembrance how they had provoked and justly deserved the vengeance of God, for persecuting of his innocent soul.

And even as this Prophet David spake and pronounced these words unto Saul and his wicked company, to reduce unto their memory the power of God, and the punishment that then hanged over their heads; so may we likewise well use the same in these our days, first, to bring us in remembrance that God is a righteous Judge, and then to consider how we daily provoke and deserve his just wrath, and so at the least, for fear of punishment, to be sorry for our misdeeds, and return unto him; for if we will not be converted, "he hath whet his sword, he hath bent his bow, prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrows to destroy."

But before we come unto God, good brethren, before we return unto him, we must one come unto another, we must one turn to another; before we be reconciled to Christ, we must be reconciled unto our neighbour; before we be at one with God, we must be at one with our Christian brother.

This is the order that God looketh we should observe; this is that rule which Christ commandeth us to keep: "Forgive, and thou shalt be forgiven."

(Luke, vi.) "If thou shalt forgive other men their offences towards thee, then shall thy sins also be forgiven." (Matt. xviii.) Then shall God pardon thee thine offences, when thou shalt pardon thy brother that he hath offended thee; then, I say, shall God forgive thee, and not before. And again (Matt. v.), "Unless ye forgive other men their trespasses, your own sins shall not be released," saith Christ.

Remember, good brethren, remember and mark well these words: Christ is the author, Christ is the speaker, Christ is the commander hereof. And so our Christ, our Saviour, in another place of his Gospel; "When thou offerest thy gift at the altar (saith he), and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thine offering before the altar, and go thy way, first, and reconcile thyself to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift."

God is contented his honour be deferred; he is contented to tarry for his sacrifice, till thou art agreed with thy brother, till thou art at one with him; and when thou hast thus done, then come, and there offer thy sacrifice. This is the ground of the atonement between God and us; this is the token that Christ is reconciled unto us, if we be at one with our neighbour, if we be reconciled to our Christian brother. For if we shall hate our brethren, whom we see; if we shall be at debate with our neighbours, being daily conversant with us; how can we love God, whom we see not; how can we agree with Christ, with whom we are not conversant? But to declare further unto you that God accepteth not our sacrifices, that he regardeth not our petitions, that he is not pleased with our prayers, unless we be at one, and pleased with our brethren, he crieth out by Isaiah his Prophet, and saith, "When you shall call upon me, I will not hear you; though ye make many

prayers, yet hear I nothing at all," saith God. And wherefore? "Because your hands are full of blood."

It is written in Genesis, that God would not look upon Cain and his offering, that he would have no regard to his sacrifice. And wherefore? "Because his heart was full of malice." Solomon saith, "The prayer of the wicked is abominable, the sinful man's prayer is abominable in the sight of God." David also (Psa. cix.), "Let their prayers be as a sin, let their prayer be turned into sin," saith he.

O miserable man thou art, if thou be not in charity; wretched and too sinful thou art, if thou be not in love and unity; thy prayer is abominable, yea, thy prayer is no prayer, thy prayer is sin. Thou prayest to be forgiven, but thou thyself wilt not forgive; this is enough to condemn thee. For our religion is none other but a brotherhood, knit together in the love of God; our profession is none other than charity, and brotherly love towards all men, in our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ.

God is the God of love; Christ is the prince of peace; his Gospel is the Gospel of peace, and we that are God's servants, ought to live in godly love; we that are Christ's brethren ought to live in brotherly peace. We are all baptized in one water, whereby we should have in remembrance, that we should in love live as one together. These and such other are, or may be, sufficient to bring us in remembrance of brotherly love, of faithful amity, and unfeigned concord, if we of ourselves were not too forgetful.

Oh, how oft said Christ to his disciples, "I give you my peace, my peace I leave unto you." (John, xiii. xiv.) By this cognizance, and none other, shall men know you to be my disciples, saith Christ, if ye love together, if ye have love one to another. He saith also, "A new commandment give I you, that you love together, as I have loved you."

What a zealous fire, what an earnest love, had

Christ, when he prayed and said, "O Father, cause that these be one, as thou and I are one, that, like as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us." (John, xvii.) Because ye be few, said Christ to his disciples, and in the midst of your enemies, live you in concord and peace one with another, one bear with another, and all you hold together.

St. Paul saith that "he which loveth his brother, hath fulfilled the whole law." (Rom. xiii.) "Let not the sun go down on thy wrath," saith Paul. (Eph. iv.) And again (Rom. xii.), "Revenge not, but give place unto displeasure." Wreak not yourselves, but give room to the wrath of God.

David, when he was in most extreme persecution, and his enemies laid daily wait for his life, seeking his destruction, even then fell he to most earnest prayer; he sought not to be revenged, but he made his prayer unto God, and said, "O Lord, they speak evil of me, they revile me, they call me traitor, they call me all that naught is; but I have none other help but to pray unto thee; my only succour is to fly unto thee." (Psal. cviii.)

Thus did that holy Prophet David, and so did the Christians in the beginning of Christ's church. For Tertullian, an old and holy father, saith, "They called themselves brethren (saith he), and one would not stick to die for another." Oh! what a charity, what a love, what a brotherly affection was this among Christians, in the beginning of God's church! St. Stephen, when he was stoned, all his bones crushed, and burst in pieces, and his soul ready to leave his body; even then he prayed for his tormentors, even then he cried out unto God, and said, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." (Acts, vii.)

So that holy father Nazianzen, when the hangman, that most cruelly had tormented him, desired

pardon of him, he meekly answered, "He that hath forgiven me, the same forgive thee. God hath pardoned me, and I beseech him that he will in like pardon thee."

Even so likewise Christ, when he hanged on the cross, when his hands and feet were nailed to the tree, and he in the midst of all his woe, even then he prayed for his persecutors, then he desired his Father to pardon them, and said, "Father, forgive them, for they wot not what they do." (Luke, xxiii.)

This is an example for us to follow. Thus ought we to do, as in the beginning of Christ's church the Christians did who called themselves brethren, and one would die for another. Thus ought we to say, as St. Stephen said, "Lord, lay not this sin to their charge." Thus should we do, as that holy father Nazianzen did, and say, "He that hath forgiven me, the same forgive thee."

And lastly, so ought we to pray for our enemies, as Christ did for his persecutors, and say, "Father, forgive them, they wot not what they do." Thus ought we to do, if we mind to live according to our profession, and if we will be Christians, as we are called Christians. We read (Acts, iv.), that in the beginning and first spring of God's church, the whole congregation "had one thought, one mind, one heart." Such a love, such a charity, such a Christian conformity was among them.

And in commendation of Christian charity, and brotherly love one with another, the Prophet David said (Psa. cxxxiii.), "Behold, how good and joyful a thing it is, brethren, to dwell together in unity!" He esteemed love to be so great a jewel, he thought concord and unity a thing of so great price, that he could not speak too much good of it; and therefore he said, "It was like the ointment that ran unto Aaron's beard, and like the dew of Hermon which

fell upon the hill of Sion, where the Lord promised his blessing and life for evermore."

But, O merciful God! unto what times hast thou reserved us? where is now the peace given, the love left by our Saviour Jesus Christ? where is that charity that should always remain among Christians? Now is the time, even now (good brethren) are the days come, which Christ himself prophesied should come, saying (Matt. xxiv.), "The time shall be that iniquity shall have the upper hand, and the love of many shall abate."

Christ said that such a time should come, and even now that time and season is come upon us. So likewise St. Paul, the Apostle of Christ, said (2 Tim. iii.), "In the last days there shall come perilous times; there shall be men which shall love themselves, covetous, boasters, proud, cursed speakers, and such as shall be despisers of them that are good."

Hosea the Prophet saith (chap. iv.), "There is no truth, no faithfulness in the whole world;" there is no mercy, no knowledge of God in the land; but swearing, lying, manslaughter, theft, and adultery. Jeremiah also, the Prophet of God, saith (chap. ix.), "One brother shall hunt and persecute another unto death;" no man may safely trust his own brother, for one brother undermineth another, and one neighbour beguileth another.

And all this do we now see; we, I say, in these our days, do see and behold all this. We see now that which Nazianzen, that old holy father, speaketh of. "The members of Christ are at strife and variance among themselves," saith he; and even those members that Christ died for, those members, I say, that Christ's blood redeemed, those members we now see at debate, and fighting together.

I speak but in generality; I speak not now in particularity; I do not here repeat to your memories our

particular offences and great crimes, which to consider, would cause any honest heart to be sorry; yea, which to remember, would enforce the stony heart to bleed; I do not now rehearse unto you by name any such our offences. Oh! rip up your consciences, descend into your own hearts, see whether iniquity doth not abound; see whether there be not in these our days, men, such as are lovers of themselves; see whether there be any truth, any fidelity upon the earth; see whether one brother doth not hunt and persecute another unto death; and lastly, see whether the very members of Christ are not now at debate, and fighting together.

David, when he considered the great oppression, tyranny, and persecution used against the faithful in his time, cried out, and said (Psa. xii.), "O save me, Lord, for there is not one saint more, very few faithful are there among the children of men. Every man telleth lies to his neighbour; they do but flatter with their lips, and dissemble in their heart." Jeremiah the Prophet, when he saw the whole multitude of the people in his days forsake God, and run after their own affections, every man whither his lust led him, he cried out, and said, "Oh! who will give my head water enough, and a well of tears for mine eyes, that I may bewail the iniquity of this people?"

And even like as David in his time, so may the just man say now, "O Lord, help, because there is no holy man left." Like as Jeremiah, so may the virtuous bewail now the wickedness of these our days, and say, "Oh! who shall pour water into my head, and give a fountain of tears unto mine eyes, that I may bewail the wickedness of this people?"

O Christ, where is now thy new commandment, where is now thy cognizance, thy badge whereby thy servants are known? where is that peace which thou leftest to thy disciples? where is now that one

heart, that one mind, that one thought, that was in the congregation in the beginning of thy church? But what need I to speak? what need I to say any thing, if they would hear thee, Lord, if they would hear thy word and Gospel?

O Lord, where is thy strength become? where is that power, that force of thy word, which "was able to divide the marrow from the bone?" What is now become of that marvellous might of thy word? Thy word, O Lord, is one, thy Gospel is the self-same and one; but the hearts of men, the hearts of thy people, are not one.

But this cometh to pass for my sins; this I see well is wrought by thee, O Lord, for mine own sins and offences; for other poor men preach thy Gospel, other poor men do teach and instruct thy people with thy holy word, and by and by the people mourn, by and by they are sorry for their sins, they repent them of their wickedness, and turn unto thee. And I speak as they do; I preach the same Gospel, the same word of thine as they do; and yet I see no amendment; I do not see any one won unto thee through my teaching. And therefore my sin is the cause, mine own sin, and nothing else, is the cause hereof; thou hast not thought me a man worthy, by whom any one lost sheep should be converted, and brought home unto thee.

But, O thou, my brother, that here standest like an idol, thou hast eyes to see, and ears to hear, seest thou not that God hath his sword whet, his bow bent, his arrows ready to destroy? hearest thou not how he calleth thee to repentance? Thou dost see and hear this, and yet thou increasest sin upon sin, and so heapest up anger and displeasure against the day of wrath. I call God to witness, I have uttered unto you God's truth, I have preached among you his holy Gospel, I have revealed unto you his divine

word, so that none of you all can excuse yourselves by ignorance.

But take you heed to yourselves, take good heed, I say, my brethren, and mark well what St. Paul saith (Heb. x.), "They which wilfully sin, after they have once received the knowledge of the truth, are destitute of all mercy; there remaineth unto them no more sacrifice for their sins, but a fearful looking of judgment and violent fire, which shall consume the adversaries." And this is it that the Apostle saith, to be cast into a reprobate sense.

This is the sin that St. John maketh mention of, saying, "There is a sin against the Holy Ghost, which shall never be forgiven in this world, nor in the world to come." And for this great sin, for this horrible wickedness, good people, God hath drawn out his sword, for this cause hath he bent his bow, and prepared his arrows to destroy.

Therefore, good brethren, let us lay aside all contention, all strife and debate, and let us look up unto heaven; let us cast our eyes thither, where is no rancour, no discord, no strife, no debate; let us fix our eyes, our hearts, and our whole minds on Jesus Christ; on him, I say, who hanging on the cross, prayed for his persecutors, and said, "O Father, forgive them, they wot not what they do." Let us imagine that we now behold him, and that he now spreadeth out his arms unto us, and saith, O thou sinful man, that slumberest in thy sins, and sleepest in thine own wickedness, awake; now is it time for thee to awake out of thy slumber, and arise from thy heavy sleep: remember, thou art a Christian man, consider thou art a limb of my limbs, a member of my body, the child of God, and coheir of my Father's kingdom.

You children of men, how long will you dwell in your old wickedness? how long will ye live in hatred one with another? how long will ye continue in ran-

cour and strife? Shall I so forgive you as you forgive your neighbours? and shall I so pardon you your sins, as you pardon your brethren their offences? Oh! I forgave thee thy great debt, and wilt not thou forgive thy brother that little wherein he hath offended thee? I have paid his debt, I have paid the ransom for his trespass; if my blood be a sufficient ransom for the same, for that blood's sake of mine forgive him; if nought else will move thee, if thou wilt not for his own sake, yet for my sake pardon him.

Good brethren, we have long enough served the devil, the prince of this world; let us now serve God our Maker, and Christ our Redeemer. We have long enough, yea, too long, continued in rancour and malice one with another; let us now therefore, if there be any society between God and us, if there be in us any love of Christ, if there be any fear of God's wreak and vengeance, let us one forgive another; let every man forgive his Christian brother; let us all cast aside all rancour, strife, and debate, and so let us dwell together in unity, in brotherly love and concord.

This day we have heard God's Gospel preached unto us, this day we have learned out of the word of God, that if we be Christians, we should live like Christians; if we be the children of God, we should live as becometh the children of God, without envy, without hatred, without strife or malice. Let us therefore now leave off our old contention and strife, let us even here in this place one forgive another, and so be reconciled one unto another, and say, "O Lord, forgive us our sins, as we forgive them that trespass against us." This is our profession, this is our religion; hereunto are we called of God, appointed by Christ, and commanded by his holy word. Let us consider our white and hoary hairs, let us behold our rivelled skin, let us have always before

our eyes the grave, whereunto we are creeping; let us consider that death daily hangeth over our heads. And shall we then in this sort live out the rest of our years? shall we thus die, and come to our graves?

Let us shew ourselves in our works to be the children of God, and the brethren of Christ; let us not shew ourselves Christians in name, and not in deed; let us not love in word alone, but in deed and verity; let us not requite evil for evil, one mischief with another, but let us (according to St. Paul's rule, Rom. xii.) "overcome evil with good," hatred with love, and so fulfil the law of God.

So shall God hold back his sword, though already drawn; so shall he not smite us, though he hath bent his bow, prepared him the weapons of death, and ordained his arrows to destroy. But God shall continue our God, and remain with us for ever. Amen.

OBEDIENCE THE TEST OF GRATITUDE.

(Page 171.)

It is a good thing to be thankful, and to praise the name of the Most High. The servants of God find cause of thankfulness in consideration of the great and wonderful mercies continually poured upon them. Moses commanded *Nizan* to be the first month in the year (Exod. xii.), because God had delivered Israel from the hand of Pharaoh in that month. In like sort "Mordecai the Jew, and Esther the queen, sent letters unto all the Jews that were through all the provinces of the king Ahasuerus, both near and far, enjoining them that they should keep the fourteenth day of the month Adir with joy and feasting;" for that upon that day God had delivered them from the hand of Haman, and that they would not fail to observe the same every year.

Upon this day, even upon this day, I say, the seventeenth of this month, God sent his handmaid, and delivered us. Let us be kind and thankful unto God for so great a blessing. I say not, let us make it the first day of the year; yet this I say, let us have it in remembrance, let us sing with the Prophet, "When the Lord brought again the captivity of Sion, we were like them that dream; then was our mouth filled with laughter, and our tongue with joy. The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we rejoice." (Psa. cxxvi.)

Let no man be offended herewith; it is only a remembrance of the mercy of God; it behoveth us to remember it; it is good to speak of it. For if we have eyes to see, and neglect not our own salvation, we have now much greater cause to rejoice than David had, because the things which are this day restored unto us by the goodness of our God, are far greater and worthier than those which David and the people of Israel received in their deliverance out of the captivity of Babylon.

For by how much the heavens are greater than the earth, and God is more excellent than a creature; so much doth the knowledge of God and his true worship pass all worldly blessing, and all other felicity that can be devised under the sun. For what knoweth he which knoweth not God? or what worshippeth he which worshippeth not God? He that worshippeth not God, hath not the comfort of God; but he that hath God, and knoweth God, and serveth God, hath a sure help and defence in all assays.

Let us therefore be glad and rejoice, let us witness our joy, and sing unto the Lord a new song: let us kindle in our hearts the fire of the love of God and of our neighbour, and let the flame thereof break out to the glory of God; let us deck the altars of our hearts with the flourishing branches of virtue and

good works; let us sacrifice and kill our lusts and affections.

In this manner if we shew our thankfulness towards God, we shall hinder the wicked purpose of them that wish the restoring of Jericho; we shall see the land of God's promise, and enter into his rest.

THE ESTIMATION IN WHICH MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL ARE TO BE HELD.

(Page 220.)

When Christ began first to preach, and set abroad his Father's will, and the glad tidings of the Gospel, the people forthwith found fault with him. He is, said they, but a carpenter's son; we know his father, we know his mother; he was never sent to school; how can this man have learning? Afterward, when the disciples and apostles of Christ preached and taught the people, and began to speak with strange tongues, insomuch that every man marvelled to hear his own speech and language, both Medes and Persians, and they of Mesopotamia, yet said the people, These men are full of new wine. And this was too little honour. Therefore if the preacher be too much honoured, then is God dishonoured; if he be despised, and nothing set by, then is Christ himself despised, and not regarded.

They that said Christ was a carpenter's son, a man unlearned, and such a one as never went to school; they that said the Apostles of Christ were full of new wine, spake not this of any private malice or hatred that they bare either unto Christ or his Apostles, but only to bring God's word to shame, only to bring Christ's holy Gospel out of credit with the people; this was their intent and purpose, and nothing else.

Therefore St. Paul in this place sheweth the Corinthians how they should esteem the teachers of God's holy word, how they should think and judge

of them. For the people sometimes esteem most a politic man, such a man as by his great wit is able to conclude peace and leagues between princes; they regard him that is of stout courage, and learned in the laws; they set most by him that is eloquent, and able to persuade; yea, and they regard him not that is not excellently learned, and seen in all sciences; but here St. Paul sheweth them, that they should not esteem the preachers of God's Gospel as men politic, as men of great wit, as men of stout courage, and learned in the law, as men eloquent, and excellently well seen in sciences, but as the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the secrets of God.

Thus should the ministers of Christ be esteemed, and thus ought the teachers of God's word shew themselves as ministers of Christ, and dispensers of God's secrets. And therefore St. Paul in another place saith, "We come not to preach ourselves; but all our preaching, all our teaching, all our doctrine, is, that you know Jesus Christ; as for ourselves, we are but your servants." (2 Cor. iv.)

So Christ himself; "He that speaketh of himself seeketh his own glory." (John, vii.) So Paul likewise; "What is Peter? what is Paul? what is Apollos?" Think you them any other than the servants and ministers of God? "Paul hath planted, Apollos watered, but God hath given the increase." (1 Cor. iii.) The increase came not from Peter, not from Paul, not from Apollos, but from God alone. Apollos, Paul, and Peter, are nothing else but the ministers and servants of God; God is he that giveth the increase, God alone is he that giveth the increase.

When the great city of Jerusalem understood of John the Baptist, and began to seek unto him, they asked him, What art thou? He answered them, "I am (said he) a man not worthy to be esteemed; I-

am but a messenger sent unto you; I am nothing else but a voice to cry, Prepare you the way of the Lord." (John, i.)

So Moses and Aaron, that had the conducting of the people of God, when the whole camp was in a tumult and uproar, and the people ran in rage against them, like to have slain them, they stretched out their hands, and said, This stir, this hurly-burly, this tumult, that you make, is not (said they) against us, but against God; for, alas! what are we? "We are but God's servants, God's messengers, appointed to lead and guide you." (Exod. xvi.)

Thus therefore ought every man esteem the preachers of God's Gospel, as messengers, as servants, as ministers of Christ; thus ought every man think and judge of them. But what kind of servant is this preacher? what manner of minister is he? St. Paul saith, "He is the steward and disposer of God's secrets;" he setteth forth and sheweth abroad the mysteries of his holy Gospel.

And these mysteries that St. Paul here meaneth (to conclude in one word), are none other than the articles of our faith; that Christ is the Son of God, conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary; that he was crucified, dead, and buried, descended into hell, rose again, and sitteth at the right hand of his Father; that by his blood our sins were washed away; that our bodies shall at the last day arise, and we possess eternal life.

These be the secrets, these be the mysteries, that the ministers of Christ, the servants and stewards of God, do utter and declare to God's people; no wisdom of man is able to compass this, no learning of this world able of itself to expound these hidden secrets. For saith St. Paul, "The natural man perceiveth nothing of the Spirit of God." (1 Cor. ii.) He understandeth not such things as are of God; it

is foolishness unto him, for he cannot perceive it, for it must be spiritually discerned. Christ himself also; They which are God's children, and able to understand his mysteries, "are such which are not born of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." (John, i.)

When Christ had asked of Peter what he thought of him, and Peter had said, "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God;" he answered, "O happy art thou, Simon, son of Jonas, for flesh and blood hath not opened that unto thee, but my Father that is in heaven." (Matt. xvi.) These mysteries therefore are only opened by the Spirit of God, by God's only working, not by any wisdom of man, not by any cunning and great learning of this world.

Now therefore, saith St. Paul, think thus of us, judge us to be the ministers and servants of God, and mark well whether we reveal unto you God's mysteries and his holy Gospel; consider with yourselves, and see whether we open unto you God's hidden secrets. By this shall you know, whether we be the servants and dispensers of God's mysteries.

MINISTERIAL ZEAL FOR THE SALVATION OF SOULS.

(Page 251.)

THESE things I speak now to them which have taken upon them the ministry of God's word, to them that have taken upon them to be guides unto the flock of Christ; to them I speak this, to put them in remembrance, that they never forget their message, that they forget not their duty, that they improve, rebuke, exhort, and control the people; that they be earnest and fervent, calling still upon them, both in time and out of time, in season and out of season; that they fulfil the office whereunto they are called; that their conscience may be found without spot; and, in conclusion, that they may

plant, that they may water, and God may give the increase; that they may both reform the ungodly, and encourage the godly.

And this have we in our commission, this is our duty, this will be required of us; and this if we do not, we shall be found faulty, for "we are debtors unto all men" (Rom. i.), as well unto the page, as unto the prince; unto the poor, as unto the rich; unto the foolish, as unto the wise; unto the bad, as unto the good.

And therefore, my brethren, even for this cause alone, all good and godly preachers, and such as were sent from God, have ever been so zealous, and so much desired the salvation of God's people. Moses, when he saw the people of Israel after their deliverance from captivity by the mighty hand of God, fall from God, forsake him, and forget the wonders that he had wrought for them, he cried out unto God, and said, "Sooner than that these perish, O Lord, wipe me out of the book of life" (Exod. xxxi.); let my name be stricken out of it. So Paul; "I wish myself to be accursed from Christ for my brethren." (Rom. ix.) I would that I might be cast away, so they might be saved.

O my brethren, consider these hearts; consider, I say, the zealous heart that Moses, the zealous affection that Paul, had unto the salvation of the people. What think you is it to be stricken out of the book of life? what think you is it to be a man accursed, and have portion among reprobates? Moses was content to be blotted out of the book of life, so that the people of Israel might be saved. St. Paul was content to be accursed, and cast from the face of God, so that God's people might not be cast to perdition.

Thus they of an earnest heart and zealous love they bare to the congregation of God, wished their own

destruction for the safeguard of others. Therefore also it behoveth you, my brethren; you that are temporal men, it behoveth you, on the other part, not to despise God's messengers, not to set light by them that preach you the gospel and glad tidings of your salvation. For this is the only means whereby it pleaseth God that we should be saved; this only is it whereby the people is won unto Christ.

God might have sent an angel unto the chamberlain of the Queen Candace, and so have converted him: but he sent Philip, he sent Philip, I say, a poor and mean man, that through his preaching he might be won to the faith, and so brought to salvation. God might have sent an angel to Cornelius, but he sent Peter, who instructed him in the faith, and won him to the Gospel of Christ. (Acts, viii. x.)

God might have sent an angel unto Paul, to have mollified his heart, and so turned him from persecution of God's saints; but it pleased God to send Ananias, that, through the putting on of his hands, the scales should fall from his eyes, that by him he should receive his sight, and be baptized, and so, by means of a man, he might be brought home unto God, and made a member of his flock. (Acts, ix.)

Therefore, whensoever we hear the word of God preached, notwithstanding the preacher bear no pomp of eloquence or show of great learning, notwithstanding he be a simple and poor man; yet if he bring unto us the rule of Christ's Gospel, if he teach us the will of God, and the glory of his word, let us not despise him; let us consider that he is God's messenger, and appointed by God to help us to salvation.

THE ACCEPTABLE TIME.

(Page 252.)

For God saith, "In an acceptable time have I heard thee, and in the day of salvation have I succoured

thee." These words are written in the prophecy of Isaiah, and pronounced they were by him of the appearance of Christ our Saviour, and his coming into this world. And these words thus spoken by the Prophet, St. Paul here fitly applied to the preaching of Christ's Gospel. For, like as our Saviour came into the world at such time as Christ was born, so when the Gospel is truly preached, and God's holy word sincerely taught us, then is Christ opened unto us; then is the acceptable time, and our salvation is wrought thereby.

Therefore St. Jerome, that holy father and old doctor of the church, saith, "As often as we hear the Gospel of Christ preached unto us, so oft the flesh and blood of Christ is poured into our ears." And these words of his do plainly and most evidently shew us, how we should understand the eating of Christ's body and drinking of his most holy blood in the sacrament. These words, I say, may sufficiently teach us what is meant by the eating and drinking of Christ's body and blood. This is it that St. Paul here speaketh of, that they receive not the grace of God in vain. And whensoever the Gospel of God is truly and sincerely preached, and is received accordingly, then is the acceptable time, then is the time of grace and salvation.

Oh, what a comfortable saying is this! whensoever we hear the Gospel taught us, whensoever we hear God's holy word preached unto us, then is the gate of salvation set open unto us, and then is the time of grace. And on the contrary part, when God's word is taken from us, and the light of his Gospel hidden from our eyes, then is the gate of salvation shut upon us, and then is the time of perdition.

But, alas! the time of grace, the acceptable time, the time of mercy and salvation, hath oftentimes but little continuance among us. Oftentimes it hath small time of abiding with us. For before Christ

appeared, and was born into this world, for the space of four thousand years the whole world, the Jews only excepted, was in ignorance and altogether blindness. And when Christ was born, when he once appeared, then was the acceptable time; then was the time of grace; then was the time of salvation.

Here some man will peradventure say, Why did God suffer the whole world so long to be in blindness? Why would he in that time have no respect to any other nation, but only to the nation of the Jews? This case is deep, and passeth our capacity to reason, it is above the reach of man's wit, and therefore herein we have only to submit ourselves, to humble our hearts and our minds, and say with the Apostle, "O man, what art thou that findest fault with God? What art thou that reprovest the Almighty?"

As God of his providence and good wisdom hath appointed for us both summer and winter, the spring, and likewise the fall of the leaf again; so hath he ordained a time of light and a time of darkness, a time of salvation and a time of destruction. And no man may say unto him, Why dost thou thus? These things seem good in his eyes, and therefore what art thou, O man, that will call God to account why he doth this, or why he doth that? (Rom. ix.)

Thus it pleaseth God, and standeth with his good will, oftentimes to shew us his light, and the glory of his Gospel; and oftentimes again to take the same from us, and leave us altogether in blindness, altogether in ignorance, altogether in utter darkness.

For so he hath said by Amos his Prophet, "I will send an hunger upon the earth, not the hunger of bread, nor the thirst of water, but an hunger to hear the word of the Lord; so that they shall go from one sea to the other, yea, from the north to the east, running about to seek the word of the Lord, and shall not find it." (Amos, viii.) Christ himself also,

in the Gospel, saith, "The kingdom of God shall be taken away from you." (Matt. xxi.)

Good people, let us consider that God, of his goodness, hath sent unto us this acceptable time, the time of mercy and grace; that he hath delivered us from the horrible thraldom that we sometime lived in; that God hath put away the blindness, and dispersed that great darkness whereunder the whole world was sometime whelmed, that we may now worship him in spirit and holiness, without superstition or idolatry; that we may now walk in the light without any error or wandering. And this great blessing of his, whoso seeth not, I pray God open his eyes, that he may both see and understand it.

Let us not, good brethren, let us not take this grace of God in vain; let us not despise this Gospel of Christ, whereby the whole world is saved. God knoweth how long this acceptable time, this time of grace, this time of salvation, shall last and continue amongst us. And what knowest thou, O thou man, whether by one only sermon many may be converted, and won to the faith of Jesus Christ? St. Peter, by one only sermon, converted five thousand people, as it appeareth in (the 4th chapter of) the Acts of the Apostles.

St. Jerome hath a saying worthy to be noted, and it is this: "I know not whether that soul may be saved, that is negligent in hearing the word of God and the Gospel of his salvation preached." I know not, saith he, whether such a soul may be saved. Alas! good brethren, we are not able to save you; God is your only Saviour and Redeemer; we are but God's messengers, sent unto you; we are but helpers appointed to exhort you to the Gospel of God, and to open unto you the glory of your salvation.

If you then will wilfully refuse to hear God's holy word, and will not embrace the same, we cannot

save you; we are not able to work your salvation. "I myself rose up ever betimes, to warn my people," saith God by his Prophet (Jeremiah, vii.); "I myself stand all the day at the gate, crying unto them to commune with them, yet would they not hear;" I called unto them, yet would they not answer me.

O my dear brethren, God knocketh; let us open the gates of our hearts unto him; he calleth, let us hear him; he crieth, and willeth us to come up to him; O therefore let us run, let us make haste; let us fly unto him. "I have ever stretched out my hands to an unfaithful people," saith God by his Prophet (Isaiah, lxv.); all the day long have I stretched out mine arms unto a people that will not hear me; all the day long have I stretched out mine hands unto them, and yet they will not know me; I have sent you the acceptable time; I have given you the days of grace, the days of mercy, the days of salvation.

O then let us not receive this acceptable time in vain; let us not take this grace of God in vain; let us remember how many thousands of people perish this day for want of the Gospel of God, and knowledge of his holy word. We are they whom God hath called to be his children, whom he hath appointed to be saved, whom he hath received to his grace and mercy.

If we have any great policy; if we have any great wit; if we have any learning, riches, wealth, and felicity in this world; let us consider that we have them from God alone; that God giveth us our policy; that God giveth us our wit; that God giveth us our learning; that he alone giveth us our riches, our wealth, and all other felicity that we have in this life. O then let us not take these great gifts of God in vain; let us not take these graces of his in vain. Let our lives so shine before men, that they may see our good works, and glorify our Father which is in heaven. Amen.

THE UNION OF FAITH WITH HOLINESS.

(Page 255.)

DEARLY beloved in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, this epistle or letter of St. Paul, written unto the Romans, is divided into two several parts.

In the first part, St. Paul instructeth and telleth them of the beginning of their religion, of the foundation of their faith, of the grace whereunto they are called by the merits and death of Jesus Christ; and for because he saw and well perceived, that even such of the Romans, who had received the faith, to be far from the works of the faith, and the profession of the Gospel of Christ; therefore he instructeth them, that they know the testament of Christ; that they know the covenant of their salvation; and that they should remember, that where beforetime they were strangers from God, clean without any promise of grace, enemies unto God, and the children of perdition, were now called unto God, were become the sons of Abraham, God's dear children, and the children of adoption; and this not of any desert of theirs, not by any merit of their own, but only through the great grace and mere mercy of Jesus Christ.

For the whole world was covered under wickedness; the whole world, I say, the Jews only excepted, was overwhelmed in sin, and had no promise at all of any salvation by God. But yet, when Christ Jesus, the Saviour of all the world, appeared, and the Jews would not acknowledge him their Redeemer, it pleased God, by him, to save the whole world, and call unto his grace as well the Gentile as the Jew, the uncircumcised as the circumcised; and this did he only of his infinite and great goodness.

And therefore St. Paul, in the conclusion hereof, crieth out and saith, "O the deepness of the abundant wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable

are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! Who knoweth the mind of the Lord? Who was his counsellor? Who hath given unto him first, that he might be recompensed again? And therefore he concludeth thus: "For of him, through him, and for him, are all things; to him therefore be glory for ever." (Rom. xi. 33, 36.) Thus doth St. Paul conclude the first part, to know the covenant of their salvation, to know the greatness of God's mercy, whereunto they are called, and to give the praise and thanks to him alone.

In the second part, which I now handle, he instructeth them of a virtuous life, of honest conversation and upright living among all men. For it is not enough to change our religion; it is not sufficient to alter our faith; but we must also change our old life; we must walk in newness of life; we must walk in holiness; we must walk as becometh the professors of a new religion, as becometh them that are of a right faith, as becometh all such as confess God and his Gospel.

And therefore, writing unto the Hebrews, he saith, "Seeing that we, by the means of the blood of Jesus, have liberty to enter into the holy place, let us draw nigh with a true heart and a sure faith; let us provoke unto love and to good works." (Heb. x. 19.) So in another place he saith, "You were sometimes darkness, but now ye are light in the Lord; walk therefore as becometh the children of light." (Eph. v. 8.)

So God himself, when he had chosen the Jews to be his people, and them alone, amongst all other nations, to worship him, said, "O Israel, what is it that I require or seek for at thy hands, but that thou love me, and keep my commandments?" (Deut. x.) This is the only thing that I would have you to do, that you keep my law, and walk in my precepts.

Therefore St. Paul himself also, after he had declared and set forth at large the great goodness and mercy of God, he said, "I beseech you, that ye make your bodies a quick and lively sacrifice, holy and acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable serving of God." Renew your spirits, make yourselves new hearts, that it may shew and appear in you, that you are reconciled unto God, that you are the children of adoption, and professors of God's holy name.

CHRISTIAN HUMILITY.

(Page 257.)

And thus pride, even among such as professed Christ and his Gospel, brake the love and unity which should have been amongst them that lived under the Gospel. Pride it was that caused the Jews to hate the Gentiles, and the Gentiles to despise the Jews. Pride it was that caused Lucifer so much to exalt himself, and make himself equal with God.

Pride it was that caused Corah, Dathan, and Abiram, to conspire against Moses and Aaron. Pride it was that caused such as could indifferently eat all meats, to think themselves more perfect than such as could not so do. Pride it was again that caused the other, which could not indifferently use all meats, to think themselves more holy than the rest.

Therefore, in this place, St. Paul willeth the Romans for avoiding of all dissension; first, to put away all pride, which is the very root and mother of all discord. "Be not high-minded," said he; "for so shall you abate this rancour and malice among you; but humble yourselves; humble your courage; be not proud of your wit, of your great learning, of your eloquence, but make yourselves equal to them of the lower sort.

This is the golden chain of humility; for like as pride is the mother of all wickedness, so is humility

the mother of all virtue ; like as pride maketh us like unto Lucifer, so humility maketh us like unto Christ. Therefore Christ himself, when he first gave his disciples charge for to preach, when he first gave them in commandment upon the mount, to publish abroad his Gospel, " Blessed are the poor," said he. And why so ? " for theirs is the kingdom of God." And again : " Blessed are the meek ;" and why so ? " for they shall inherit the earth." (Matt. v.) So again to his disciples he said, " Learn of me, for I am meek," (Matt. xi.), I am gentle ; learn this of me," said Christ.

So St. Paul ; " Let the same mind be in you, that was also in Christ Jesus, who, when he was equal with God, yet nevertheless made himself of no reputation, and humbled himself unto death, even the death of the cross." (Phil. ii.) So David, notwithstanding he was a king, a prophet, and a man chosen, even according to the heart of God, yet he humbled himself, and said, " I am not high-minded ; I have no proud looks ; I do not exercise myself in great matters, which are too high for me." (Psal. cxxxi.)

So Paul ; " God hath chosen the foolish things of this world, that by them he may be able to confound the wise ; he hath chosen the weak things, that through them he may subdue the strong." (1 Cor. i.) Thus God useth humble and lowly things, saith St. Paul. " Out of the mouth of very babes and sucklings hast thou made perfect thy praise." (Psal. viii.) Even by the mouth of infants and sucking babes thou hast ordained strength, and spread abroad the glory of thy name.

So St. Paul, notwithstanding he was a great learned man, and skilful in the laws among the Jews, yet he bragged not, nor boasted of his great knowledge he had, but humbled himself, and said, " I think thus of myself, that I know nothing, save Jesus Christ,

even the same that was crucified." Other knowledge have I none to advance myself of, said St. Paul.

And upon this foundation of humility it pleased Almighty God, at the first, to erect and build his holy church; upon his Apostles, I say, who were the very patterns of meekness, it seemed good unto God to build his holy church.

And after them, such as were of the congregation of Christ, such as professed the name of Christ, were not proud men, were not men of haughty courage, nor high-minded; and therefore we read, in the Acts of the Apostles, chap. iv. "They were all of one heart and one mind together."

So at the beginning, the disciples of Christ were poor in spirit, and therefore were they meet to inherit the kingdom of heaven; they were meek in heart, and humble of mind, and therefore were they meet to possess the earth; they learned of Christ to be meek and lowly; they had the same sense in them that was in Christ, and therefore they humbled themselves unto death; they were counted the foolish things of the earth, therefore were they meet instruments to confound the wisdom of the world; they were counted the weak things, and therefore were they meet to overcome the mighty. The babes were meek and lowly, and therefore were they meet to spread abroad the glory of God. St. Paul, of all his learning, thought that he knew nothing, so much he humbled himself, and therefore was he meet to be an Apostle of Christ, and preacher of his Gospel.

There is a story, or rather a fable, written of St. Anthony; whether you take it as a story or a fable, I much reckon not; but it serveth well for this purpose. It is thus: St. Anthony, on a time, lay in a trance, and as he so lay, he looked down from heaven (as he thought), and saw all the whole earth so thick covered with snares, that possible it was not

for any man to tread upon the earth, and not be entangled therewithal; and this when he beheld, suddenly he cried out, and said, "O Lord, and who can then walk on the earth, and not be entrapped?" With that he heard a voice, that answered him, and said, "*Only humility*" it is, said that voice, that may go, and not be entangled, only humility, and nothing else. Whoso is humble, he may walk without danger; he may go, and not be taken.

This is written, that Anthony should see and hear in his trance. But David, the Prophet of God, saith indeed, "The contrite and humble heart is a sacrifice unto God;" the meek and lowly heart is a sweet and acceptable sacrifice unto God, saith the Prophet David. So again, in another place, he saith, "God hath regard to the humble and lowly; and as for the proud, he beholdeth them afar off." (Psal. cxxxviii.)

Isaiah also, or rather God by his Prophet Isaiah, saith (chap. lxv.), "Upon whom shall my spirit rest," saith God, "but upon the humble and meek?" for otherwise, saith Paul (Titus, iii.), "He that is puffed up with pride falleth into the hands of the devil."

Thus (good brethren) humility preserveth the church of God; humility upholdeth all good commonweals. Pride overthroweth all good commonweals. There was yet never pride in any city without dissension, nor dissension that continued without destruction of the whole commonweal. Ye shall never read in any record, either of city, kingdom, or commonweal, but that, if pride reigned therein, there consequently followed dissension, and of dissension ensued the overthrow of the same.

In the city of Rome, which was called the lady of the whole world, there were two that took upon them the governance of the empire, Julius Cæsar and Pompey. Julius Cæsar was a man of so haughty courage, that he could abide no peer; Pompey was of such an high mind, that he could suffer no man

to be his equal. And thus for dominion strove these two together, and thus, through their dissension, was not only the whole city, but the kingdom itself, brought to destruction. The state of the Grecians, which then chiefly above other flourished, because it was divided, came to utter confusion.

But what speak I of these? What speak I of Rome, and the state of the Grecians? Who is there that hath not heard of Jerusalem? Jerusalem, I say, that great city, that same town that God had chosen to himself, even that same town wherein God would have his temple erected, and his holy name honoured, after that the rulers thereof began to be divided; after that the magistrates fell to discord, and each man would be a captain, and no man would be ruled; then came the enemies in, then was it besieged; then was the mother (for very famine) constrained to eat her own child; then was it utterly destroyed, and no one stone left upon another; and which was most miserable, there were slain in that city eleven hundred thousand people, and the very channels in the streets ran all with blood.

Thus miserably was it overthrown; and in such wretched estate were the whole people thereof; and this only came to pass through pride and dissension. And this was it that Isaiah long time before prophesied of, and said, "Then shall the whole country be scattered, when the people once conspire against their princes," (Isa. iii. 24.) And therefore also an old writer, Petrus Lilius, saith, "Discord is the only cause of the overthrow of kingdoms; division is the only cause that great empires cannot stand. Dissension maketh two kingdoms of one; dissension maketh of two cities one; and at length it maketh of two kingdoms, no kingdom; of two cities, no city." Thus writeth Petrus Lilius; "of dissension this is the end of discord," saith he; and indeed experience hath taught that this is most true.

EXTRACTS

FROM A BOOK, ENTITLED,

THE

DEFENCE

OF THE

APOLOGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

BY

BISHOP JEWELL,

IN AN ANSWER TO

MR. HARDING THE JESUIT.

The manner in which Bishop Jewell drew up this Defence is as follows: first, he gave an extract from the Apology itself; then a passage from Harding's Objections to that portion; and lastly, his own Reply to Harding's Objections. Each of these is printed for distinction's sake in a different type. In the following extracts Harding's words, wherever they occur, are put in Italics, to prevent confusion.

EXTRACTS

FROM THE

DEFENCE OF THE APOLOGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THE STABILITY OF THE REFORMED CHURCH.

(Page 22.)

WE cannot despair, saith Mr. Harding, *of the continuance of our cause. For heaven and earth shall pass, but Christ's words shall not pass. He will be with us all days to the world's end, &c.* These words, Mr. Harding, be true and certain, and therefore our hope is the firmer. Christ hath promised that the Spirit of truth shall remain for ever, but not in the Pope and his cardinals; for thereof he made no promise; nay rather, the Prophet Isaiah saith (lxvi. 2), "The Spirit of God shall rest upon the poor and meek-hearted, that trembleth at the word of the Lord."

The church of God shall stand still, yea, though Rome were possessed with antichrist. It is true that Christ saith, "Every plant which my heavenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted up." (Matt. xv. 13.) Upon which words St. Hilary saith, "Significat traditionem hominum eruendam esse, cujus favore transgressi sunt præcepta legis." He meaneth that the tradition of man, for which tradition's sake they have broken the law of God, shall be taken up by the roots. Heaven and earth shall pass, and your fantasies and devices, Mr. Harding, shall pass; the Lord hath spoken it; but the word of God, and his church, shall endure for ever.

But Mr. Harding's almanac saith, "*Our doctrine shall fall, and that very shortly.*" Herein I profess I have no skill, God's will be done. It is his cause; whatsoever shall happen, his name be blessed for

ever. In like sort the heathens in old times, as St. Augustine saith, vaunted themselves against the faith of Christ. "Ad certum tempus sunt Christiani; posteà peribunt, et redibunt idola; redibit quod erat anteà. Verùm tu, cum expectas, miser infidelis, ut transeant Christiani, transis ipse sine Christianis."—"These Christians are but for a while, fall they shall, and that shortly; then shall our idols come again, and it shall be as it was before. But, O thou miserable infidel! while thou lookest that the Christians should pass, thou passest away thyself without the Christians."

Again he saith, "Ecce veniet tempus ut finiantur et non sint Christiani. Sicut cœperunt ab aliquo tempore, ita usque ad certum tempus erunt. Sed cum ista dicunt, sine fine moriuntur, et permanet ecclesia prædicans brachium Domini omni generationi venturæ."—"They say, Behold, the day will come, when all these Christians shall have an end. As they had a time to begin, so shall they have a time to continue. But while they make these cracks, they themselves die without end. But the church continueth still praising the almighty arm of God to every generation that is to come."

But ye say, *The authors and professors of our doctrine be damned in hell-fire, and cry Peccavi.* This is a very terrible kind of talk. But it is a rash part for you, Mr. Harding, so suddenly to skip into God's chair, and there to pronounce your sentence definitive like a judge. But God will judge of your judgment.

St. Augustine saith, "Alia est sella terrena, aliud tribunal cœlorum. Ab inferiori sententia accipitur à superiori corona."—"The earthly chair is one thing, the judgment-seat in heaven is another: from the one we receive sentence, from the other we receive a crown."

Oh! Mr. Harding, God grant you may once cry,

Peccavi, lest the time come that ye shall cry out, as it is written in the book of Wisdom (chap. v.), "These are they whom we sometime had in derision, and in a parable of reproach. We fools thought their life madness, and their end without honour: but now are they counted among the children of God, and their portion is among the saints."

REPLY TO HARDING RESPECTING THE MARTYRS, SERVETUS, &c.

(Page 27.)

The Apology. Chap. IV. *Division* III.

But we truly, seeing that so many thousands of our brethren in these last twenty years have borne witness unto the truth, in the midst of most painful torments that could be devised; and when princes, desirous to restrain the Gospel, sought many ways, but prevailed nothing; and that now almost the whole world doth begin to open their eyes to behold the light; we take it that our cause hath already been sufficiently declared and defended, and think it not needful to make many words, seeing the matter saith enough for itself.

MR. HARDING.

The reasons and examples ye bring for it, conclude nothing, because, lacking truth, ye build upon a false ground; whatsoever ye set up, eftsoons it falleth, being stayed by no just proof. Here ye go forth, and fain would ye prop up that matter; but your reasons be as weak as before. There have not so many thousands of your brethren been burnt for heresy in these last twenty years, as ye pretend. But when ye come to boasting, then have ye a great grace in using the figure hyperbole; then scores be hundreds, hundreds be thousands, thousands be millions.

But what was Michael Servetus the Arian, who was burnt at Geneva by procurement of Calvin, a brother of yours? David George, that took upon him to be Christ, who was taken up after he was buried, and burnt at Bazil, was he your brother? To come nearer home: Joan of Kent, that filth, who took forth a lesson further than you taught her (I trow) or yet preach, was she a sister of yours? So many Adamites, so many Swenkfeldians, so many hundreds of Anabaptists and Libertines as have within your twenty years been rid out of their lives by fire, sword, and water, in sundry parts of Christendom, were they all of your blessed brotherhood?

And this is the chief argument ye make in all that huge dunghill of your stinking martyrs, which ye have intituled, Acts and Monuments; but we tell you, it is not death that justifieth the cause of dying, but it is the cause of dying that justifieth the death.

Princes (ye say) were desirous to restrain your Gospel; and though they went about it by many ways, yet prevailed they nothing; therefore your doctrine must needs be the true Gospel. As good an argument as this is, may thieves make in their defence. For princes be desirous to keep their dominions from robbing, and have ever devised strait laws and punishments for restraint of thieves; yet be thieves every where, and theft is daily committed.

And whereas your Gospel is a gross Gospel, a carnal Gospel, a belly Gospel, wonder it is not, if those people be not wholly withdrawn from assenting to the same, who be not of the finest wits, and be much given to the service of the belly. Yet where the princes have used most diligence and best means to stop the course of your heresies, there the people remain most catholic, as every man may judge by view of Italy, Spain, Base Almaine, and France, before that weighty sceptre by God's secret providence for the

punishment of sin was committed to feeble hands, that for tender age were not able to bear it.

Your other argument, whereby ye would persuade your Gospel to be the truth, is, that now (as ye crack) almost the whole world doth begin to open their eyes to behold the light. This argument serveth marvellous well for Antichrist. And truly, if he be not already come, ye may very well seem to be his forerunners. Nay, Sirs, if it be true that ye say, that almost the whole world looketh that way, knowing, that in the latter days, and toward the end of the world, iniquity shall abound, and the charity of the more part shall wax cold; we may rather make a contrary argument, and judge your Gospel to be erroneous and false, because the multitude is so ready to receive it.

Again, Christ hath not loved his church so little, as that the world should now begin to open their eyes to behold the light. For the same cause presupposes a former general darkness; it standeth not with Christ's promises made to the church, touching his being with the church all days to the world's end, and the Holy Ghost's remaining with it the spirit of truth for ever, that he should suffer his church to continue in darkness and lack of truth these thousand years past, and now, at the latter days, to reveal the truth of his Gospel by apostates, vow-breakers, church-robbers, and such other most unlike to the Apostles.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Whatsoever we say, here appeareth small weight in Mr. Harding's sayings. We make no boast of the numbers and multitudes of our martyrs; and yet, as St. Paul saith, "if we should needs boast, we should chiefly boast of such our infirmities." (2 Cor. xi. 30.) But we rejoice with them, and give God thanks in their behalf, for that it hath pleased him to prepare

their hearts unto temptation, to try and purify them as gold in the furnace, and to keep them faithful unto the end.

As for David George, and Servetus the Arian, and such other the like, they were yours, Mr. Harding; they were not of us. You brought them up, the one in Spain, the other in Flanders. We detected their heresies, and not you. We arraigned them. We condemned them. We put them to the execution of the laws. It seemeth very much to call them our brothers, because we burnt them. It is known to children, it is not the death, but the cause of the death, that maketh a martyr. St. Augustine saith, "Tres erant in cruce; unus Salvator; alter salvandus; tertius damnandus: omnium par pœna, sed dispar causa."—"There were three hanging on the cross; the first was the Saviour; the second to be saved; the third to be damned. The pain of all three was one, but the cause was divers."

Your Anabaptists and Zwenkfeldians we know not. They find harbour amongst you in Austria, Silesia, Moravia, and in such other countries and cities where the Gospel of Christ is suppressed; but they have no acquaintance with us, neither in England, nor in Germany, nor in France, nor in Scotland, nor in Denmark, nor in Sweden, nor in any place else, where the Gospel of Christ is clearly preached.

But it hath been your great policy these many late years, when ye murdered the saints of God, first to root out their tongues, for fear of speaking, and then afterward to tell the people they were Anabaptists, or Arians, or what ye listed. With such policy, Nero sometimes, that bloody tyrant, burnt the Christians in heaps together, and made open proclamation that they were traitors and rebels, and had fired the city of Rome.

It pleaseth you, for lack of other evasion, to call

the story of martyrs a dunghill of lies. But these lies shall remain in record for ever, to testify, and to condemn your bloody doings. Ye have imprisoned your brethren; ye have stripped them naked; ye have scourged them with rods; ye have burnt their hands and arms with flaming torches; ye have famished them; ye have drowned them; ye have summoned them, being dead, to appear before you out of their graves; ye have ripped up their buried carcases; ye have burned them; ye have thrown them out into the dunghill; ye took a poor babe falling from his mother's womb, and, in most cruel and barbarous manner, threw him into the fire.

All these things, Mr. Harding, are true; they are no lies; the eyes and consciences of many thousands can witness your doings. The blood of innocent Abel crieth to God from the earth, and undoubtedly he will require it at your hands. Chrysostom saith, as is alleged before, "Quem videris in sanguine persecutionis gaudentem, is lupus est."—"Whosoever hath pleasure in the blood of persecution, the same is a wolf." Ye slew your brethren so cruelly, not for murder or robbery, or any other grievous crime they had committed, but only for that they trusted in the living God. Howbeit we may say with the old father, Tertullian, "Crudelitas vestra nostra gloria est."—"Your cruelty is our glory."

Whereas we avouch the power and authority of God's holy word; for that the more it is trodden down, the more it groweth, and for that the kings and princes of this world, with all their puissance and policy, were never able to root it out, your answer is, *that this reason may serve thieves as well as us.* To dissemble your odious comparisons, how lightly soever it shall please you to weigh this reason, yet your forefathers, the Pharisees, in old time, seemed to make some account of it. For thus they murmured

and misliked among themselves, "Videtis nos nihil proficere; ecce mundus totus post eum abiit."—"Ye see we can do no good; lo, the world (for all that we can do) is gone after him." (John, xii. 19.)

Tertullian likewise saith, "Exquisitior quæque crudelitas vestra illecebra magis est sectæ. Plures efficimur quoties metimur à vobis. Semen est sanguis Christianorum."—"The greatest cruelty that ye can devise is an enticement to our sect. How many of us soever ye murder, when ye come to the view, ye find us more and more. The seed of this increase is Christian blood."

So St. Augustine: "Ligabantur, includebantur, cædebantur, torquebantur, urebantur, et multiplicabantur."—"They were fettered; they were imprisoned; they were beaten; they were racked; they were burnt; and yet they multiplied." St. Cyprian saith, "Sacerdos Dei Evangelium tenens, et Christi precepta custodiens, occidi potest, vinci non potest."—"The priest of God, holding the Testament in his hand, killed he may be, but overcome he cannot be." So likewise Nazianzen: "Morte vivit; vulnere nascitur; depastum augetur."—"By death it liveth; by wounding it springeth; by diminishing it increaseth."

Thus these holy fathers, when they saw the Gospel of Christ increased, and grew by persecution, contrary to all judgment of reason and worldly policy, they were enforced, contrary to Mr. Harding's judgment, therein to acknowledge the mighty power and hand of God, and an undoubted testimony of the truth. Justinus, a godly learned father and martyr, saith thus of himself: "Cum audirem Christianos publicè traduci et exagitari ab omnibus, viderem autem eos ad mortem, et ad omnia quæ ad terrorem excogitari possent, esse intrepidos, cogitabam nullo modo posse fieri ut illi in aliquo scelere viverent."—"When I (being an heathen, and one of Plato's

scholars) heard that the Christians were accused and reviled of all men, and yet saw them go to their death, and to all manner of terrible and cruel torments, quietly and without fear, I thought with myself it was not possible that such men should live in any wickedness."

The like writeth Sozomenus of the Christians in the primitive church: "Nec adulatione victi, nec minus perterriti, magnum omnibus argumentum dabant sese de maximis præmiis in certamen descendere." —"The Christians, neither relenting by fair means, nor shrinking for threats, made it well appear to every man that it was for some great reward they suffered such trouble."

These learned fathers therefore saw that Mr. Harding could not see the increasing of the Gospel through death and persecution, maugre the might of worldly princes, is an evident token of the truth. The Prophet David saith, "The princes came and consulted together against God, and against his Christ. But He that dwelleth in heaven will laugh them to scorn." (Psal. ii. 2, 4.) "There is no wisdom, there is no policy, there is no counsel against the Lord." (Prov. xxi. 30.)

Further you say, *Our Gospel is gross, and the people dull and sensual, and given to their belly and beastly pleasure, and therefore the apter and readier to receive the same.* Oh, Mr. Harding! what a desperate cause is this, that cannot stand without such manifest blasphemy of the Gospel of Christ, and spiteful reproach of God's people! Certainly St. Paul saith, "The Gospel is the power of God unto salvation." (Rom. i. 16.) And the Prophet David saith, "The people is Christ's inheritance." (Psal. ii. 8.)

What hath the people so much offended you, that you should either in this place so scornfully and so reproachfully report of them, or in your former book so disdainfully call them swine and dogs? Yet is it

not so long since yourself were an earnest professor of the same Gospel, were it never so gross. Where was then your fineness and sharpness of wit? Where was your belly? Where was the rest? You should not so soon have forgotten your own self.

Surely, Mr. Harding, neither will the sensual man, drowned in filthy and beastly pleasures, take up his cross and follow Christ, and yield his neck to your sword, or his body to your fire; neither is it a gross and sensual Gospel that will lead him to the same.

You say, *it standeth not with God's promise to forsake his church a thousand years.* It is much for you, Mr. Harding, openly to break God's commandments; to defile his holy sanctuary; to turn light into darkness, and darkness into light, and yet, nevertheless, to bind him to his promise. All men be liars, but God only is true, and prevaileth, when he is judged. God knoweth his own. Christ will be evermore with his church; yea, although the whole church of Rome conspire against him.

Addition.—Here Mr. Harding saith, *we succeed the Donatists, and renew their wretched objection against the church,* &c. Howbeit we are no Donatists, as his own conscience well knoweth. The Donatists enclosed the church of God within the bounds of one country, and said there was no church but only their own, which was in Africa. In like sort, and with like truth, Mr. Harding so often and so constantly telleth us this day, *there is no church nor salvation, but under the obedience of the see of Rome.*

It is easy, therefore, to see who are the children of those fathers. We say, as all the holy and learned doctors have said, The church of God hath been ever from the beginning, and shall continue unto the end, and overspreadeth all the parts of the world without limitation of time or place. Notwithstanding, sometimes, by care and diligence, she is kept neat and

clean; sometimes, by negligence, she is laid waste, and overgrown with weeds, and therefore she is compared unto a garden. Sometimes her light is clear and beautiful; sometimes she waneth and groweth dark, and therefore she is compared unto the moon. (Cantic. iv. 12, & 9.)

The church, you say, *hangeth not of your well-doing*. God's name, therefore, be blessed. For if it hang of you, it could not stand. It hangeth only of the assurance of God's promise, and the same promise God extended as well to Jerusalem and Antioch as he did to the see of Rome. But now Antioch, where Peter had his first apostolic seat, and Jerusalem, where Christ himself first planted his Gospel, are both forsaken and left utterly without faith, and the knowledge of God.

Notwithstanding, God is true in all his words; yet unto the wicked he saith, "Non est mihi voluntas in vobis."—"I have no will nor pleasure in you; I will receive no sacrifice at your hands." (Mal. i. 10.) And St. Paul saith to the church of Rome, even to the same church wherein you so immoderately glory, and assure yourself it cannot err, "Noli altum sapere, sed time."—"Presume not, but stand in awe;" for if God have not spared his own people of Israel and Jerusalem (unto whom he made his promise, that his name should dwell there for ever), how much less will he spare thee? Mark well the mercy and sharpness of God: his sharpness against them that are fallen from him, but his mercy towards thee (O thou church of Rome), if thou continue still in his mercy. Otherwise even thou shalt likewise be hewn down. (Rom. xi. 21.) Thus, Mr. Harding, St. Paul adviseth the church of Rome to walk in awe, with fear and reverence, and not to presume of herself that she cannot err.

The argument that you form thereof, taken, as you

say, out of the Scriptures, is very simple. For thus it standeth; Christ hath promised to be with his disciples, and with his faithful, for ever unto the end of the world. Ergo, the church of Rome can never err in matters of faith.

The Prophet Jeremiah adviseth you better. "Say not (saith he), The temple of God, the temple of God." We have his temple, we have his word, we have his promise. "Put no confidence in such words; they be words of lying and vanities," saith the Prophet. (Chap. vii. 4.) "They will deceive you."

So saith the Prophet Micah, of the priests that deceived the people: "Super Dominum requiescunt dicentes, Nonne est Jehovah in medio nostri? Ideo non veniet super nos malum. Idcirco propter vos Sion ut ager arabitur, et Jerusalem erit in acervum, et mons domus in excelsa sylvæ."—"They rest themselves quietly upon the Lord (that is to say, they embolden themselves upon his promises). Behold (say they) is not the Lord in the midst among us? therefore none ill shall happen to us. Even therefore (saith the Prophet) shall the castle of Sion be ploughed up as the corn-field, and Jerusalem shall lie as a heap of stones, and the mount of the temple shall stand waste as a forest." (Micah, iii. 11.)

But why do you so much abate your reckoning? Why make you not up your full account of your fifteen hundred threescore and six years, as ye were wont to do? Ye have here liberally, and of yourself, quite stricken off five hundred threescore and six years; that is to say, the whole time wherein the Apostles of Christ, and holy martyrs, and other learned fathers and doctors, lived; in which whole time it appeareth, by your own secret confession, the church of God might well stand without your private mass (for then was there none), and also without many other your like fantasies.

Neither ought you, Mr. Harding, so deeply to be grieved, and to call us apostates and heretics, for that we have reformed either our churches to the patterns of that church, or ourselves to the example of those fathers.—Verily, in the judgment of the godly, five hundred of those first years are more worth than the whole thousand years that followed afterwards.

Addition.—This (saith M. Harding) *is a manifest blasphemy, and little becometh a Christian man.* But therefor I hear small reason. The primitive church, which was under the Apostles and martyrs, hath evermore been counted the purest of all others, without exception. And therefore the ancient fathers oftentimes appeal to the judgment thereof, as unto the infallible standard and measure of truth.

St. Chrysostom, speaking hereof, although not specially to this purpose, saith, "Vere tum cœlum ecclesia fuit, Spiritu cuncta administrante, cuncta ecclesiæ capita moderante, &c. Nunc vero vestigia tantum rerum illarum tenemus."—"Then verily the church was a heaven, the Spirit of God ordering all things, and directing all the heads of the church. But now we scarcely have the steps and tokens of those things." And immediately after he saith further, "The church now may be likened to a woman that hath lost her old modesty, having only certain tokens and shows of her former felicity, as the chests and foreseals of precious things, being utterly void of the treasure."

Thus said St. Chrysostom touching the decay of the church, and yet he thought his words imported no blasphemy. If the form of the church were so much altered in Chrysostom's days, that is, above eleven hundred years past, what may we then think of the times of darkness, that have followed since? It was no blasphemy, therefore, M. Harding, to say, as we say, The first five hundred years of the church are more worth than the whole thousand that fol-

lowed afterward. This rather is open blasphemy, to compare the church of Rome, that now is, to a perfect man, as you do; and the primitive church of the Apostles and holy martyrs, unto an infant. This surely is blasphemy against God.

Therefore I will answer you with the words of St. Jerome: "Quisquis es assertor novorum dogmatum quæso te, ut parcas Romanis auribus; parcas fidei quæ apostolico ore laudatur. Cur post quadringentos annos docere nos niteris, quod antea nescivimus? Cur profers in medium, quod Petrus et Paulus edere noluerunt? Usque ad hunc diem sine ista doctrina mundus Christianus fuit."—"Thou that art a maintainer of new doctrine, whatsoever thou be, I pray thee spare the Roman ears, spare the faith that is commended by the Apostle's mouth. Why goest thou about, now after four hundred years, to teach us that faith which before we never knew? why bringest thou us forth that thing that Peter and Paul never uttered? Evermore until this day the Christian world hath been without this doctrine."

OF THE RESPECT DUE TO THE PRIMITIVE FATHERS OF THE CHURCH.

(Page 59.)

Fain would Mr. Harding have his reader believe that we utterly despise all holy fathers. But we despise them not, Mr. Harding, as may partly appear by that we have already said: we read their works, we reverence them, we give God thanks for them, we call them the pillars, the lights, the fathers of God's church; we despise them not. This thing only we say, Were their learning and holiness never so great, yet be they not equal in credit with the Scriptures of God.

Thus also saith St. Augustine: "Nos nullam Cypriano facimus injuriam cum ejus quaslibet literas a

canonica divinarum Scripturarum authoritate distinguimus."—" We offer no wrong to St. Cyprian, when we sever any his letters or writings from the canonical authority of the holy Scriptures." And again, joining all the doctors and fathers together, he saith thus: " Ipse mihi pro his omnibus imò supra hos omnes Apostolus Paulus occurrit. Ad ipsum confugio, ad ipsum ab omnibus qui aliter sentiunt literarum tractatoribus provoco."—" Instead of all these learned fathers, or rather above them all, Paul the Apostle cometh to my mind; to him I run, to him I appeal from all manner of writers (doctors and fathers) that think otherwise."

So likewise St. Jerome: " Ego Origenem propter eruditionem sic interdum legendum arbitror quomodo Tertullianum, Novatum, Arnobium, Apollinarium, et nonnullos ecclesiasticos scriptores Græcos pariter et Latinos, ut bona eorum eligamus, vitemusque contraria."—" I think that the ancient father Origen, in respect of his learning, may be read sometimes, as Tertullian, Novatus, Arnobius, Apollinarius, and sundry other ecclesiastical writers, as well Greek as Latin, that in them we may take the good, and flee the contrary." Of this judgment were St. Augustine, St. Jerome, and sundry others, whose words for shortness I pass over, yet were they not therefore condemned as despisers of the holy learned fathers.

We remove you not, as you say, from your hold, Mr. Harding. This is nothing else but a courage of your countenance. The fathers ye speak of are against you. I trust it appeareth already by your former writings, that in the special cases that lie between us, ye have but few fathers to hold by.

Ye say, we evermore call you to the Scriptures. This fault, I hope, is not so heinous. Christ hath commanded us so to do. Search ye (saith Christ) the

Scriptures. (John, v.) And St. Hilary saith unto the Emperor Constantius, "Fidem, imperator, quæris? Audi eam non de novis chartulis, sed de Dei libris."—"Doth your majesty seek the faith? Hear it then, not out of any new scrolls, but out of the books of God." He is rather to be suspected that flieth the light, and will not be judged by the Scriptures.

When the Scriptures be dark and doubtful, and are alleged of both parts, then ye say ye refuse not the umpireship and judgment of the Holy Ghost. But ye add further, the Holy Ghost is promised only to the church. Now by your opinion there is no church but the church of Rome; and the church of Rome is no church without the Pope. For one of your great doctors said, "Potestas Papæ solius excedit potestatem totius residuæ ecclesiæ."—"The Pope's only power passeth all the power of the whole church besides." And another like doctor saith, "Papa virtualiter est tota ecclesia."—"The Pope by power and virtue is the whole church." And thus your reason goeth round about à primo ad ultimum; ergo, There is neither Holy Ghost, nor interpretation or sense of the Scriptures, but only in the Pope. This is Summa summarum, which thing being granted, what should a man seek any further? The whole matter is at an end.

It is true, as the Scriptures were written by the Spirit of God, so must they be expounded by the same; for without that Spirit we have neither ears to hear, nor eyes to see; it is that Spirit that openeth, and no man shutteth; the same shutteth, and no man openeth. The same Spirit prepared and opened the silk-woman's heart, that she should give ear to, and consider the things that were spoken by St. Paul. (Acts, xvi.) And in respect of this Spirit the

Prophet Isaiah saith, "Erunt omnes docti à Deo:" "They shall be all taught of God."

But God hath not bound himself that his Spirit should evermore dwell in Rome, but upon the lowly and humble-hearted, that trembleth at the word of God. (Isa. lxvi.) Chrysostom saith, "Qui propria loquuntur, falso prætendunt Spiritum Sanctum."—"They that speak of themselves falsely, pretend the Holy Ghost." And again, "Si quid præter Evangelium sub titulo Spiritûs obtrudatur, ne credamus. Quia sicut Christus legis et Prophetarum impletio est, ita est Spiritus Evangelii."—"If any thing be brought unto us under the name of the Holy Ghost, besides the Gospel, let us not believe it. For as Christ is the fulfilling of the law and the Prophets, so is the Holy Ghost the fulfilling of the Gospel."

OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE FATHERS.

(Page 62.)

St. Ambrose, ye say, by this appeal to the Scriptures, excludeth not the judgment of the learned fathers, but only the cavillation and subtilties of philosophers and sophisters. For St. Ambrose himself in the same treaty often allegeth the authority of the fathers. All this, Mr. Harding, is true indeed, notwithstanding there is a certain secret untruth lapped in it. For St. Ambrose allegeth the fathers, not as grounds, or principles, or foundations of the faith, but only as interpreters, or witnesses, or consentees unto the faith; which thing of our part was never denied.

Now whether St. Ambrose meant thus, or no, let St. Ambrose himself be the judge. His words be these: "Sic nempe nostri secundum Scripturas dixerunt patres."—"Thus have our fathers said (not of themselves, but) according to the Scriptures." He allegeth the fathers, not as having sufficient credit and substance in themselves, but only as expounders and interpreters of the Scriptures.

So saith the godly father Athanasius: "Nos ista hausimus à magistris divinitùs afflatis qui sacros libros evolverunt."—"These things have we learned of our masters (or fathers), inspired from Heaven, which have read and perused the holy Scriptures." For St. Augustine very well saith, "Secundum hos libros de cæteris literis, vel fidelium, vel infidelium liberè judicamus."—"According to these books of the Scriptures, we judge frankly of all other writings, whether they be of the faithful, or of the unfaithful."

Therefore St. Jerome saith, "Omni studio legendæ nobis sunt Scripturæ, et in lege Domini meditandum die ac nocte; ut probati trapezitæ sciamus, quis nummus probus sit, quis adulterinus."—"We must read the Scriptures with all diligence, and must be occupied in the law of our Lord both day and night, that we may become perfect exchangers, and be able rightly to discern what money is lawful, and what is counterfeit."

St. Hilary saith, "Hoc proprium et Apostolicæ doctrinæ, Deum ex lege, ac Prophetis in Evangeliis prædicare."—"This is the very order of the Apostle's doctrine in the Gospel, to preach God out of the law and the Prophets."

Otherwise touching the discourse of natural reason, St. Ambrose saith, No creature, either in earth or in heaven, is able to reach the depth of these things. Thus he saith, "Mens deficit, vox silet, non mea tantum, sed angelorum; supra potestates, supra angelos, supra cherubim, supra seraphim, supra omnem sensum est."—"The mind is astonished, the voice faileth, not only mine, but also of the angels: it is above the powers, above the angels, above the cherubims, above the seraphims, and above all manner of understanding." And therefore he saith, as it is alleged once before, "Nolo nobis credatur; Scrip-

tura recitetur, non ego dico à me, 'In principio erat verbum,' sed audio."—"I would not ye should believe me; let the Scriptures be read; I say not of myself, 'In the beginning was the word,' but I hear it spoken."

And again he saith in the same book unto the Emperor Gratian, "Facescat nostra sententia, Paulum interrogemus."—"Let our judgment stand apart, and let us ask St. Paul the question." But Mr. Harding saith, "*Whosoever maketh this argument which in your word is implied, the Scriptures are to be asked, ergo, the holy fathers are not to be asked, maketh a foolish argument.*"

It seemeth no great point of wisdom, Mr. Harding, to upbraid others with folly without cause; God increase both you and us in all wisdom and understanding in Christ Jesus. Howbeit, our argument, howsoever it hath pleased you to fashion and to handle it, as we meant it and made it, had no such folly, wherefore whatsoever folly is now come to it, it is your own, it is not ours. For we deny not the learned fathers' expositions and judgments in doubtful cases of the Scriptures. We read them ourselves, we follow them, we embrace them, and, as I said before, we most humbly thank God for them. But thus we say, The same fathers' opinions and judgments, forasmuch as they are sometimes disagreeable one from another, and sometimes imply contrarieties and contradictions, therefore alone and of themselves, without farther authority and guiding of God's word, are not always sufficient warrants to charge our faith. And thus the learned catholic fathers themselves have evermore taught us to esteem and to weigh the fathers.

The ancient father Origen saith thus, as it is reported before: "Ex solis Scripturis examinationis nostræ discretio petenda est."—"The discussing of our

judgment must be taken *only* of the Scriptures." And again, " Sensus nostri et enarrationes sine Scripturis testibus non habent fidem."—" Our judgments and expositions without witness of the Scriptures have no credit." Likewise St. Augustine, " Ego solis canonicis Scripturis debeo sine ulla recusatione consensum." " My consent, without exception, I owe (not unto any father, were he never so well learned, but) only to the holy canonical Scriptures." His reason is this: " Nam cum Dominus tacuerit, quis nostrum dicat, Illa vel illa sunt? Aut si dicere audeat, unde probat?"—" For whereas the Lord himself hath not spoken, who of us can say, It is this, or that? Or if he dare say so, how can he prove it?"

And therefore he concludeth directly and in like words with St. Ambrose, " Ego vocem pastoris inquiro: Lege hoc mihi de Propheta; lege de Psalmo; recita de Lege; recita de Evangelio; recita de Apostolo."—" I require the voice of the shepherd. Read me this matter out of the Prophets; read it me out of the Psalms; read it me out of the Law; read it me out of the Gospel; read it out of the Apostles."

OF FAITH AND ASSURANCE, OR CERTAINTY OF SALVATION.

(Page 66.)

Two other great quarrels Master Harding moveth: the one of only faith; the other, as he calleth it, of the presumptuous certainty of salvation; wherein judge thou uprightly, good Christian reader, how just cause he hath to reprove our doctrine.

As for the first hereof, St. Paul saith, " Justificamur gratis ex gratia ipsius."—" We be justified freely by his grace; we judge that a man is justified by faith, without the works of the law; we know that a man is not justified by the works of the law,

but by the faith of Christ." (Rom. iii.) Mr. Harding will say, Yet hitherto of *Sola fides*, that is, of only faith, we hear nothing. Notwithstanding, when St. Paul excludeth all manner of works besides only faith, what else then leaveth he but faith alone?

Howbeit, if it be so horrible an heresy, to say, we be justified before God by only faith, that is to say, only by the merits and cross of Christ, let us see what the holy learned fathers of the church so many hundred years ago have taught us thereof.

St. Ambrose saith, "Justificati sunt gratis quia nihil operantes, neque vicem reddentes, soli fide justificati sunt dono Dei."—"They are justified freely, because, working nothing and requiting nothing, they are justified by only faith through the gift of God." Again: "Sic decretum est à Deo, ut, cessante lege, solam fidem gratia Dei posceret ad salutem."—"This was God's determination, that, the law ceasing, the grace of God should require only faith unto salvation." And again, "Sola fides posita est ad salutem."—"Only faith is laid or appointed unto salvation."

St. Basil saith, "Novit se esse inopem veræ justitiæ; sola autem fide in Christum esse justificatum."—"He knoweth himself to be void of true righteousness, and to be justified by only faith, in Christ."

Theodoretus saith, "Non ullis operibus nostris, sed per solam fidem mystica bona consequuti sumus."—"Not by any works of ours, but by only faith, we have gotten the mystical good things."

Nazianzenus saith, "Δικαιοσύνη καὶ τὸ πιστεῦσαι μόνον; Credere solum est justitiæ."—"Only believing is righteousness."

Origen saith, "Ubi est gloriatio tua? Exclusa est. Dicit sufficere solius fidei justificationem; ita ut credens quis tantummodo justificetur, etiamsi nihil boni operis fecerit."—"Where now is thy boasting (of

thy good works) ? It is shut out. Paul saith, that the justification of only faith is sufficient. So that a man only believing may be justified, although he have done no good works at all."

Hesychius saith, " Gratia ex misericordia atque compassione præbetur et fide comprehenditur sola." —" The grace of God is given only of mercy and favour, and is embraced and received by only faith."

I leave a great number of others, that have written the like, as well Greeks as Latins. Instead of them all, St. Chrysostom saith thus : " Illi dicebant, qui sola fide nititur execrabilis est ; hic contra demonstrat cum qui sola fide nititur benedictum esse."— " They said, whoso stayeth himself by only faith is accursed ; contrariwise St. Paul proveth, that whoso stayeth himself by only faith, he is blessed."

Touching the words of St. James, if Mr. Harding well considered the equivocation or double understanding of this word justification, he might soon and easily have espied his own error. For when St. Paul saith, " Abraham was justified by faith without works of the law" (Rom. iv.), he teacheth us how Abraham was received into favour, and justified before God.

Of the other side, St. James, when he saith, " Abraham was justified by works, and not by faith only ;" he speaketh of the works that follow justification, and of the fruits of faith, without which fruits, Abraham's faith had been no faith.

St. Augustine saith, " Non sunt contrariæ duorum Apostolorum sententiæ Pauli et Jacobi, cum dicit Paulus, justificari hominem sine operibus ; et Jacobus dicit, inanem esse fidem sine operibus. Quia Paulus, loquitur de operibus quæ fidem præcedunt ; Jacobus de iis quæ fidem sequuntur."— " The sayings of the two Apostles, Paul and James, are not contrary, where, as Paul saith, a man is justified without works ; and James saith, Faith without

works is in vain; for Paul speaketh of the works that go before faith; James speaketh of the works that follow after faith."

If Mr. Harding shall think St. Augustine's authority herein is not sufficient, Thomas of Aquine will avouch the same. His words are these: "Jacobus hìc loquitur de operibus sequentibus fidem; quæ dicuntur justificare, non secundum quod justificare dicitur justitiæ infusio; sed secundum quod dicitur justitiæ exercitatio, vel ostensio, vel consummatio. Res enim dicitur fieri, quando perficitur, vel innotescit."—"James, in this place, speaketh of such works as follow faith; which works are said to justify; not as justification is the procuring of righteousness; but in that it is an exercise, or a showing or a perfecting of righteousness. For we say, a thing is done, when it is perfected or known to be done."

Now concerning the assurance or certainty of salvation, the Scriptures are full. St. Paul saith. "There is no damnation to them that are in Christ Jesus. The Spirit of God beareth witness to our spirit that we are the children of God. I know that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor powers, nor principalities, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any creature else, shall be able to remove me from that love that God beareth towards me in Christ Jesus our Lord." (Rom. viii.)

But forasmuch as these words perhaps have not the sense of the church of Rome, without which, in Mr. Harding's judgment, the Scripture of God is no scripture; let us see the sense and exposition of the holy fathers.

Tertullian saith, "Ut certum esset, nos esse filios Dei, misit Spiritum suum in corda nostra clamantem Abba Pater."—"That we might be certified, that we be the children of God, he hath sent the Holy Ghost into our hearts, crying Abba, Father."

Clemens Alexandrinus saith, " Re vera sanguis fidei est spes, in qua continetur, ut fides in anima. Cum autem spes expiraverit, perinde ac si sanguis effluxerit, vitalis fidei facultas dissolvitur."—" Indeed hope is, as it were, the blood of faith ; in which faith, hope is contained, even as faith is contained in the soul. And when hope is gone, then is all the lively power of faith dissolved, as if the blood were shed out of the body."

St. Cyprian saith, " Et tu dubitas et fluctuas ? Hoc est Deum omnino non nosse. Hoc est Christum credentium magistrum peccato incredulitatis offendere. Hoc est, in ecclesia constitutum, fidem in domo fidei non habere."—" And dost thou stagger, and stand in doubt of thy salvation ? That were as much as not to know God ; that were as much as, with the sin of unbelief, to offend Christ, the master of believers ; that were as much as, being in the church, in the house of faith, to have no faith."

Prosper saith, " Securi diem judicii expectant, quibus in cruce Domini gloriantibus mundus crucifixus est et ipsi mundo."—" They unto whom the world is crucified, and are crucified unto the world, wait for the day of judgment without fear."

But to leave the ancient fathers of old time, and to put the matter quite out of doubt, one Antoninus Marinarius, in the late council of Trent, in open audience, said thus : " Si cœlum ruat, si terra evanescat, si orbis illabatur præceps, ego in eum erectus ero : si angelus de cœlo aliud mihi persuadere contendat, dicam illi Anathema. O fælicem Christiani pectoris fiduciam !"—" If the heaven should fall, if the earth should vanish, if the whole world should come down headlong, yet would I stand prest and bold before God. If an angel from heaven would tell me otherwise, I would accurse him. O the blessed trust (and certainty) of a Christian heart !"

Certainly, Mr. Harding, it were a very presumptuous part to say, that these fathers, Greek, Latins, new, old, your own and ours, were all presumptuous. If it be so presumptuous a matter to put affiance in the merits of Christ, what is it then to put affiance in our own merits? St. Paul hath taught us to say, "God forbid that I should glory, but only in the cross of Christ." (Gal. vi.) St. Bazil saith, "Qui non fidit suis meritis nec expectat ex operibus justificari, unam et solam spem habet salutis suæ misericordias Domini."—"Whoso trusteth not in his own merits, nor looketh to be justified by his works, hath his only hope of salvation in the mercies of our Lord."

So saith Job in all his miseries, "Etiamsi me occiderit sperabo in eum: veruntamen vias meas in conspectu ejus arguam."—"Although he kill me, yet will I put my trust in him. Notwithstanding, I will reprove my ways before his sight." So the Prophet David: "In thee, O Lord, have I trusted; I will never be confounded." (Psal. lxx.) This is no presumption, but a patient and an humble waiting for the redemption of the children of God.

It is most true that St. Paul saith (Phil. ii.), "We must work our own salvation with fear and trembling." But this fear riseth in consideration of our own weakness and unworthiness; not of any distrust or doubt in God's mercy; but rather the less cause we find to trust in ourselves, the more cause we have to trust in God.

Therefore St. Augustine saith, "Præsume non de operatione tua, sed de Christi gratia. Gratia enim salvati estis, inquit Apostolus. Non ergo hic arrogantia est sed fides. Prædicare quod acceperis, non est superbia, sed devotio."—"Presume thou not of thine own working, but of the grace of Christ. For the Apostle saith, "Ye are saved by grace." Here, therefore, is not presumption, but faith. To proclaim that thou hast received, it is no pride, it is devotion."

Again he saith, "Non mea presumptione sed ipsius promissione in judicium non venio."—"It is not of my presumption, but of his promise, that I shall not come into judgment." St. Bazil saith, "Paulus gloriatur de contemptione justitiæ suæ."—"Paul (presumeth and) boasteth of the contempt of his own righteousness."

So saith St. Ambrose: "Non gloriabor, quia justus sum; sed quia redemptus sum, gloriabor; non quia vacuus sum a peccatis, sed quia mihi remissa sunt peccata. Non gloriabor, quia profui, neque quia profuit mihi quisquam; sed quia pro me advocatus apud Patrem Christus est; sed quia pro me Christi sanguis effusus est."—"I will not glory for that I am a just man, but for that I am redeemed, therefore will I glory; not for that I am void of sin, but for that my sins are forgiven me; I will not glory for that I have done good to any man, nor for that any man hath done good to me; but for that Christ is my advocate with the Father, and for that Christ's blood was shed for me."

Therefore St. Augustine saith, "Quid retribuam Domino, quod recolit hæc memoria mea, et anima mea non metuit inde?"—"What shall I render unto our Lord, for that I call to remembrance all these my sins, and yet my soul thereof is not afraid?"

To be short; thus saith St. Bernard: "Ubi tuta firmaque infirmis securitas et requies, nisi in vulneribus Salvatoris? Tanto illic securior habito, quanto ille potentior est ad salvandum, &c. Peccavi peccatum grande. Turbatur conscientia, sed non perturbabitur; quoniam vulnerum Domini recordabor, nempe vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras."—"What safe rest or surety can the weak soul find but in the wounds of our Saviour? As he is mightier to save, so dwell I there with much more safety, &c. I have committed a great sin; my conscience is troubled, yet shall it not be shaken down, because I

will remember my Lord's wounds; for he was wounded for our sins."

Thus, Mr. Harding, to be assured of our salvation, St. Augustine saith, "It is no arrogant stoutness; it is our faith. It is no pride; it is devotion. It is no presumption; it is God's promise."

But your whole doctrine of the trust in man's merits leadeth directly to desperation; and therefore St. Cyprian saith well of you, "Asserunt noctem pro die; interitum pro salute; desperationem, sub obtentu spei; perfidiam sub prætextu fidei; Antichristum sub vocabulo Christi."—"They teach us night instead of day; destruction instead of health; desperation under the colour of hope; infidelity under the pretence of faith; Antichrist under the name of Christ."

THE CHURCH, HOW CATHOLIC.

(Page 82.)

I TRUST, gentle reader, thou wilt not look I should answer all Mr. Harding's ordinary idle talk; so should I lose good time without cause, and be overtroublesome to thine ears.—"*O* (saith he), *what a world it is to see these defenders! They which have not kept the unity of the spirit in the bond of charity, which St. Paul requireth, but have severed themselves from the body of the church, tell us now, forsooth, that they believe there is one church of God.*" O Mr. Harding, if we have herein said ill, then bear witness of the ill. If we have said well, wherefore make you these bitter outcries? Whatsoever ye have conceived us to be, yet might ye suffer us quietly to say the truth, specially such truth as you imagine maketh so much for yourself.

Ye say, we confess, that our church began only about forty years since, and was never before. No, Mr. Harding, we confess it not; and you yourself

well know we confess it not. It is your tale; it is not ours. We say, and have sufficiently proved, and you know it right well, if ye would be known of that ye know, that our doctrine is the old, and yours is the new. If ye will needs force yourself to the denial, it may easily be proved, and that by such authority as yourself may not well deny, unless ye will once again do now as ye have twice done before.

We say that our doctrine, and the order of our churches, is elder than yours by five hundred whole years and more. If ye will not believe us, yet believe Mr. Harding, he will tell you even the same. Mark well his words: these they be: *It standeth not with Christ's promises made to the church, that he should suffer his church to continue in darkness these thousand years past.*

And thus, by secret confession, he leaveth us five hundred threescore and six whole years at the least; that is to say, the whole time of Christ, of his Apostles, and of all the godly learned doctors and fathers of the primitive church; which time, notwithstanding, is thought a great deal better and purer than all the time that hath followed afterward.

In this division, Mr. Harding, being attent and eager upon his cause, and claiming as much as he thought with any modesty he might be able, hath claimed to himself a thousand years of the night, and hath left us well near six hundred years of the day.

This is your own witness, Mr. Harding, consider well of it. It is your own. Therefore ye do yourself great wrong, and much deface your own credit, so suddenly to say our doctrine is new. God's name be blessed, it hath the testimony not only of Christ and his Apostles, but also of the old learned Catholic fathers of the church.

And this it is that so much grieveth you, that we reform our churches now according to the pattern

and samplar of Christ and his Apostles' first institution. For thereby the disorder and deformity of your churches the more appeareth.

Lyrinensis saith, "That thing must be holden for Catholic, that every where, evermore, and of all men hath been believed." These general notes must be limited with this special restraint; "whereas the churches were not corrupted." For otherwise there was never any doctrine so Catholic, no, not the confessed doctrine of Christ himself, that hath been received *evermore*, and *every where*, and *of all men*, without any exception.

For the Turks receive it not, and the Jews abhor it. And so the very Gospel of Christ itself, by this rule, should not be Catholic. But, Mr. Harding, these self-same notes of Lyrinensis utterly overthrow the greatest part of that whole doctrine that you would so fain have counted Catholic. For neither reacheth it within five hundred years of the Apostles' time, nor hath it that antiquity indeed, that in face and countenance is pretended, as it is plain, by your own former confession; nor was it ever universally received, as hereafter by particulars shall be proved. It never had that universality, neither of all times and ages, nor of places and countries; nor was it ever universally received and allowed of all men. Therefore, whatsoever ye call it, ye cannot, by your own definition, call it Catholic.

The Catholic church of God standeth not in multitude of persons, but in weight of truth; otherwise Christ himself and his Apostles had not been Catholic. For his flock was very little, and the Catholic, or universal consent of the world, stood against it. The church of God is compared to the moon; for that she waxeth and waneth as the moon doth, and sometimes is full, sometimes is empty; and therefore, as St. Augustine saith, is called "Catholica quia universaliter perfecta est et in nullo claudicat, et per

totum orbem diffusa est."—"Because she is universally perfect, and halteth in nothing, and is (not now shut up in one only country, as was the church of the Jews, but) poured throughout the whole world."

Though the hearts of men have often changed, yet God's truth is evermore one; and, be it in many or in few, is ever Catholic. Thus, Mr. Harding, it is written by one of your own side, "Et si non nisi duo viri fideles remanerent in mundo, tamen in eis salvaretur ecclesia quæ est unitas fidelium."—"Although there were but two faithful men remaining in the world, yet even in them two the church, which is the unity of the faithful, should be saved."

ON THE NATURE OF THE CHURCH AND ITS SACRIFICE.

(Page 129.)

THEREFORE we neither have bishops without church, nor church without bishops. Neither doth the church of England this day depend on them, whom you often call apostates, as if our church were no church without them. They are no apostates, Mr. Harding; that is rather your own name, and of good right belongeth unto you. They are, for a great part, learned, and grave, and godly men, and are much ashamed to see your follies. Notwithstanding, if there were not one, neither of them nor of us, left alive, yet would not therefore the whole church of England flee to Louvaine.

Tertullian saith, "Nonne et laici sacerdotes sumus? Scriptum est, Regnum quoque, et sacerdotes Deo et Patri suo nos fecit. Differentiam inter ordinem et plebem constituit ecclesiæ authoritas, et honor per ordinis confessum sanctificatus à Deo. Ubi ecclesiastici ordinis non est confessus, et offert et tingit sacerdos, qui est ibi solus, sed et ubi tres sunt,

ecclesia est, licet laici unusquisque enim de sua fide vivit."—"And we, being laymen, are we not priests? It is written, Christ hath made us both a kingdom, and priests unto God his Father. The authority of the church, and the honour by the assembly or council of order sanctified of God, hath made a difference between the lay and the clergy. Whereas there is no assembly of ecclesiastical order, the priest being there alone (without the company of other priests), doth both minister the oblation, and also baptize. Yea, and be there but three together, and though they be laymen, yet there is a church. For every man liveth of his own faith."

Addition.—For answer hereto Mr. Harding hath yielded us words enow. *A thousand faults* (he saith), *and many thousand lies, are in my books. Ye would blush* (he saith), *if any shame were in you, &c.* (The whole sum hereof is this:) *Tertullian was an heretic, and wrote this book against the church. There is a difference between priests and laymen. There is priesthood internal and priesthood external: where the external priesthood is denied, as among the Lutherans and Calvinists, there is no church, &c.*

Touching the first part hereof, I grant, that Tertullian, in some part, fell from the truth of God, even as you have also, Mr. Harding, and followed Montanus the heretic in his errors. The errors of Montanus were these: First he said, "He knew more than the Apostles of Christ, and that the Apostles' knowledge was uncertain, and wanted perfection." Further he said, "That second marriage was fornication and filthiness:" that the thing, wherein you have taken hold, touching priests and lay people, was no part of Montanus's errors. If it were, bring it forth out of some record; let it appear, that we may see it. Neither may you justly conclude, because Tertullian, in one or two points, was an heretic, that therefore every sentence in his book is full of heresies.

As for these words, he had them not out of Montanus the heretic, but out of St. Peter, the Apostle of Christ. Thus saith St. Peter (1 Ep. ii.), "Vos estis regale sacerdotium."—"You are the kingly priesthood." And thus he saith not only unto priests and bishops, but also unto the whole Christian people. Likewise St. John the Evangelist saith, "Christ, with his blood, hath washed us from our sins, and hath made us kings and priests unto God his Father." But ye tell us, "*There is a priesthood internal, and a priesthood external, and there is a difference between laymen and priests.*" What needeth this talk, Mr. Harding? There is not one of us that ever taught otherwise.

We know that the priest or minister of the church of God is divided from the rest of his brethren, as was the tribe of Levi from the children of Israel, and hath a special office over the people. Neither may any man force himself into that office without lawful calling.

But, as touching the inward priesthood, and the exercise of the soul, we say even as St. Peter, and St. John, and Tertullian, have said, "In this sense every faithful Christian man is a priest, and offereth unto God spiritual sacrifices." In this only sense, I say, and none otherwise.

Now, if any man shall think it strange to hear a layman, in any sense, called a priest, may it please him to peruse some part of that hereafter followeth, in this Defence. There shall he find, by the authorities of St. Augustine, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Chrysostom, that whosoever is a member of Christ's body, whosoever is a child of the church, whosoever is baptized in Christ, and beareth his name, is fully invested with this priesthood, and therefore may justly be called a priest. And wheresoever there be three such together, as Tertullian saith, yea,

though they be only laymen, yet have they a church.

The old father Origen saith, "Omnes quicunque unguento sacri chrismatis delibuti sunt fiunt sacerdotes."—"All they that are bathed with the ointment of holy chrism, are made priests." St. Augustine saith, "Holocaustum dominicæ passionis offert quisque pro peccatis suis, &c."—"Every man offereth up the sacrifice of our Lord's passion for his sins." Likewise St. Cyprian: "Omnes qui a Christi nomine dicuntur Christiani, offerunt Deo quotidianum sacrificium, ordinati à Deo sanctimoniæ sacerdotes."—"All men that of the name of Christ be called Christians, offer up unto God the daily sacrifice, being ordained of God the priests of holiness."

Thus we see all Christian men are priests, and offer up to God the daily sacrifice; that is, the sacrifice of Christ's passion. Therefore, Mr. Harding, if ye condemn Tertullian in this behalf, ye must also condemn so many holy and learned fathers for the same.

But you Protestants (ye say) *have no external sacrifice, and therefore ye have no church at all.* It pitieth me, Mr. Harding, to see the vanity of your dealing. Have we no external sacrifice, say you? I beseech you, what sacrifice did Christ or his Apostles ever command, that we have refused? Leave your misty clouds, and generalities of words, and speak it plainly, that ye may seem to say some truth.

We have the sacrifice of prayer, the sacrifice of alms-deeds, the sacrifice of praise, the sacrifice of thanksgiving, and the sacrifice of the death of Christ. We are taught to present our own bodies, as a pure, and a holy, and a well-pleasing sacrifice unto God, and to offer up unto him the burning oblation of our lips.

"These (saith St. Paul, Rom. xii.) be the sacrifices wherewith God is well pleased." These be the

sacrifices of the church of God; whosoever hath these, we cannot say he is void of sacrifice. Howbeit, if we speak of a sacrifice propitiatory for the satisfaction of sins, we have none other but only Christ Jesus, the Son of God, upon his cross. "He is that sacrificed Lamb of God, that hath taken away the sins of the world." (Heb. xiii.)

You will say, "*Ye offer not up Christ really unto God his Father.*" No, Mr. Harding, neither we nor you can so offer him, nor did Christ ever give you commission to make such sacrifice. And this is it, wherewith you so foully beguile the simple. Christ offereth and presenteth us unto his Father. "For by him we have access to the throne of grace." (Heb. iv.) But no creature is able to offer him. Christ Jesus upon his cross was a priest for ever, according to the order of Melchisedech.

As for our part, St. Augustine saith, "Holocausti ejus imaginem ad memoriam passionis suæ in ecclesia celebrandum dedit."—"Christ hath given us, to celebrate in his church, an image or token of that sacrifice for the remembrance of his passion." Again he saith, "Hujus sacrificii caro et sanguis post ascensionem Christi per sacramentum memoriæ celebratur."—"After Christ's ascension into heaven, the flesh and blood of this sacrifice is continued by a sacrament of remembrance."

Eusebius saith, "Sacrificium incendimus illi memoriam magni illius sacrificii, &c. Jussit nos offerre memoriam pro sacrificio."—"We burn a sacrifice unto God, the remembrance of that great sacrifice upon the cross, &c." Christ "commanded us to offer up a remembrance (of his death) instead of a sacrifice." It were an infinite labour to report all that may be said.

To be short: St. Jerome saith, turning himself unto Christ, "Tunc acceptabis sacrificium vel cum

te pro nobis offers Patri, vel cum à nobis laudes, et gratiarum actiones accipis."—" Then shalt thou, O Christ, receive sacrifice, either when thou offerest up thyself for us unto thy Father (which was only upon the cross), or else when thou receivest of us praises and thanksgivings."

All these things are true, Mr. Harding; you cannot deny them. You may therefore lay up the thousand faults, and so many thousand lies, with the shame and blushing that ye spake of. Slander no more, neither Montanus nor Tertullian; though in some points they were deceived as heretics, yet herein they were Catholic, and agreed with others the godly learned fathers of the church. God's name be blessed for ever, we want neither church nor priesthood, nor any kind of sacrifice that Christ hath left unto his faithful.

THE WORD IS THE SUBSTANCE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

(Page 151.)

Mr. Harding replieth farther: *We have remission of sins in the ministration of the sacraments; therefore we have it not only by the hearing of the word of God.* This objection is touched, and partly answered, a little before. St. Augustine calleth the sacraments " verba visibilia," " words visible;" for that in them, as in lively images, the death of Christ is sensibly set before our eyes. For the word of God is the substance and life of all sacraments; and without the same, sacraments whatsoever are no sacraments.

And therefore St. Augustine saith, as it is alleged before, " Quare non ait, Vos mundi estis propter baptismum, quo loti estis; sed ait, propter verbum quod locutus sum vobis? Nisi quia et in aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua, nisi

aqua ?"—" Why saith not Christ, You are clean because of the baptism wherewith ye are washed; but because of the word that I have spoken to you? Saving for that, it is the word that cleanseth in the water. Take the word away, and what is water else but water?"

CALVIN DEFENDED.

(Page 154.)

Touching Mr. Calvin, it is great wrong untruly to report so reverend a father, and so worthy an ornament of the church of God. If you had ever known the order of the church of Geneva, and had seen four thousand people or more, receiving the holy mysteries together at one communion, ye could not, without your great shame and want of modesty, thus untruly have published to the world, that by Mr. Calvin's doctrine the sacraments of Christ are superfluous.

Certainly, to leave all that he hath otherwise spoken of the sacraments in general, of the sacrament of Christ's last supper he writeth thus: " Magnum consolationis, ac suavitatis fructum ex hoc sacramento colligere possunt piæ animæ; quòd illic testimonium habeant, Christum sic nobis adunatum esse, sic nos illi vicissim insertos, adeoque in unum corpus cum ipso coaluisse, ut quicquid ipsius est, nostrum vocare liceat."—" The godly minds may take great fruit of pleasure and comfort of this sacrament; for that therein they have a witness, that Christ is so made one with us, and we so grafted into him, and are so grown both into one body, that whatsoever is his, we may now call it ours."

But Calvin (you say) *writeth thus: The supper is a token of remembrance, to lift up, or to help our infirmity. For if otherwise we were mindful enough*

of Christ's death, this help were superfluous. O Mr. Harding, how far malice may bear a man! Because Mr. Calvin saith, "we are weak, and have need of outward sacraments, to quicken the dulness of our senses," saith he therefore that the sacraments be superfluous? If he had likewise said, Our bodies be weak, and have need to be refreshed with meat and drink, would you gather thereof that meat and drink are superfluous? Nay, contrariwise he concludeth, "We have need of sacraments, therefore sacraments be needful." And the greater our weakness is, the more need have we of such remedies.

His words, amongst many others of like sense, be these: "Sic est exigua nostra fides, ut nisi undique fulciatur, atque omnibus modis sustentetur, statim concutiatur, fluctuet, vacillet."—"So small is our faith, that unless it be born up of every side, and by all means be maintained, it shaketh, it wavereth, and is like to fall."

If this be so dangerous a doctrine as you tell us, why then are the ancient Catholic fathers suffered to hold and maintain the same? Dionysius, whom you so often call St. Paul's scholar, writeth thus: "Nos imaginibus sensibilibus, quantum fieri potest, ad divinas adducimur contemplationes."—"We, as much as may be, by sensible images or sacraments, are brought unto divine contemplations."

Likewise St. Augustine saith, "Sacramenta propter carnales visibilia instituta sunt; ut ab illis quæ oculis cernuntur, ad illa, quæ intelliguntur, sacramentorum gradibus transferamur."—"Visible sacraments are ordained for carnal men, that by the steps of sacraments we may be led from the things that we see with eye, unto the things that we understand." So saith Cyprian, "Fidei nostræ infirmitas sensibili argumento edocta est, &c."—"The weakness of our

faith is taught by the understanding of the sacrament, &c."

So St. Chrysostom: "Si incorporei essemus nuda et incorporea nobis hæc ipsa daret; nunc, quia corporibus insertas habemus animas sub visibilibus spiritualia tradit."—"If we were bodiless, God would give us these things bare and bodiless; but forasmuch as we have souls fastened unto our bodies, therefore God giveth us things spiritual under things visible."

Again he saith, "Rectis et fidelibus Scripturæ non sunt necessariæ, dicente Apostolo, Lex justis non est posita."—"To the godly and faithful the Scriptures are not necessary; for so the Apostle saith, There is no law provided for the just." And again, "Oportuerat quidem nos nihil indigere auxilio literarum, sed tam nudam in omnibus vitam exhibere, ut librorum vice gratia Spiritus uteremur."—"It behoved us to have no need of the Scriptures; but in all things to shew our lives so pure and clean, that, instead of books, we might use the grace of the Holy Ghost."

In like manner St. Jerome saith, "Cum meruerimus esse cum Christo, et similes angelis fuerimus, tunc librorum doctrina cessabit."—"When we shall obtain to be with Christ, and shall be like unto the angels, then the doctrine of books shall give place."

Now tell us, Mr. Harding, must we hereof conclude as you do, that these holy fathers, St. Cyprian, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, *held false and perilous doctrines, and with wicked temerity* (as you say) *would abandon both Scriptures and sacraments as things not necessary?* Certainly, for full resolution hereof, Mr. Calvin himself saith thus: "Facilè patior ut quæ Christus nobis dedit, salutis adjumenta, eorum usus necessarius dicatur, quando, scilicet, datur facultas. Quanquam semper admonendi

sunt fideles, non aliam esse cujusvis sacramenti necessitatem quam instrumentalis causæ cui nequaquam alligandi est Dei virtus. Vocem sanè illam nemo pius est, qui non toto pectore exhorreat, sacramenta res esse superfluas."—"I can well suffer, that whatsoever helps of salvation Christ hath given us, the use thereof be counted necessary; I mean, when we may have opportunity and time to use them. Howbeit, thus much the faithful must be warned, that the necessity of any sacrament is none otherwise, but as of a cause instrumental, unto which cause we may not in any wise bind the power of God. But that the sacraments be things superfluous, no godly man can abide to hear it."

Whereas you further charge Mr. Calvin, for saying, the children of the faithful are born holy; ye should rather herewith have charged St. Paul; for thus he saith: "Nunc liberi vestri sancti sunt."—"Now are your children holy." (1 Cor. vii.) Ye should have remembered, Mr. Harding, that these be St. Paul's words, and not Mr. Calvin's. His meaning is, that the children of the faithful, notwithstanding by nature they be the children of anger, yet by God's free election they be pure and holy. This is St. Paul's undoubted doctrine, which notwithstanding, *he never either despised the sacraments of Christ, nor led the people* (as you say) *to Mahomet or Epicurus.*

THE AGREEMENT AMONG THE REFORMERS.

(Page 198.)

Mr. Harding saith, *If ye have this light of the Scripture before your eyes, how is it, that ye agree no better amongst yourselves?* And here he reckoneth up by rote a many of names of his own making, *Lutherans, Zuinglians, Arians, Osiandrines, Liber-*

tines, Adiaphorists, Anabaptists, Calvinists, and Satanists. In which his so pleasant fancy he may have leave to sport himself while he listeth. God be thanked, we agree thoroughly together in the whole substance of the religion of Christ, and altogether with one heart and one spirit do glorify God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. Certainly, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Chrysostom, Epiphanius, and Theophilus, as it appeareth by their writings, agreed no better together in their time, than we do now; yet had they, and every of them, the word of God, and the same word of God was a light unto their feet.

CONCERNING THE DISTINCTION OF ORDERS BETWEEN BISHOPS AND PRIESTS.

(Page 202.)

But what meant Mr Harding here to come in with the difference between priests and bishops? Thinketh he that priests and bishops hold only by tradition? or is it so horrible an heresy as he maketh it, to say, that by the Scriptures of God a bishop and a priest are all one? or knoweth he how far, and unto whom, he reacheth the name of an heretic?

Verily Chrysostom saith, "Inter episcopum et presbyterum interest fermè nihil."—"Between a bishop and priest in a manner there is no difference." St. Jerome saith somewhat in rougher sort, "Audio quendam in tantum erupisse vecordiam, ut diaconos presbyteris, id est episcopis anteferret; cum Apostolus perspicuè doceat, eosdem esse presbyteros quos episcopos."—"I hear say there is one become so peevish, that he setteth deacons before priests, that is to say, before bishops; whereas the Apostle plainly teacheth us, that priests and bishops be all one."

St. Augustine saith, " Quid est episcopus, nisi primus presbyter, hoc est, summus sacerdos ?"—" What is a bishop, but the first priest, that is to say, the highest priest ?" So saith St. Ambrose, " Episcopi et presbyteri una ordinatio est; uterque enim sacerdos est, sed episcopus primus est."—" There is but one consecration of priest and bishop, for both of them are priests, but the bishop is the first."

All these and other more holy fathers, together with St. Paul the Apostle, for thus saying, by Mr. Harding's advice must be holden for heretics.

HOW THE SACRAMENTS CONTAIN GRACE.

(Page 206.)

Mr. Harding saith, *There be seven sacraments, which* (as he saith) *do not only signify a holy thing, but also do sanctify and make holy those to whom they be adhibited, being such as, by institution of Christ, contain grace in them, and power to sanctify.* Here to leave the rest, it might be demanded how can matrimony sanctify a man, and make him holy ? or by what institution of Christ containeth it grace in itself, and power to sanctify ? or if it cannot sanctify, nor have such grace, how then can it be called a sacrament ?

I grant, the ancient learned fathers, intreating of the sacraments, have often used vehement and great words. It is written in the council of Nice, " Vides aquam, considera vim divinam quæ in aquis latet, puta aquam esse plenam ignis divini."—" Seest thou the water ? Consider the divine power that lieth hid in the water. Imagine that the water is full of heavenly fire."

So St. Ambrose, " Spiritus Sanctus descendit, et aquam consecrat; adest præsentiaTrinitatis."—" The Holy Ghost cometh down, and halloweth the water. There is the presence of the Trinity." So saith Ter-

tullian, " In baptismo tingimur passione Christi."—" In baptism we are washed with the passion of Christ." So saith Chrysostom, as Mr. Harding hath here alleged him, " Baptism is full of power and grace." So saith St. Cyprian, so say others.

All these and other like vehement speeches Mr. Harding mitigateth and qualifieth in this wise. *We mean* (saith he) *that sacraments contain grace, after such manner of speaking as we say, potions and drinks contain health:* that is to say, sacraments verily and indeed contain not the grace of God; for drinks and potions verily and indeed contain not the health of the patient. In this manner of speech the children of the Prophets said to Elisha the Prophet, " Mors in olla, vir Dei."—" O thou man of God, death is in the pot."

So Solomon saith, " Death and life are in the hands of the tongue." (Prov. xvii.) So Christ said unto the Pharisees, " Search the Scriptures; for in them you think to have everlasting life." (John, v.) And yet indeed neither was death in the Prophet's pot, nor is life and death in the tongue, nor is life everlasting in the Scriptures.

Therefore one of Mr. Harding's school doctors saith, " In sacramentis ecclesiæ specialis virtus passionis Christi continetur, sicut virtus agentis in instrumento."—" The special grace of the passion of Christ is contained in the sacraments of the church, as the power of the worker is contained in the instrument wherewith he worketh."

But indeed it is the soul of man, and not the creature of bread or water, that receiveth the grace of God. We have need of God's grace; these corruptible elements need it not. Without faith of our part, sacraments be not only unprofitable to us, but also hurtful. St. Chrysostom saith, " Ubi est virtus Evangelii? In figuris literarum an intellectu

sensuum ?"—" Where is the power of the Gospel ? In the forms of the letters, or else in the understanding of the meaning ?"

Likewise Bonadventura saith, " Nullo modo dicendum est, quod gratia continetur in ipsis sacramentis essentialiter, tanquam aqua in vase, vel medicina in pyxide. Imò hoc intelligere est erroneum ; sed dicuntur continere gratiam quia eam significant." —" We may not in any wise say, that the grace of God is contained substantially and verily in the sacraments, as water is contained in the vessel, or a medicine in a box ; for to say it, were erroneous : but we say, the sacraments contain the grace of God, because they signify the grace of God."

Again, he saith, " Gratia est in anima, non in signis visibilibis."—" The grace of God is not in the visible signs, but in the soul." And again he saith : " Ad illud quod objicitur, quòd remissio peccatorum latet in baptismo, dicendum est, quòd hoc intelligitur de latentia signati in signo ; quod quidem habet ulteriorem rationem, quàm rationem significandi, non tamen essentialiter continendi in se, sed quia ipsum quod signat continetur in anima."—" To the objection that is made, that the remission of sins is hid in baptism, we must answer thus, that it must be taken of the thing signified, hid in the sign ; which thing, nevertheless, hath a further meaning than to signify, yet not to contain (the remission of sins), verily and substantially in itself, but that the grace that is signified thereby is contained in the soul."

The mystical signification that Mr. Harding hath imagined of his shows and accidents, that is, that the forms of bread and wine outwardly represent the spiritual nourishing of the soul, is vain and fantastical, without the witness of any ancient doctor or father, confirmed only by the authority of

himself. For what manner of feeding is there in these accidents and holy forms? Or, how can that thing that feedeth not the body, represent unto us the spiritual feeding of the soul?

The matter is plain enough of itself, and needeth no cavil. The signification and substance of the sacrament is to show us how we are fed with the body of Christ, that is, that like as material bread feedeth our body, so the body of Christ, nailed on the cross, embraced and eaten by faith, feedeth the soul. The like representation is also made in the sacrament of baptism; that as our body is washed clean with water, so our soul is washed clean with Christ's blood. Therefore, St. Augustine saith, "Nisi sacramenta similitudinem quandam earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, haberunt, omnino sacramenta non essent."—"If sacraments had not a certain likeness and representation of the things whereof they be sacraments, then indeed they were no sacraments."

This representation Rabanus Maurus expoundeth thus: "Quia panis corporis cor confirmat, ideo ille congruentur corpus Christi nuncupatur; et quia vinum sanguinem operatur in carne, adeo refertur ad sanguinem."—"Because (not the accident or forms of bread, but) bread itself confirmeth the heart of the body, therefore it is conveniently called the body of Christ; and because wine worketh blood in the flesh, therefore it hath relation unto the blood."

So likewise saith Druthmarus: "Vinum lætificat et sanguinem auget, et, ideo, non inconvenienter sanguis Christi per hoc figuratur." (Not the accidents or forms of wine, but) "Wine itself rejoiceth the heart, and increaseth blood; and, therefore, the blood of Christ conveniently is hereby signified."

Mr. Harding, for that he cannot utterly deny it,

the matter being so plain, is therefore contented to grant, that the sacrament is *the figure of Christ's body*. But to help out, and to shift the matter, he hath devised such a strange kind of figure, as seldom hath been heard before, notwithstanding the holy learned fathers speak plainly and simply, and use no kind of such glosses.

St. Jerome saith, "Ad tropicam intelligentiam sermo referatur: quando dico, tropicam, doceo verum non esse quod dicitur, sed allegoriæ nubilo figuratum."—"Let that saying be expounded by a figure: when I say, a figure, I say, the thing that is spoken is not true indeed, but figured under the cloud of an allegory."

Likewise Chrysostom saith, "Audisti fuisse figuram; ne ergo mirare, neque omnia require in typo. Neque enim typus esset, si omnia, quæ verita accidunt, haberentur."—"Ye have heard that it was a figure, therefore marvel not; and being a figure, require not all things to agree: for, otherwise, it were no figure."

So likewise St. Augustine saith, "In principio cavendum est, ne figurarum locutionem ad literam accipias. Ad hoc enim pertinet quod ait Apostolus: 'Litera occidit.' Cum enim figurate dictum sic accipitur, tanquam propriè dictum sit, carnaliter sapitur; neque ulla mors animæ congruentiùs appellatur."—"First of all, thou must take heed that thou take not a figurative speech, according to the letter or sound of the words; for that is it, whereof St. Paul saith, 'The letter killeth.' For when the thing that is spoken under a figure is so taken as if it were plainly spoken, there is a fleshly understanding. Neither is there any thing that may better be called the death of the soul." All this, and much more to like purpose, thou mayest find in my former reply to Mr. Harding.

St. Jerome saith, "When I say it is a figure, then I say, it is not the truth." Chrysostom saith: "If it were the truth itself, it were no figure." St. Augustine saith, "Beware thou expound not a figurative speech according to the sound of the letter, as if it were the truth indeed, for that is the death of the soul." Thus the holy fathers have taught us to find a difference between a figure and the truth itself.

Another fantasy Mr. Harding hath found: *that the sacraments of the new law work the thing itself that they signify, through virtue* (as he saith) *given unto them by God's ordinance to special effects of grace.* This, as I said, is but a fantasy; for the sacraments of the old law, and of the new, in truth and substance are all one. St. Paul saith, "Omnes eundem cibum comederunt."—"The fathers in the old law did all eat the same meat;" that is to say, the same Christ, that we eat. St. Hilary saith, "Sub nube fuerunt, et Christo, aquam petra præbente, potati sunt."—"They were under the cloud, and were drenched with Christ, the rock giving them water."

Likewise saith Leo, "Mysteria pro temporum ratione variata sunt; quum fides qua vivimus nulla fuit ætate diversa."—"The sacraments are altered according to the diversity of the times. But the faith, whereby we live in all ages, was ever one." Likewise St Augustine, "Sacramenta illa fuerunt, in signis diversa, in rebus quæ significabantur, paria."—"These things were sacraments, in the outward tokens divers; but in the things tokened, all one with ours."

Mr. Harding will reply, St. Augustine saith, "Sacramenta Novi Testamenti dant salutem."—"The sacraments of the New Testament give salvation." But who can better expound St. Augustine's meaning than St. Augustine himself? He addeth

immediately, " Cum ergo jam teneas promissa, quid quæris promittentia Salvatorem? Hoc dico, teneas promissa, non quòd jam acceperimus vitam æternam, sed quòd jam Christus venerit, qui per Prophetas prænuntiabatur."—" Wherefore seeing thou hast the promises (of the coming of Christ) already performed, what seekest thou the things that promised the Saviour? I say, Thou hast the promises already performed, not for that we have already received everlasting life, but for that Christ is already come that was promised by the Prophets." Therefore when St. Augustine saith, " Our sacraments give salvation," his meaning is this, Our sacraments teach us that salvation is already come into the world.

Addition.—Mr. Harding. *So then* " *Dare*," *is to teach*; *and* " *Salus*," *is salvation come into the world. Here is gay gear for wantons to dally with words in matter of our salvation.*

The Answer.—Oh, what proper sport ye make yourself with this *gay* gear, Mr. Harding! " *Dare*" (you say) *is not Latin to teach.* I answer you, neither is *Dare* Latin to contain. But this I say, " Sacraments give grace so far forth as sacraments be able to give grace." Your own Bonaventura saith, " Non est aliquo modo dicendum, &c."—" We may not in any wise say, that the grace of God is really contained in the sacraments, as water is contained in a vessel, or a medicine in a box. For so to take it, it were an error. But we say, Sacraments contain the grace of God, because they represent or signify the grace of God."

Thus far forth, Mr. Harding, sacraments are able to give grace. And therefore your school doctors thus commonly define a sacrament: " Sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibile signum."—" A sacrament is a visible sign of grace invisible." As for the meaning of St. Augustine, I made it plain by

other his words immediately following, which you guilefully have dissembled. For thus he saith, "Thou hast the promises already performed, not for that we have already received everlasting life, but for that Christ is already come, that was promised by the Prophets." And although the death of Christ be already passed, yet is it laid lively and freshly before our eyes in the ministration of the sacraments.

St. Ambrose saith, "In baptismo crucifigimus in nobis Filium Dei."—"In baptism we crucify in ourselves the Son of God." St. Chrysostom saith, "In mysteriis mors Christi perficitur."—"The death of Christ is wrought in the mysteries." Thus the grace of God is given unto us in the sacraments, because it is represented and laid before us in the sacraments. Thus saith St. Augustine, thus saith St. Chrysostom, St. Ambrose, and other holy fathers. They were no wantons; neither did they, nor do we, *dally*, as you say, *with these things*. We use them humbly with obedience and reverence, as the instruments of the grace of God.

Thus St. Augustine saith in another place, "Illa fuerunt promissiones rerum complendarum; hæc sunt indicia completarum."—"The sacraments of the old law were promises of such things as should afterwards be accomplished. Our sacraments of the new law are tokens that the same promises be already accomplished." Thus the holy fathers say, "The sacraments of the new law work salvation," because they teach us that our salvation is already wrought. So Bonaventura saith of the sacraments of the Old Testament, "Mundare dicebantur; id est, mundatum ostendebant."—"They were said to make a man clean, because they shewed or signified that a man was made clean."

Addition.—Mr. Harding. *What then? Will it follow, that because our sacraments do shew that*

Christ is already come, therefore our sacraments give no grace, &c.? He that eateth Christ's flesh sheweth his death, saith St. Paul; and he that eateth my flesh, saith Christ, hath life everlasting. Mark how our having of life goeth together with our shewing of Christ's death; you divide these matters, and make Christ's sacraments only to be shows.—The answer. You have misalleged St. Paul, Mr. Harding. These are not his words; look better on your books, and see your error. If I had some part of your eloquence, I could cry out, as you do, *Falsifiers and corrupters of God's word.*

St. Paul saith not, "*He that eateth Christ's flesh sheweth his death.*" You deal untruly. Thus he saith, "As often as you shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, you shall shew forth the Lord's death." (1 Cor. xi.) The bread of the sacrament is one thing, Mr. Harding, and the *flesh of Christ* is another. The bread entereth only into the bodily mouth, Christ's flesh entereth only into the soul. Without eating of that bread of the sacrament, we may be saved; without eating of Christ's flesh, we can never be saved.

St. Augustine saith precisely, "Qui non sumit carnem Christi, non habet vitam; et qui eam sumit habet vitam, et eam utique æternam."—"He that receiveth not the flesh of Christ hath not life; and he that receiveth the same hath life, and that for ever."

Again he saith, "The sacrament is received of some unto life, of some unto destruction. But the thing itself (that is, the flesh of Christ), whereof the sacrament is a sacrament, is received of all men unto life, and of no man to destruction, whosoever shall be partaker of it."

Thus you see, Mr. Harding, there is a great difference between the bread of the sacrament, and the flesh of Christ. Ye were to blame therefore so to

falsify St. Paul, and to place the one instead of the other. We divide these things, because God himself had so divided them. But you undiscreetly mingle and confound these things together, whereas, indeed, they should be divided; and so ye wilfully deceive your simple reader.

ON BAPTISM.

(Page 217.)

MR. HARDING.

AS ye acknowledge few sacraments, so ye speak of them very slenderly. Baptism (ye say) is a sacrament of the remission of sins, and of that washing which we have in the blood of Christ. Now whereas ye mean, as within few lines ye declare, by the name of a sacrament, no more but a token or sign, specially since ye teach in your articles, that baptism at the best is but a sign and seal of our new birth, ye seem not to attribute to baptism so much as the Scripture doth.

Neither is baptism only a sign or token that sins be remitted, but we believe, as the Catholic church, according to the Scriptures, teacheth, that in and by baptism sins be fully and truly remitted, and put away; and that not through the faith only of the giver or receiver, or of any other, though hereunto it be necessary in those that be come to age of discretion, but through the power and virtue of the sacrament, and God's promise.

And therefore to whom it is given, of them it is rightly said, that they be baptized for remission of their sins. The Scriptures be plain. First, Ezekiel, speaking of this holy sacrament, saith, in the person of God, "I wished upon you clean water, and ye shall be made clean from all your defilings, and from your idols will I cleanse you." Next St. Paul saith, "That

God hath saved us, by the washing of regeneration, and of the renewing of the Holy Ghost, whom he hath poured upon us abundantly, by Jesus Christ, our Saviour." *That I may add to these manifest Scriptures, the authority of a learned father, not whereby to strengthen the truth of them, but to witness our right understanding of them* ;

St. Augustine, lib. iii. contra Duas Epist. Pelagian. cap. 3, *shewing the slander of the Pelagians against the Catholics, saith thus in their persons : Again, they (that is, after their meaning, the Catholics) avouch that baptism maketh not indeed new men again ; that is to wit, that it giveth not full remission of sins, &c. Thereto eftsoons answering, St. Augustine saith,* " *Mentiuntur, insidiantur, tergiversantur.*" —" *They lie, they study how to deceive, they seek shifts.*" *We say not this. And after certain sentences returning to baptism, he concludeth thus :* " *Wherefore baptism washeth away all sins, utterly all, of deeds, of words, thoughts, be they original or actual, be they done ignorantly or wittingly. But it taketh not away the infirmity which the regenerate resisteth, &c.*" *Which place doth not only set forth the virtue of baptism, but also destroyeth the doctrine of our new gospellers, that affirm concupiscence, which remaineth after baptism, to be verily sin. Wherein they err manifestly against the Scripture, and sense of the fathers.*

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Ill will is ever plentiful of ill words. Mr. Harding here maketh himself much matter without cause. He teacheth our new clergy, *that baptism is not only a sign or a token of remission of sins.* He telleth us, *of the faith of the giver, of the faith of the receiver, of the power of the sacrament* ; *of concupiscence, that it is no sin.* And more, I trow, he would have said,

if more had presently come to mind. Verily the poor new clergy speak not one word in all this whole place, neither of sign nor of token, nor of the receiver, nor of the giver, nor of the power of the sacrament, nor of concupiscence, whether it be sin or not sin, nor of any other like thing.

Yet in the end he takes St. Augustine's words without his meaning, and crieth out against us, *They lie, they study to deceive, they seek shifts.* And why so? Certainly because we say, "Baptism is a sacrament of remission of sins." And, "That the children of the faithful, for that they be born in sin, and pertain to the people of God, ought therefore to be baptized." Other causes than these, in any our words, he can find none.

True it is, that the sacrament dependeth not, neither of the minister, nor of the receiver, nor of any other. For though they be all the children of sin, yet is baptism the sacrament of remission of sin. St. Augustine saith, "Securum me fecit Magister meus, de quo Spiritus ejus dicit, Hic est qui baptizat."—"Christ my master hath assured me, of whom his own Spirit saith, 'This is he that baptizeth'."

Nevertheless, concerning the faith of the parents, and others, the holy doctors have sometime written otherwise. St. Augustine saith, "Satis piè rectèque creditur prodesse parvulo eorum fidem à quibus consecrandus offertur."—"It is good and godly to believe that the child is holpen by the faith of them by whom he is offered, or brought unto baptism."

Again he saith, "Accommodat illis mater ecclesia aliorum pedes, ut veniant; aliorum cor, ut credant." "Our mother the church lendeth them other men's feet, that they may come; and other men's hearts, that they may believe." The like sayings might be alleged out of Justinus Martyr, St. Cyprian, St. Jerome, and others. For thus they write, how truly I

will not say. But their words be plain. The prophet Habakkuk saith, "Justus ex fide suâ vivet."—"The just man shall live (not by the faith of his parents, but) by his own faith."

Of this faith St. Jerome saith, "Qui plena fide non suscipiunt salutare baptisma, accipiunt quidem aquam, sed non accipiunt Spiritum."—"They that receive not baptism with perfect faith, receive the water, but the Holy Ghost they receive not." St Augustine saith, "Verus baptismus constat non tam ablutione corporis, quam fide cordis, sicut apostolica doctrina tradidit, dicens, Fide mundans corda eorum; et alibi, Salvos facit baptisma, non carnis depositio sordium, sed conscientiæ bonæ interrogatio in Deum, per resurrectionem Jesu Christi."—"True baptism standeth not so much in washing of the body, as in the faith of the heart; as the doctrine of the Apostles hath taught us, saying, 'By faith purifying their hearts;' and in another place, 'Baptism maketh us safe;' not the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the examining of a good conscience before God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ."

Likewise again he saith, "Unde ista tanta virtus aquæ, ut corpus tangat, et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo? Non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur."—"Whence is all this so great virtue, or power of the water, that it toucheth the body, and washeth the heart, but by the working of the word? Not for that it is spoken (by the minister), but for that it is believed (of the faithful)."

Some men will say, children or infants believe nothing, but are utterly void of faith. St. Augustine answereth, "Qui non crediderit condemnabitur. Sicut eos renasci per ministerium baptizantium, ita etiam eos credere per corda et ora confitentium confitemur."—"He that believeth not shall be damned. We confess, that as they be born again by the minis-

try of baptizers, so they believe by the hearts and mouths of the confessors." Again he saith, "Habent fidem propter fidei sacramentum."—"They have faith, because they have (baptism, which is) the sacrament of faith."

For he saith, "Quemadmodum sacramentum corporis Christi secundùm quendam modum corpus Christi est, ita sacramentum fidei fides est."—"As the sacrament of Christ's body (not verily and indeed, but) after a certain manner of speech is Christ's body; so baptism is faith, because it is the sacrament of faith." Therefore Cardinal Cajetan is worthily blamed by Catharinus, in that he saith, "An infant, for that he wanteth instruction in faith, therefore hath not perfect baptism."

Touching the virtue or power of this sacrament, if Mr. Harding mean thereby the outward element of the water, he knoweth, or may easily know, it is a common resolution amongst all his own school doctors. "Gratia Dei non est alligata sacramentis."—"The grace of God is not tied to any sacraments." The meaning thereof is this: That God is able to work salvation both with them and without them. St. Augustine saith, as it is before alleged, "Jam vos mundi estis propter sermonem quem loquutus sum vobis. Quare non ait, Mundi estis propter baptismum quo loti estis; nisi quia etiam in aqua verbum mundat? Detrahe verbum, et quid est aqua, nisi aqua?"—"Now are ye clean, because of the word that I have spoken to you. But why saith he not, Now ye are clean, because of the baptism wherewith ye are washed; saving that because in the water it is the word that maketh clean?" Take away the word, and what is the water more than water?" Therefore he saith, "Aqua exhibet forinsecùs sacramentum gratiæ."—"The water giveth us outwardly the sacrament of grace." And this is the power and virtue of the sacraments.

Notwithstanding, we must consider, that the learned fathers, in their treaties of the sacraments, sometimes use the outward sign instead of the thing itself, that is signified; sometimes they use the thing signified instead of the sign. As for example, sometimes they name Christ's blood instead of the water. Sometimes they name the water instead of Christ's blood. This figure is called Metonymia; that is to say, an exchange of names, and is much used among the learned, specially speaking of the sacraments.

St. Augustine, using the water in place of the blood of Christ, that is signified by the water, saith thus: —"Solvit vinculum culpæ, reconciliat bonum naturæ, regenerat hominem in uno Christo."—"It breaketh the band of sin; it reconcileth the goodness of nature; it doth renew a man in one Christ."

Notwithstanding, indeed, and in precise manner of speech, salvation must be sought in Christ alone, and not in any outward signs. "Christ is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. The blood of Christ maketh us clean from all our sins." St. Cyprian saith, "Remissio peccatorum sive per baptismum, sive per alia sacramenta donetur, propriè Spiritus Sancti est; et ipsi soli hujus efficientiæ privilegium manet. Verborum solemnitas, et sacri invocatio nominis, et signa apostolicis institutionibus attributa, visibile celebrant sacramentum; rem vero ipsam Spiritus Sanctus format et efficit."—"The remission of sin, whether it be given by baptism, or by any other sacrament, is indeed of the Holy Ghost; and to the same Holy Ghost only the privilege of this work doth appertain. The solemnity of the words, and the invocation of God's holy name, and the outward signs appointed to the ministry of the priests by the institution of the Apostles, work the visible outward sacrament; but touching the substance thereof (which is the remission of sins), it is the Holy Ghost that worketh it."

Likewise, saith St. Jerome, "Homo aquam tantùm tribuit; Deus autem dat Spiritum Sanctum, quo sordes abluuntur."—"The minister, being a man, giveth only the water; but God giveth the Holy Ghost, whereby the sins be washed away." And again: "Si quis corporeum, et quod oculis carnis aspicitur, aquæ tantum accipit lavacrum, non est indutus Dominum Jesum Christum."—"If any man have received only the bodily washing of water, that is outwardly seen with the eye, he hath not put on our Lord Jesus Christ."

Concerning concupiscence remaining in the faithful after baptism, whether it be sin, or no sin, there was no great cause why Mr. Harding should, in this place, move questions; saving that, as he hath hitherto denied that falsehood is falsehood, so he would now deny that sin is sin. Undoubtedly St. Paul, feeling the same concupiscence in himself, is forced to mourn, and to cry out, "I see another law in my members, fighting against the law of my mind, and leading me prisoner to the law of sin." And again: "O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this body of death?" (Rom. vii.)

Therefore St. Ambrose saith, "Non invenitur in ullo hominum tanta concordia, ut legi mentis lex quæ membris est insita, non repugnet. Propter quod ex omnium sanctorum persona accipitur quod Johannes Apostolus ait, Si dixerimus quod peccatum non habemus, nos ipsos seducimus, et veritas in nobis non est."—"There is not found in any man such concord (between the flesh and the spirit), but that the law (of concupiscence) which is planted in the members, fighteth against the law of the mind. And for that cause these words of St. John the Apostle are taken as spoken in the person of all saints: 'If we say we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and there is no truth in us'." (1 John, i.)

And to leave all others, St. Augustine saith in most plain wise, "Concupiscentia carnis adversus quam bonus concupiscit Spiritus et peccatum est, et pœna peccati, et causa peccati."—"The concupiscence of the flesh, against which the good spirit lusteth, is both sin, and the pain of sin, and the cause of sin." And again he saith, "Quamdiu vivis, necesse est peccatum esse in membris tuis."—"As long as thou livest, there must needs be sin in thy members."

If Mr. Harding say, *We wrest and rack St. Augustine, and take his words otherwise than he meant*, Albertus Pighius, his own principal doctor, will control him. Thus he writeth: "Augustinus tradit, hanc ipsam concupiscentiam corpori nostro inspersam atque innatam, in nondum renatis verè et propriè peccatum esse; quæ ignoscatur quidem, sed non tollatur in baptismo."—"St. Augustine teacheth us, that this same concupiscence, planted in our body in them that be not regenerate by baptism, verily and in plain manner of speech is sin; and that the same concupiscence is forgiven in baptism, but is not utterly taken away."

Yet the late blessed chapter of Trident, in spite of St. Augustine, hath published the contrary. For this is the determination of the fathers there; "Hanc concupiscentiam quam Apostolus aliquando appellat peccatum, sancta synodus declarat ecclesiam Catholicam nunquam intellexisse, quòd verè et propriè in renatis peccatum sit; sed quia ex peccato est, et ad peccatum inclinat. Si quis autem contrarium senserit, anathema sit."—"The concupiscence which the Apostle St. Paul sometime called sin, this holy council declareth that the Catholic church never understood it to be called sin, for that it is so indeed and in proper manner of speech, in them that be baptized; but because it is of sin, and inclineth us

unto sin. And if any man think the contrary, accursed be he." Thus we see, that by the decree of this worthy convent, St. Ambrose and St. Augustine, and other holy fathers that have written the same, are all accursed.

As for that Mr. Harding here toucheth as an error defended by certain, I know not by whom, *that baptism giveth not full remission of sins*; he may command it home again to Louvain amongst his fellows, and join it with other of his and their vanities. For it is no part nor portion of our doctrine. We confess, and have evermore taught, that in the sacrament of baptism, by the death and blood of Christ, is given remission of all manner of sins; and that not in half, or in part, or by way of imagination, or by fancy, but full, whole, and perfect of all together; so that now, as St. Paul saith, "there is no damnation unto them that be in Christ Jesus." Now judge thou indifferently, gentle reader, what spirit forced Mr. Harding thus terribly to cry out, *They lie, they study to deceive, they seek shifts, &c.*

ON THE REAL PRESENCE IN BOTH SACRAMENTS.

(Page 221.)

But St. Ambrose saith, "In receiving the sacrament we are made partakers of the divine substance." *This* (say you) *could not be, if there remained bread in the sacrament.* And why so, Mr. Harding? Are not we partakers of the same divine substance in the sacrament of baptism? St. Augustine saith, "By baptism we are incorporate into Christ, and are made one body with his body." Leo saith, "Corpus regenerati, fit caro Crucifixi."—"The body of him that is new born in baptism, is made the flesh of Christ crucified;" that is to say, flesh of his flesh, and bone of his bone. And what greater participa-

tion of the divine substance can you desire? Yet nevertheless, the very substance of water remaineth still; even so, notwithstanding we be made partakers of the divine substance of Christ, in the receiving of the holy mysteries, yet the substance of bread therein remaineth still.

And forasmuch as ye would prove by these words of St. Ambrose, that Christ is present in the sacrament, the same St. Ambrose also saith, that "Christ is likewise present in the water of baptism." Thus he saith, "Crede Divinitatis illic esse præsentiam. Operationem credis? non credis præsentiam? Unde sequeretur operatio nisi præcederet antè præsentia, &c. Crede adesse Dominum Jesum invocatum precibus sacerdotum. Ait, Ubi fuerint duo, vel tres, ibi et ego sum. Quandò magis ubi est ecclesia, ubi mysteria sua sunt, ibi dignatur suam impartire præsentiam."—"Believe thou, that there (in the sacrament of baptism) is the presence of the Godhead. Believest thou the working? and believest thou not the presence? How could the working follow, unless the presence went before? Believe thou, that our Lord Jesus is present (at the baptism), being called upon by the prayers of the priests. Christ saith, Whereas be two or three, there am I. How much more will he vouchsafe to offer his presence whereas his church is, and whereas are the mysteries" (of his baptism)? Now, Mr. Harding, as Christ is present in the one sacrament, even so, and none otherwise, is he present in the other.

But Leo saith, "The same thing is received by the mouth, that is believed by our faith." These words, as Leo meant them, are very true; but, as you would handle them, by your constructions are most untrue. Leo in that place disputeth against the heretic Eutyches, whose error was this: "That Christ's body, after his ascension, was wholly changed

into his Godhead, and that therefore now he hath no body at all." Against him, Leo reasoneth thus: "The very sacrament of Christ's body, which thou receivest with thy mouth, is sufficient to reprove thee; for if Christ, being now in heaven, have no body at all, how can this be a sacrament of his body?"

In like sort Chrysostom disputeth against certain other heretics, that said, "Christ died not upon the cross;" "Nam quando dicunt &c."—"When they say, How may it appear that Christ was crucified? besides many other arguments, we bring forth the mysteries, and stop their mouths. For if Christ died not, whose figure, whose sign or remembrance is this sacrifice?"—"Cujus symbolum ac signum est hoc sacrificium?" As if he would reason thus: "The sacrament is a remembrance of Christ's death; therefore it is evident that Christ hath died."

Likewise Tertullian reasoneth against the heretic Marcion, that said, "Christ had never any body at all, but only a vain show, or a likeness of a body." —"Christ (saith he) said thus, This is my body, that is to say, This is a figure of my body. It could not be a figure, unless Christ indeed had a body; for a vain show or a likeness can bear no figure." Thus reasoneth Tertullian: "Christus, acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illum fecit, Hoc est corpus meum, dicendo, id est figura corporis mei; figura autem non fuisset, nisi veritatis esse corpus. Cæterùm vacua, quod est phantasma figuram capere non posset."

Even so saith Leo unto Eutyches: "Thou sayest that Christ hath no body; but the very sacrament that thou receivest reproveth thee; for the thing that thy mouth receiveth is the same that thou believest by thy faith;" that is to say, "It is a sacrament of that thing that thou believest by thy

faith." We believe, that Christ was born in the very substance of our body; that he died, that he was buried, that he rose again, that he ascended into heaven in the same body, and that he sitteth at the right hand of God the Father. The sacrament of that body is it that we receive with our mouths.

So saith Gelasius: "Hoc nobis in ipso Domino sentiendum est, quod in ejus imagine profitemur."—"We must think the same of Christ our Lord that we profess in (the sacrament, which is) his image."—"We must think the same," he saith; and yet if we go precisely to the matter, we may in no wise think the same. So saith St. Augustine, "Aqua corpus tangit et cor abluit."—"The water (of baptism) toucheth the body, and washeth the heart." Yet it is not the water indeed that washeth the heart. The water is a sacrament of God's grace, and that is it that washeth the heart.

So saith Leo in another place, speaking likewise of this sacrament, "Transimus in quod sumimus."—"We are changed into the same thing that we receive." Yet I trow, Mr. Harding, you will not say, *We are changed into the sacrament*; but we are changed into *Christ's body*, that is represented by the sacrament.

This answer is plain, and agreeable to the articles of our faith, and to the general doctrine of the Catholic fathers. And these are the testimonies which Mr. Harding saith *can never be avoided by any answer while the world standeth.*

HOW THE SACRAMENTS PROFIT US.

(Page 223.)

But ye say, *How can bread and wine bring us to the hope of resurrection, or of everlasting life?* And why may not a man in like manner demand of you, how

can a few drops of cold water bring us to the hope of resurrection? If water may do it, why may not bread and wine likewise do it?

Touching the water, St. Bazil saith, "Baptismus est potentia Dei ad resurrectionem."—"Baptism is the power of God to resurrection." Again he saith, "Resurrectionis gratiam in die resurrectionis recipiamus."—"Upon the day of resurrection let us receive (baptism, which is) the grace of resurrection." St. Jerome saith, "Non solùm propter remissionem peccatorum baptizamur, sed etiam propter resurrectionem carnis nostræ."—"We are baptized not only for remission of sins, but also for the resurrection of our flesh." And therefore the Greeks call baptism ἀφθαρσίας ἔνδυμα, that is, the weed of immortality.

Here, Mr. Harding, it were some point of skill to shew us, how so great power may be in so little water. Howbeit, it is not the water indeed that worketh the force of resurrection, but the blood of Christ, that is signified by the water.

And therefore St. Ambrose saith, "Baptismus resurrectionis pignus et imago est."—"Baptism is the pledge and image of resurrection." Likewise Ignatius, "Credentes in mortem ejus, per baptisma participes resurrectionis ejus efficimur."—"Believing in the death of Christ, by baptism we are made partakers of his resurrection." The like we say of the holy supper. Neither is Mr. Harding able to shew us any sufficient cause to the contrary, but wine or bread may have this power, as well as water. Of this whole matter we shall speak hereafter more at large.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE SACRAMENT AND THE BODY OF CHRIST.

(Page 224.)

Mr. Harding saith, *The substance of the bread is quite removed. The soundness and whiteness are the sacrament. The thing thereof is of two sorts: the one contained and signified, the other signified and not contained.* These mystical fancies may lie still until Mr. Harding, by some authority other than his own, have proved them better. True it is, that Mr. Harding saith, Between the sacrament and the thing itself, that is to say, between the sacrament and the body of Christ represented by the sacrament, there is great difference. For indeed and verily, and in precise manner of speech, neither is Christ's body the sacrament, nor is the sacrament Christ's body.

St. Augustine saith, as it is alleged before, "Nisi sacramenta similitudinem quandam earum rerum, quarum sacramenta sunt, haberent, omnino sacramenta non essent. Ex hac autem similitudine plerumque rerum ipsarum nomina accipiunt. Itaque secundùm quendam modum sacramentum corporis Christi, corpus Christi est."—"Unless sacraments had a certain likeness of the things whereof they be sacraments, without question they were no sacraments. And in consideration of this likeness oftentimes they bear the names of the things themselves; therefore, after a certain manner of speech (and not otherwise), the sacrament of the body of Christ is Christ's body."

Hereof I have written more at large, as occasion was offered, in my former reply to Mr. Harding. St. Ambrose, noting this difference, saith thus: "Non iste panis, qui vadit in ventrem; sed panis vitæ æternæ, qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit."—"Not this bread (of the sacrament) that passeth

into the belly, but (the body of Christ itself, which is) the bread of everlasting life, which relieveth the substance of our soul," and is signified by the sacrament.

Rabanus Maurus saith, " Aliud est sacramentum, aliud vis sacramenti. Sacramentum in corporis alimentum redigitur; virtute sacramenti æternæ vitæ dignitas adipiscitur."—" The sacrament is one thing, the power of the sacrament is another thing. The sacrament is changed into the food or nourishment of the body; by the virtue of the sacrament is gotten the dignity of everlasting life."

Likewise St. Chrysostom, " In sacris vasis, non ipsum corpus Christi, sed mysterium corporis ejus continetur."—" In the holy vessels is contained, not the very body of Christ itself, but a mystery, or sacrament of his body."

So great difference there is between the sacrament and the body of Christ. The sacrament passeth into the belly, Christ's blood passeth into the soul; the sacrament is upon earth, Christ's body is in heaven; the sacrament is corruptible, Christ's body is glorious; the sacrament is the sign, Christ's body is the thing signified. For want of this distinction, Mr. Harding wandereth blindly in the dark, he wotteth not whither.

Therefore St. Augustine saith, speaking purposely hereof, " Ea demum est miserabilis animæ servitus, signa pro rebus accipere."—" This is a miserable bondage of the soul, to take the signs instead of the things that be signified."

HOW THE LANGUAGE OF THE PRIMITIVE FATHERS CONCERNING THE SACRAMENTS IS TO BE INTERPRETED.

(Page 242.)

St. Ambrose saith, " The omnipotent power of the word, wherewith God made heaven and earth,

the same omnipotent power of the same word he useth now in the consecration of the sacrament." *Therefore* (saith Mr. Harding) *it must needs be gathered, he meant transubstantiation, and real presence*, as if without these new fantasies God could not be omnipotent. I may well answer these men, as St. Ambrose upon the like occasion sometime answered the wilful blindness of the Jews, " Atramentum vident, Spiritum Dei non vident."—" They see the ink (of the letter written), but the Spirit of God they see not." Even so Mr. Harding, and others of that side, weigh the words of St. Ambrose, but his sense and meaning they weigh not.

Certainly God sheweth his omnipotent power, as well in the sacrament of baptism, as in the sacrament of thanksgiving. Hereof I have said somewhat, as occasion was offered, in my former reply to Mr. Harding. Leo saith thus: " Christus originem quam sumpsit in utero Virginis, posuit in fonte baptismatis. Dedit aquæ, quod dedit matri."—" Christ laid in the font of baptism the same beginning that he took in the Virgin's womb. He gave the same pre-eminence to the water, that he gave to his mother."

Even so Chrysostom, " Angeli qui adfuerunt (in baptismo) tam inenarrabilis operis modum minimè possunt enarrare. Adfuerunt tantùm, et viderunt; nihil tamen operati sunt, sed Pater tantùm et Filius, et Spiritus Sanctus."—" The angels that were present at the baptism are not able to utter the manner of that unspeakable work. They were present only, and saw, but they did nothing, but only the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost." Likewise he saith, " Ex Spiritu et sensibili aqua, omnia hæc admirabilia, et humanam excedentia cogitationem, exoriuntur."—" All these wonderful works (wrought

in baptism), so far exceeding the thought of man, spring of the Spirit and of sensible water."

Thus the holy fathers used oftentimes to advance and to magnify the holy mysteries, the better to bring their hearers to the deep and inward consideration of the same; and therefore, as St. Augustine saith, "Sacramenta tantæ rei non nisi ejusdem rei vocabulo nuncuparunt."—"They expressed the sacraments of so great a thing none otherwise than by the name of the same thing." So St. Paul saith, "The rock was Christ." So another saith, as I have otherwise alleged, "The oil is Christ." And another, "Manna erat Christus, qui descendit de cœlo."—"Th emanna (that rained in the wilderness) was Christ that came down from heaven." Thus are we taught, that manna was Christ, that the oil was Christ, and that the rock was Christ. And these sayings are true. And yet indeed and verily, in nature and substance, neither the manna, nor the oil, nor the rock, was Christ.

So saith St. Chrysostom, reporting the story of David: "Accipiens aquam allatam bibere noluit, sed semetipsum reprehendit, et Domino eam libavit. Non enim aqua erat, sed sanguis."—"David receiving of the water (that his men had gotten with great danger from the midst of their enemies), would not drink of it, but found fault with himself, and poured it out unto the Lord. For it was not water, but blood."

I beseech thee, good Christian reader, mark well these words. The story is clear: it was indeed only a cup of water, and nothing else; yet Chrysostom saith, "It was blood; it was no water."

In those days it was no danger thus to say. The people was instructed, and well acquainted with this phrase or manner of speech, and knew the meaning: they were taught, that the rock, the oil, and the manna in the wilderness, were only sacraments of

Christ, and that, notwithstanding they were called by the name of Christ, yet in deed and in substance they were not Christ.

Therefore I may answer here Mr. Harding herein, as St. Augustine sometime answered the Pelagian heretics: "Vobis Pelagianis nondum litigantibus, securiùs loquebantur patres de his articulis."—"Before that you the Pelagians began to quarrel, the fathers and doctors spake without fear and freely of these articles." Athanasius saith of the Arian heretics, "Incorporalia corporaliter excipientes, quæ probè dicta erant, interpretationibus depravaverunt."—"Taking spiritual things in a corporal or fleshly meaning (as doth Mr. Harding, and others his fellows), by their interpolations they have depraved the things that were rightly spoken."

St. Ambrose saith of the bread and the wine, "Sunt quæ erant, et in aliud mutantur."—"They remain the same that they were, and are changed into another thing." Now is the field won. Mr. Harding bloweth a vain triumph. *Here* (saith he), *Sir Defender, construe me these words.* Soothly, good reader, I distrust not greatly, but this poor Defender might easily *construe these words*, were he never so simple a clerk. "The natural creatures of the bread and wine" in the supper of our Lord (saith St. Ambrose), "remain still in substance as they were before, yet are they changed into another thing;" that is to say, they are made the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, which before they were not.

Notwithstanding this short construction, being clear and plain, may seem sufficient, yet for that Mr. Harding so deeply opposeth us, and willeth us to *construe him these words*, we will both *construe* and parse them too for his pleasure.

Wherefore, to warrant our former construction,

St. Augustine saith thus: "Accedat verbum ad elementum, et fit sacramentum."—"Let the word be added to the element, or outward creature, and it is made a sacrament;" that is to say, "another thing." Again he saith, "Sacramenta sunt signa rerum, aliud existentia aliud significantia."—"Sacraments are signs or tokens of things, being, by substance, one thing, and signifying another thing."

So saith Chrysostom of the water of baptism: "Cum hoc elementum acceperit Spiritum Sanctum, fit sacramentum; et jam non erit aqua potationis, sed sanctificationis; non erit aqua communis, sed refectionis."—"When this creature of water hath received the Holy Ghost, it is made a sacrament. And now it is not water to drink, but water to sanctify; not common water, but water to refresh."

Thus the element, or outward creature, both remaineth, and is changed. It remaineth in proper and plain kind of speech. It is changed unproperly; that is to say, by the way of a sacrament, or a mystery. So Mr. Harding's own gloss saith, upon the decrees, "Cœleste sacramentum dicitur corpus Christi, sed impropriè. Unde dicitur, suo modo, Non rei veritate, sed significante mysterio, ut sit sensus, vocatur corpus Christi, id est, significat corpus Christi."—"The heavenly sacrament is called the body of Christ, but improperly (that is to say, not in plain and simple manner of speech). Therefore St. Augustine saith, It is so called after a sort; that is, not in truth of matter, but by a mystery, signifying that the sense may be this; it is called the body of Christ; that is to say, it signifieth the body of Christ."

So saith Augustine, "De signis disserens, hoc dico, ne quis in eis attendat quod sunt, sed potius quod signa sunt, id est, quod significant."—"Intreating of signs (or sacraments), thus I say, let no man consider in them that they be in substance, but rather

that they be signs; that is to say, that they signify (some other thing)." In this sense and meaning, St. Augustine saith again, "Dominus ait, Ipse (Johannes) est Elias; Johannes autem ipse ait, Ego non sum Elias; rectè ergo Johannes propriè respondit; nam Dominus figuratè."—"Our Lord said of John the Baptist, This is Elias; but John himself saith, I am not Elias. Therefore John answered well in plain manner of words. For our Lord spake in a figure." Thus, in sundry sorts of speech, John is Elias, and the same John is not Elias, and both are true.

But what better expositor of St. Ambrose can we find than St. Ambrose himself? I trust Mr. Harding will not say that so holy a father was a falsifier and a liar, specially in declaring his own mind. Thus therefore he saith, "Ante benedictionem verborum cœlestium alia species nominatur; post consecrationem corpus Christi significatur. In comedendo et potando, carnem et sanguinem, quæ pro nobis oblata sunt, significamus. In similitudinem accipis sacramentum. Est figura corporis et sanguinis Domini. Similitudinem pretiosi sanguinis bibis."—"Before the blessing of the heavenly words, it is called another kind. After the words of consecration, the body of Christ is signified. In eating and drinking, we signify the body and blood that were offered for us. Thou receivest the sacrament for a similitude or for a likeness. It is a figure of the body and blood of our Lord. Thou drinkest the likeness of the precious blood."

The like form of words the same St. Ambrose useth of the sacrament of baptism: "Vidisti aquam? Sed non omnis aqua sanat; sed aqua sanat quæ habet gratiam Dei. Aliud est elementum, alia consecratio."—"Hast thou seen the water? But all water healeth not; but that water healeth that hath the grace of God." The

element (or creature of water) is one thing, and the consecration is another thing."

Thus the bread remaineth, and thus it is changed. It remaineth in substance. It is changed in mystery.

PRESENCE OF CHRIST THE SAME IN BOTH SACRAMENTS.

(Page 264.)

Your error (ye say) *in making the presence of Christ in baptism, like to his presence in the supper, is too gross.*—Here is one error more than any of the learned Catholic fathers ever noted. St. Chrysostom saith, "In the sacrament of baptism we are made flesh of Christ's flesh, and bone of his bones." St. Bernard saith, "Lavemur in sanguine ejus."—"Let us be washed in his blood." Leo saith, "Christi sanguine rigaris, quando in mortem ipsius baptizaris."—"Thou art washed in the blood of Christ, when thou art baptized in his death."

By these few it may appear, that Christ is present at the sacrament of baptism, even as he is present at the holy supper; unless ye will say, we may be made flesh of Christ's flesh, and be washed in his blood, and be partakers of him, and have him present without his presence. Therefore Chrysostom, when he hath spoken vehemently of the sacrament of the supper, he concludeth thus: "Sic et in baptismo."—"Even so it is also in the sacrament of baptism."—The body of Christ is likewise present in them both.

And for that cause Beda saith, "Nulli est aliquatenus ambigendum, tunc unumquemque fidelium corporis sanguinisque dominici participem fieri quando in baptismate membrum Christi efficitur."—"No man may doubt, but every faithful man is then made partaker of the body and blood of Christ, when in baptism he is made the member of Christ." As

for your real and fleshly presence, it hath been often talked of on your part, but never proved.

HOW FAITH OPERATES IN SALVATION.

(Page 284.)

THE merits of Christ's death, whereof we intreat, are conveyed unto us by God, and received by us. God conveyeth them to us only of his mercy, and we receive them only by faith. But the ways, whereby either to procure God's mercy, or to enkindle our faith, are many and sundry. God's mercy is procured sometimes by prayer, sometimes by other means. But to breed or increase faith in us, there are more ways than can be reckoned. Some men are moved only by the hearing of God's word; some others by the beholding and weighing of God's miracles.

Justinus the Martyr was first allured to the faith by the cruelty of the tyrants, and by the constancy and patience of God's saints. St. Cyprian saith, "Tanta est vis martyrii, ut per illum credere etiam cogatur, qui te vult occidere."—"So great is the power of martyrdom, that thereby even he is forced to believe that would kill thee." St. Augustine saith, he was stirred up to come to Christ, by reading a heathen book, written by Cicero, called Hortensius. Thus he saith, "Ille liber mutavit affectum meum, et ad te-ipsum, Domine, mutavit preces meas."—"That (heathen) book changed my mind, and turned my prayer, O Lord, unto thee."

Among other causes, the sacraments serve specially to direct and to aid our faith. For they are, as St. Augustine calleth them, "verba visibilia," "visible words," and seals and testimonies of the Gospel.

All this notwithstanding, we say, it is neither the work of the priest, nor the nature of the sacrament as of itself, that maketh us partakers of Christ's death,

but only the faith of the receiver. St. Augustine saith, "Unde est ista tanta virtus aquæ, ut corpus tangat, et cor abluat, nisi faciente verbo? Non quia dicitur, sed quia creditur."—"From whence hath the water this great power, that it toucheth the body, and washeth the heart, saying by the working of the word? Not for that it is pronounced, but for that it is believed."

So saith Hesychius, "Gratia Dei comprehenditur sola fide."—"The grace of God (of our part) is received by only faith." So saith Cyrillus, "Siclus fidei nostræ formam habet; si enim fidem obtuleris tanquam pretium, à Christo, velut ariete immaculato in hostiam dato, accipies remissionem peccatorum."—"The shekel hath the form of our faith. For if thou offer up thy faith as the price, thou shalt receive remission of thy sins from Christ, that unspotted ram that was given for a sacrifice."

EXPLANATION AND DEFENCE OF THE DOCTRINE OF SALVATION BY FAITH.

(Page 301.)

THE APOLOGY, CHAP. 20. DIVISION I.

Besides, though we say, we have no meed at all by our own works and deeds, but appoint all the means of our salvation to be in Christ alone, yet say we not, that for this cause men ought to live loosely and dissolutely, nor that it is enough for a Christian to be baptized only, and to believe, as though there were nothing else required at his hand. For true faith is lively, and can in no wise be idle.

Thus therefore teach we the people, that God hath called us, not to follow riot and wantonness, but, as St. Paul saith, "unto good works to walk in them;" that we are delivered "from the power of darkness, to the end that we should serve the living God;" to

out away all the remnants of sin, and to "work our salvation in fear and trembling," that it may appear that the spirit of sanctification is in our bodies, and that Christ himself dwelleth in our hearts.

MR. HARDING.

With what face can these defenders affirm that they teach the people to walk in good works, whereas, beginning the treatise of works in this present Apology, they say that we have no help or aid in our works and deeds? For so their Latin word, præsidium, *doth signify, which, in the English, is turned unto "meed." What, masters, is this the way to make them work well? to tell them beforehand, that their works be nothing worth, and that they help them never a whit? Why, then, let the labourer's proverb take place: I had rather play for nothing than work for nothing. Is there any labourer so mad as to work for nothing? First, ye tell the labourers, that there is no help for them in their works, and then ye cry unto them to labour, yea, forsooth, as hard as they list.*

Is not this to mock God and the world? Whereas ye speak to Christian men, to those that be baptized, to such as have faith, yet ye tell them they may work as much as they will, but all in vain, &c. Ergo, then, although a lively faith cannot be idle, and some true faith is lively, yet, in another sense, there is a true faith which is not lively, but idle. Which true faith shall become lively, and have great aid in works, if it will learn to leave idleness, and practise that in will and heart, which it believeth in understanding.

But whereas these defenders would no help or aid to be in Christian men's works, that heresy may not so escape, Christ being demanded of one, what good he should do to obtain everlasting life, said, "If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments." To keep the com-

mandments is a work, to enter into life is some help to a man: therefore it is falsely spoken, that in our works there is no help for us. Again Christ saith, Whosoever forsaketh his house, or brothers, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, or lands, for my sake, he shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit life everlasting. St. Paul saith, God will render to every man according to his works. To those that seek for glory, and honour, and incorruption, according to the sufferance of good works, (he will render) life everlasting.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Here ye trifle, Mr. Harding, although not much besides your common wont, yet somewhat above your ordinary. Our doctrine herein is grounded upon these words of Christ: "When ye have done all, say that ye be unprofitable servants, and therefore have deserved nothing." Indeed of late years this hath been the general doctrine of your schools: "Vita æterna est merces debita pro nostris meritis. Vita æterna, nisi esset merces debita, esset incerta. Quia debitum certum est, misericordia incerta." —"Everlasting life is a reward due for our deservings. If everlasting life were not a due reward, it were uncertain; for due debt is certain; mercy, or favour, is uncertain." Thus have you utterly drowned the grace of God, and the salvation that we have only in Jesus Christ, and have turned the most comfortable doctrine of the Gospel into a dungeon of desperation.

Then (say you) *let the labourer's proverb take place: I had rather play for nothing, than work for nothing.* Verily, Mr. Harding, when other reason could not serve you, it was reason your labourer's idle reason should take place. Howbeit, if ye will do nothing at God's request, of good will, without re-

ward, but must be hired only for your penny, then may your labourer, be he never so simple, easily tell you you are not the child of God, but only a hireling and a labourer. For the natural loving child will obey his father, not for a reward, but of love, only because he is his father.

Gregory Nazianzen saith, " Si servus es, time plagas; si mercenarius, tantùm specta mercedem. At si supra hos es etiam filius, revere tanquam Patrem tuum. Benefacito, quia pulchrum est obsequi Patri; et quamvis nihil aliud futurum sit, tamen vel hoc ipsum erit merces tua, fecisse quod gratum esset Patri."—" If thou be a bond-slave, then fear the whip; if thou be a hireling, then look only for thy reward. But over and besides these, if thou be a (natural) child, then reverence God as thy father. Do well, because it is good to obey thy Father; yea, and although thou shalt have nothing else, yet even this shall be thy reward, that thou hast been obedient to thy Father."

St. Hilary saith, " Nos si semel jejunamus, satisfecisse nos arbitramur; si aliquid ex horreo domesticarum facultatum inopi damus, implevisse nos justitiam credimus, &c. Sed propheta totum à Deo sperat; totum à misericordia ejus expectat."—" If we fast once, we think we have satisfied; if out of the barns of our household store we give somewhat to the poor, we believe we have fulfilled the measure of righteousness. But the prophet hopeth all of God, and trusteth all of his mercy."

Christ saith to his disciples, " Let your light so shine before men, (not that ye may be rewarded, but) that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." (Matt. v.) St. Augustine saith, " Minus diligit te, qui diligit aliud præter te."—" O God, he the less loveth thee, that loveth any other thing besides thee." Likewise St. Bazil saith,

" Qui non fidit suis rectè factis, nec expectat ex operibus justificari, solum habet spem salutis misericordias Dei."—" He that trusteth not to his own good deeds, nor hopeth to be justified by his works, hath the only hope of his salvation, the mercies of God."

Further ye say, *A true faith may be idle, and utterly without works*; and therefore ye think it is not true that we say, *A true faith is lively, and can in no wise be idle.* Here, perhaps, ye will set faith upon the last, and rack her to a larger size; for so Latomus, one of your fellows, saith, that Socrates and Plato, and other heathen philosophers, had as good understanding and faith in Christ, as had Abraham. And Andradius, another of your fellows, saith, " that the heathen and infidel philosophers had the righteousness of faith and everlasting life." His words be these: " Philosophi qui ab inani Deorum multitudine adhorruerunt, &c. Illos tu illa fide, Deique cognitione destitutos, dices per quam scilicet impius justificatur, et ex qua justus vivit?"—" The philosophers that abhorred and shunned the vain multitude of gods, &c. Wilt thou say, they lacked that faith, and that knowledge of God, whereby the wicked is justified, and whereby the righteous liveth?"

Another of your near fellows saith, " Petrus non fidem Christi sed Christum, salva fide, negavit."—" Peter denied not the faith of Christ, but he denied Christ, his faith nevertheless being safe." If ye call this true faith, Mr. Harding, that may be found in heathens and infidels, and may well and safely stand with the abjuring of Christ, then without question your true faith may be without good works.

But St. Paul, whose words we ought rather to credit, saith far otherwise: " He that hath no regard to his own, especially such as be of his household, hath denied the faith, and is worse than an infidel."

(1 Tim. v.) Again he saith, "They say they know God, but by their works they deny God." (Titus, i.) St. John saith, "Whoso saith he knoweth God, and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar, and the truth is not in him." (1 Ep. ii.) St. James saith (chap. ii.), "Faith without works is dead, and the devil believeth and trembleth for fear." But a dead faith is no more a true perfect faith, than a dead man is a true perfect man. As for the faith of devils, indeed and verily it is no faith.

Certainly St. Augustine saith, "Qui fidem habet sine spe et delectione, Christum esse credit, non in Christum credit."—"He that hath faith without hope and charity, believeth that there is Christ; but he believeth not in Christ. Again he saith, "Inseparabilis est bona vita à fide quæ per delectionem operatur; imo verò ea ipsa est bona vita."—"Good life can never be divided from faith, which worketh by love; nay, rather that same very faith itself is good life."

St. Ambrose saith, "Ubi quis cœperit luxuriari, incipit deviare à vera fide."—"As soon as a man beginneth to live wantonly, he beginneth to flee from the true faith." Origen saith, "Omnis qui credit in eum, non erubescit; erubescit autem omnis qui peccat; ergo qui adhuc ruborem peccati incurrit, credere non videtur."—"Whosoever believeth in God, blusheth not; but every man blusheth that worketh sin. Therefore he that yet blusheth for his sin, seemeth not to believe." And again he saith, "Malè credit, quicunque peccat."—"Whosoever sinneth, believeth ill."

To be short: St. Cyprian saith, "Quomodo dicit se credere in Christum, qui non facit quod Christus facere præcepit?"—"How doth he say he believeth in Christ, that doth not the thing that Christ commanded?"

If ye will believe none of all these, being ancient and learned fathers, yet believe your own Doctor Cusanus, a cardinal of Rome. Thus he saith, "Non potest mens scire Deum, et non diligere. Non potest esse vera scientia Dei, ubi non est charitas."—"The mind cannot know God, and not love him. There can be no true knowledge of God, where there wanteth charity."

Hereby it is plain that true faith is lively and workful, and that an idle faith is indeed no faith at all.

Addition.—Mr. Harding. *Did not you know the answer, Mr. Jewell? Nothing is more common; you belie the Scripture; that is the answer to you. And your forefathers, even up to Luther, have always belied it, and being told of it, will not yet amend, no more than the devil whom they follow. A thing may be dead in two sorts; either because it had life in it of its own, or else because it had it of another thing, &c. Now it is to be considered, whether faith hath life in itself of its own nature, as a man hath (for then a dead faith is no faith), or else whether faith hath life of another thing, to wit, of charity, and then a dead faith is a true faith, &c.*

St. James giveth us to understand, that faith hath life of another thing, like as the body hath life of the soul. For he saith, "Sicut enim corpus sine spiritu mortuum est, ita et fides sine operibus mortua est."—"As the body without the soul is dead, so is faith dead without works." Not as the man is dead without the soul, but as the body is dead without the soul, so is faith dead without works. But the body being without the soul, is still a true natural body; therefore faith being without good works, is still a true real faith. And so Mr. Jewell is tried a liar.

The Answer.—I am weary of your follies, Mr. Harding; and were it not for some satisfaction of the

simple, I would not vouchsafe them of any answer. Whereas I only allege these words of St. James, "Faith without works is dead;" you tell me, that *I belie the Scriptures. And this* (you say) *shall be mine answer.* Of such hasty answers you have good store. I thank God I believe the Scriptures: I belie them not; I would not willingly belie a child, much less the everlasting word of God, for I know it is holy.

But how, and wherein, have I so foully belied the Scriptures? You answer me, *A thing may be dead in two sorts, either because it had life in it of its own, or else because it had it of another thing. Faith hath life of itself, and faith hath life of charity.* All this may be granted. But what conclude you hereof, Mr. Harding? If faith have life of itself, have I therefore *belied the Scriptures?* Behold St. James's words. Thus he saith: "Faith without works is dead." Of the other side behold my words. Thus I say, "Faith without works is dead." Now compare these words together. I increase nothing; I minish nothing; I alter nothing; I report St. James's words plainly and simply as he spake them. With what good countenance then can you so uncivilly tell me that I have *belied the Scriptures?* Your reader, be he never so friendly bent unto you, must needs doubt somewhat of your dealing. If you proceed accordingly, you will be able shortly to tell us that St. James himself hath belied the Scriptures. For the words that I speak, and you condemn, be St. James's.

Faith (you say) *hath life of another thing, like as the body hath of the soul. Not as the man is dead without the soul, but as the body is dead without the soul, so is faith dead without good works.* Thus you say. But help us, I pray you, that we may better understand your meaning. Ye speak in parables. We need a commentary. *A man* (say you) *dead*

without a soul? What meaneth this talk, Mr. Harding? Ye lay the way for us, I trow, and would entrap us in the dark. Who ever heard of a man without a soul? I have sometimes heard of a man without wit, and of words without sense or reason; but of a man *without a soul*, hitherto I never heard, unless happily you mean the man in the moon.

Now let us view the handsomeness of your distinction. These be your words: *Not as a man is dead without a soul, but as a body is dead without a soul.* A man that had any soul would think there should be some difference between these speeches. *Not as the one* (you say), *but as the other.* But what if the one and the other be both one? Consider better of your words, I beseech you. What is *a man without a soul*, but only a bare and dead body? Or what is such a dead body, but only *a man without a soul?* Where was your soul, Mr. Harding, when you devised these distinctions without a difference?

Yet ye tell us, *A body being without a soul, is still a true natural body.* Ergo (say you), *Faith being without good works, is still a true real faith.* First, Mr. Harding, you know it is commonly said in all schools, "Omnis similitudo claudicat." You might soon have found the feebleness of this reason; it will serve you only to mock children. Howbeit, let us use your own grants. You shall see them conclude against yourself; for a body without a soul, notwithstanding it be a true natural body, yet hath it neither sense nor life, but is indeed and verily a dead body. Even so your faith without good works, notwithstanding any truth or reality ye can give unto it, hath in it neither life nor sense, but indeed and verily is a dead faith, and therefore no faith at all.

But who taught you to shape out these pretty similitudes, and so unskilfully to liken faith unto the

body, and good works unto the soul? The wise and learned have rather likened "true faith to the soul, and good works to the body." For as the body hath no life of itself, but only of the soul, even so works have no life of themselves, but only of faith.

Yet you say, *Faith without works is nevertheless a true and real faith.* Verily, Mr. Harding, so is fire without heat a true and a real fire. Of such a faith St. James saith, "Dæmones credunt, et contremiscunt."—"Devils believe, and quake for fear." If the wicked without good works have a true and a real faith, then may you also say, *that the devil likewise hath a true and a real faith.* This faith is no faith, Mr. Harding; it is only an imaginary and a mathematical fantasy; it is not that faith whereby we are made the children of God.

Hereof St. Paul saith thus: "Habent speciem pietatis, virtutem autem ejus abnegant."—"They have a show and face of godliness, but the virtue and power thereof they forsake utterly." (2 Tim. iii.) Of such a faith the angel saith in the Apocalypse (chap. iii.), "Thou hast a name of life, and yet thou art dead." Such is faith without works, a face without godliness, a show without substance, a name without life.

Mr. Jewell (you say) *is tried a liar.* And why so? Because he saith, as St. James saith, "Faith without works is dead;" and therefore, as St. Augustine saith, "no faith at all." But Mr. Harding, contrary to St. James's express and plain words, telleth us, that *faith without works is a true and a real faith*, and is lively and forcible in itself. And yet is he tried a trusty man.

But you say, *Good works have their reward, and therefore* (ye say) *this heresy may not so escape.* Whether good works shall be rewarded, or no, it was no part of our question. For we undoubtedly believe

the words that are written by St. John, "Opera illorum sequuntur illos."—"Their works follow after them." We believe the words that Christ saith to his disciples, "He that giveth a cup of cold water to any of these little ones for my sake, shall not lose his reward." (Matt. x.) We believe that St. Paul saith, "Your work shall not be in vain in the Lord." (1 Cor. xv.) We grant, *good works have their reward*, but the same *reward* standeth in mercy and favour, and not in duty.

Thus therefore we say, considering the weakness and sinful corruption of our nature, there can be no works in us so pure and perfect, that we may thereby of right and of duty deserve everlasting life. And this, Mr. Harding, is no heresy, but the very plain sense and substance of God's word, and the undoubted doctrine of the ancient Catholic fathers of the church.

Job saith, "Si homo velit contendere cum Deo, non poterit correspondere unum pro mille."—"If a man will dispute with God, he is not able to answer him one for a thousand." And therefore he saith, "Verebar omnia opera mea."—"I stood in doubt, and was afraid of all my works." Again he saith, "Although I were perfect, yet my soul shall not know it. If I would justify myself, mine own mouth shall condemn me." (Job, ix.) The Prophet Isaiah saith, (chap. xlix.) "All our righteousness is like a foul stained clout."

Therefore St. Augustine saith, "Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo. Quid est, Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo? Non stes mecum in judicio, exigendo à me omnia quæ præcepisti, et omnia quæ jussisti. Nam me invenies reum si in judicium intraveris mecum. Opus ergo est misericordia tua potius quam liquidissimo judicio tuo."—"O Lord, enter not into judgment with thy servant. What

meaneth that, Enter not into judgment with thy servant? Thus much it meaneth; Stand not with me in judgment, requiring of me all that thou hast commanded. For if thou enter into judgment with me, thou shalt find me guilty. I have need, therefore, not of thy upright judgment, but of thy mercy."—Again he saith, "Merita quorumlibet hominum quæ sunt? Quandoquidem ille qui non cum mercede debita, sed cum gratuita gratia venit, omnes peccatores, solus à peccato liber, et liberator, invenit."—"What be the merits of any men? For Christ, that came not with his due reward, but with his grace, that was not due, found all men sinners, being himself only free from sin, and a deliverer of sinners." Again he saith, "Coronat te in misericordia et miserationibus. Hoc fiet in judicio, ubi cum Rex justus sederit in throno, redditurus unicuique secundùm opera ejus, quis gloriabitur, castum se habere cor? Aut quis gloriabitur, mundum se esse à peccatis? Ideo illic necessarium fuit commemorare miserationem et misericordiam Domini, &c."—"God crowneth thee with favour and mercy, that shall be done in the last judgment; whereas when the just King shall sit in his throne, to render to every man according to his works, who shall boast that his heart is chaste? or who shall boast that he is clean from sin? Therefore it was needful to make mention of the pity and mercy of our Lord." And again, "Opera manuum mearum non commendo; timeo enim, ne cùm inspexeris, plura invenias peccata quam merita."—"Lord, I commend not the works of my hands. For I am afraid, lest, when thou shalt behold them, thou shalt find more sins than good deservings."[26]

So saith St. Jerome, "Si consideremus nostra merita, desperandum est."—"If we behold our own merits, we must be driven to desperation."

So saith Origen, "Ego vix mihi persuadeo, ullum

opus esse posse, quod ex debito remunerationem deposcat."—" I do scarcely believe that there can be any work that may of duty require reward." Again he saith, " Dicite vos esse servos inutiles ; nam etsi omnia fecerimus quæ præcepta sunt, non tamen bonum aliquod fecimus, nec enim, si verè bona essent essemus inutiles ; omne autem bonum nostrum non propriè sed abusivè bonum dicitur."—" Say ye (saith Christ) that ye be unprofitable servants. For notwithstanding we have done all things that are commanded, yet have we done no good thing. For if our doings were good indeed, then were we not unprofitable. But any good deed of ours is called good, not rightly or duly, but by abuse of speech." So saith St. Augustine, " Si Deus vellet pro meritis agere, non inveniret, nisi quod damnaret."—" If God would deal with us according to that we have deserved, he should find nothing, but that he might condemn."

Therefore, Mr. Harding, Waldensis, one of your great doctors, having well and circumspectly weighed the matter of every side, at the last concludeth thus : " Quid dignum facimus, ut participes cœlestibus fieri inveniamur ? Apostolo dicente, ' Existimo quòd non sunt condignæ passiones hujus temporis ad futuram gloriam, quæ revelabitur in nobis ;' reputo igitur saniorem theologum, fideliorem Catholicum et Scripturis sanctis magis concordem, qui tale meritum simpliciter abnegat."—" What worthy thing do we, that we may be found in the fellowship of the heavenly spirits ? The Apostle saith, ' I judge that the afflictions of this time are not worthy of that glory that shall be revealed in us.' Therefore I take him to be the sounder divine, the faithfuller Catholic, and more agreeable to the holy Scriptures, that utterly denieth all such kind of merit."

But ye will say, " *If we find ourselves void of merit, how then shall we stand, and be justified before*

God?" St. John saith (Rev. xxi.), "Blessed are they that have washed their robes (not in their own merits, but) in the blood of the Lamb." And God saith, "I will give the thirsty to drink of the well of life," (not for his deserts, but) for nothing."

The ancient father Origen saith, "Quia omnia conclusa sunt sub peccato, nunc non in meritis sed in misericordia Dei salus humana consistit."—"Forasmuch as all men are shut up and closed under sin, now the salvation of man standeth not in man's merits, but in God's mercy."

St. Augustine saith, "Deus in fine coronabit nos in misericordia et miserationibus."—"God, in the end, will crown us (not with the price of our deservings, but) with favour and mercies."

Again he saith, "Pro nihilo salvos facies eos. Quid est, Pro nihilo salvos facies eos? Nihil in eis invenis unde salves, et tamen salvas. Quia nihil invenis unde salves, et multum invenis unde damnes."—"For nothing thou shalt save them. What is meant by these words, For nothing thou shalt save them? (This is the meaning:) Thou findest nothing in them wherefore thou shouldest save them; and yet thou savest them: thou findest nothing wherefore thou shouldest save them; but thou findest much wherefore thou shouldest condemn them."

And again, "Omnes in mortem pœna debita præcipites ageret, nisi inde quosdam indebita Dei gratia liberaret."—"Deserved pain would throw all men into death, unless the undeserved grace of God deliver some from it."

St. Bazil saith, "Non erit judicium sine misericordia, quia non potest homo purus inveniri à sorde, ne si unus quidem tantùm dies sit ab ejus natali."—"Judgment shall not be without mercy; for no man can be found pure and clean from all filth; no, though he be but one day old." Again he saith, "Hæc est nostra integra et perfecta gloriatio in Deo,

quando propriæ justitiæ nos inopes agnoscimus; sola autem fide in Christum justificari."—"This is our full and perfect rejoicing in God, when we acknowledge that we are void of any our own righteousness, and are justified by only faith in Christ."

So saith St. Jerome, "In Christo Jesu Domino nostro, in quo habemus fiduciam et accessum, et confidentiam per fidem ejus; non per nostram justitiam, sed per eum, cujus fide nobis peccata dimittuntur."—"In Christ Jesus our Lord, in whom we have boldness and liberty to come (to God), and trust and affiance by the faith of him, not through our righteousness, but through him, in whose name our sins be forgiven."

Hereof St. Bernard in most godly and comfortable wise concludeth thus: "Meritum meum miserationes Domini. Non sum ego inops meriti, quamdiu ille non est inops miserationum. Si miserationes ejus multæ, multus ego sum in meritis. Hoc totum est hominis meritum, si totam spem suam ponat in Domino."—"My merit is the mercy of God. So long as God is not poor of mercy, so long cannot I be poor of merits. If his mercies be great, then am I great in merits. This is the whole merit of man, if he put his whole affiance in the Lord."

This is these defenders' horrible heresy, Mr. Harding, *which* (you say) *might not so escape your hands.*

ON THE CAUSE OF OUR RESURRECTION.

(Page 308.)

Christ saith further, "Unless ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, ye shall have no life in you." If there be none other eating of Christ's body, whereby we shall live, but only your fantastical and fleshly eating with mouth and teeth,

then I beseech you, what life have Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, and other holy patriarchs and prophets, that were before the coming of Christ? What life have a great number of holy martyrs? what life have Christian children, that, being baptized in the blood of Christ, depart this life before they can receive the sacrament; that is to say, by your strange exposition, before they have *really* and *substantially* eaten the flesh of Christ? Will ye say, They have no life? or will ye condemn them all to everlasting death? or, must we think they shall never rise again? Certainly St. Augustine saith precisely, "Qui manducat, habet vitam; et qui non manducat, non habet vitam."—"Whoso eateth (the flesh of Christ) hath life, and whoso eateth it not hath no life." Hereof we must needs conclude by your divinity, that Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, and other godly fathers, that never received the sacrament, have no life, but are dead for ever, without hope of resurrection.

But to leave your fantasies, Mr. Harding. The cause of our resurrection, as St. Paul saith, is the Spirit of God, that dwelleth in us. Origen saith, "Resurgimus propter Spiritum habitantem in nobis; necesse est enim Spiritui reddi habitaculum suum."—"We shall rise again because of the Spirit that dwelleth within us; for of necessity the Spirit must have his house restored unto him." St. Augustine saith, "Hæc mea tota spes est, et omnis fiducia; est enim in ipso Jesu Christo Domino nostro uniuscujusque nostrum portio, caro et sanguis; ubi ergo portio mea regnat, ibi ego me regnare credo."—"This is my whole hope, and all my trust; for in Christ Jesus our Lord is flesh and blood, which is a portion of each of us; therefore where a portion of mine reigneth, there I believe that I reign too."

St. Cyril saith, "Quamvis mors propter peccatum in naturam nostram insiliit, tamen, quia Filius Dei

homo factus est, omnes profecto resurgemus."—"Although death be fallen into our nature because of sin, yet because the Son of God is made man, doubtless we shall all rise again." Likewise again, he saith, "Sic vos effeci participes divinæ naturæ, cùm Spiritum meum fecerim habitare in vobis. Christus enim in nobis est per Spiritum, corruptionem nostram in incorruptionem commutans."—"So I made you partakers of the divine nature, when I caused my Spirit to dwell in you; for Christ is in us by his Spirit changing our corruption into incorruption." Thus the Spirit of God is the cause and worker of our resurrection. And to come near unto you, the sacraments of Christ are also means, and instruments, and seals hereof, but not the causes.

St. Cyril saith, "Quod mystica communio resurrectionis quædam sit confessio, verbis Christi ipsius probatur. At enim, Hoc est corpus meum, hoc in memoriam mei facite."—"That the mystical communion is a certain confession of the resurrection, it is proved by the words of Christ himself; for he saith, This is my body, do this in remembrance of me." And therefore in the council of Nice, the holy mysteries are called "Resurrectionis nostræ symbola"—"the pledges or tokens of our resurrection."

And St. Ambrose, speaking distinctly hereof, saith, "Non ipse panis qui vadit in corpus, sed panis vitæ æternæ, qui animæ nostræ substantiam fulcit."—"It is not this bread (of the sacrament) that passeth into the body, but it is the bread of everlasting life (that is to say, the very body of Christ itself), that sustaineth the substance of our soul."

And to put the matter further out of doubt, the same force unto resurrection, that is applied unto the sacrament of Christ's body, is also, and in as ample sort, given to the sacrament of baptism.

St. Bazil saith, "Dies Paschatis est pignus resur-

rectionis; baptisma verò est potentia et vis ad resurrectionem."—"Easter Day is a pledge of resurrection; but baptism is a power and strength unto resurrection."

Again he saith, "Resurrectionis gratiam in die resurrectionis excipiamus."—"Upon the day of Christ's resurrection, let us receive (baptism, which is) the grace of resurrection."

Ignatius saith, "Ut credentes in mortem ejus per baptismum participes ejus resurrectionis efficiamini."—"That believing in his death, by baptism ye may be made partakers of his resurrection." Therefore in the council of Worms it is written thus: "In aquas demersio, in infernum descensio est; et rursus, ab aquis emersio, resurrectio est."—"The dipping into the water is the going down into hell, and the coming out from the water is the resurrection."

PROTESTANT CHURCH DEFENDED.

(Page 311.)

We make no cracks of our numbers, Mr. Harding, but humbly give God thanks, that, maugre all your practices and policies, hath published and proclaimed the name of his Son in every place through the world. The strength and force thereof grieveth you now, as it did others your fathers before you, that cried out in an agony, "What shall we do? All the world runneth after him." Of them St. Cyril saith, "Quicquid Christo credentium accesserit, sibi detractum putant."—"As many faithful believers as are gotten to Christ, so many they think are lost from themselves."

Notwithstanding the truth of God hangeth neither of many, nor of few, Liberius, the bishop of Rome, said sometime to the Arian Emperor Constantius, "Non si ego solus sum, idcirco minor est ratio

fidei."—" Although I be alone, yet the account of faith is therefore no whit the less." Christ compareth the kingdom of God unto a piece of leaven, which, being little in quantity, the woman taketh, and layeth in a great lump of dough, until the whole be all leavened. (Matt. xiii.)

Chrysostom saith, " Nemo paucitatem vestram deploret; magna enim est virtus prædicationis: et quod semel fermentatum est, rursus fermentum ad cætera efficitur."—" Let no man bewail the small number of you, for great is the virtue of preaching; and whoso is once leavened, is himself made leaven, to leaven others."

It is noted in the gloss upon the Clementines, " Veritas pedetentim cognoscitur."—" Truth is known by little and by little." And St. Ambrose, " Constat diluvium eodem numero quo cumulatum est, esse diminutum."—" It is known that the flood in the time of Noah, as it grew by degrees, so by degrees it abated."

Origen saith, " Ego concitabo eos in non gentem. Nos sumus non gens, qui pauci ex ista civitate credimus, et alii ex alia, et nusquam gens integra ab initio credulitatis videtur assumpta."—" I shall provoke them, by them that are no people. We are they, that were no people, that believe in Christ, a few in this city, and a few in another; and never was there any nation that was taken whole at the first beginning of the faith." The meaning hereof is this, that God calleth men, not altogether, but now a few, now more, as unto his secret wisdom seemeth best.

So it is written in the late council of Bazil, " Spiritus Sanctus non illuminat omnes eodem tempore; sed ubi vult, et quando vult, spirat."—" The Holy Ghost doth not give light to all men at one time, but breatheth where it will, and when it will."

This is the counsel and the hand of God, Mr. Harding. We may say unto you, as Tertullian said sometime unto the heathens, "Exquisitior quæque crudelitas vestra, illecebra est magis sectæ. Plures efficimur, quoties metimur à vobis. Semen est sanguis Christianorum."—"Your earnest cruelty is an enticement and a provocation unto this sect. As often as ye reckon us, ye find us more and more. The seed hereof is Christian blood."

Arnobius said sometime unto the enemies of the cross of Christ, "Nonne hæc saltem fidem vobis faciunt argumenta credendi, quod jam per omnes terras, in tam brevi tempore, et parvo, immensa nominis hujus sacramenta diffusa sunt?"—"At the least, do not these proofs make you believe that ye see, the great secrets of this name (of Christ) are poured abroad in so short space through all countries?"

Fight not against God, Mr. Harding. "There is no wisdom, there is no counsel against God." (Prov. xxi.)

This is certain (ye say) *touching the grounds of faith, the church erreth not.* Whether your church have erred, or no, and in what grounds it hath erred, it shall better appear hereafter. Truly St. Bernard saith of your church, even of your church of Rome, "Intestina et insanabilis facta est plaga ecclesiæ."—"The wound of the church is within the bowels, and past recovery." And again, "Hæc sunt infælicissima tempora, quæ prævidit Apostolus, in quibus homines sanam doctrinam non sustinent."—"These be the unhappy days, that the Apostle saw before, when men cannot abide sound doctrine."

This was St. Bernard's judgment of your church, "that it would hear no sound doctrine," and that it for that cause seemed utterly past recovery; there-

fore so certainly to assure yourself of a thing uncertain, it was no wisdom.

We may say of your popes and bishops, whom only ye mean by the name of your church, as St. Jerome said sometime of certain others your fathers long ago, "Non tam indignentur nobis hæc exponentibus et Prophetis vaticinantibus, quam Dominum deprecentur et studiosè agant, ne de sacerdotibus, qui violant sancta Domini, esse mereantur."—"Let them not take stomach against us, that expound these things, nor against the Prophets that foretold these things; but let them pray unto God, and take good heed that they be not of those priests that defile the holy things of the Lord."

CONCERNING THE VISIBLE AND INVISIBLE CHURCH.

(Page 360.)

THE APOLOGY, CHAP. 4, DIVISION 2.

FORTY years ago and upward, it was an easy thing for them to devise against us these accursed speeches, and other too, sorer than these; when, in the midst of the darkness of that age, first began to spring and to give shine some one glimmering beam of truth unknown at that time, and unheard of; when also Martin Luther and Hulderic Zuinglius, being most excellent men, even sent of God to give light to the whole world, first came unto the knowledge and preaching of the Gospel, when as yet the thing was but new, and the success thereof uncertain; and when men's minds stood doubtful and amazed, and their ears open to all slanderous tales, and when there could be imagined against us no fact so detestable, but the people then would soon believe it for the novelty and strangeness of the matter. For so did Symmachus, so did Celsus, so did Julianus, so did Porphyrius, the old foes to the Gospel, attempt in

times past to accuse all Christians of sedition and treason, before that either prince or people were able to know who those Christians were, what they professed, what they believed, or what was their meaning.

MR. HARDING.

As ye run your race, and with lying amplification boast and brag of the truth of your doctrine, and of the innocency of your demeanour, ye fall into a great inconvenience and oversight. Was the light extinguished in all Israel, till that lewd friar and Zuinglius came? Shall we now change the old song of Micah the Prophet, Out of Sion shall come the law, and the word of our Lord from Jerusalem, and sing a new song, Out of Wittenberg is come the Gospel, and the word of the Lord from Zurich and Geneva? If Luther and Zuinglius first came to the knowledge and preaching of the Gospel, what meant Christ to break his promise, who said, I will be with you all days till the end of the world?

Again: how forgot ye the old proverb, A liar it behoveth to be mindful? Remember ye not how this is contrary to all your own doctrine; for say ye not otherwheres, that God had always his number of the elect, and his invisible church? Therefore this must ye recant, and call back again, or else shall ye pull all the rabble of sundry your own sects upon your shoulders, whose filthy ravings and vile upbraidings, poor souls, ye shall never be able to abide.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It is not worth the while to answer him that saith nothing. Sion, from whence ye say the law of God issued first, was in those days as much disdained of your fathers as in this day of you Geneva or Wittenberg. Origen saith of Celsus the heathen, "Chris-

tianum dogma affirmat à barbaris cepisse ortum, hoc est, à Judæis."—" He saith, that the Christian faith took her first beginning from barbarous people, that is to say, from the Jews." Cicero saith, " Judæi et Syri, gentes natæ servituti."—" The Jews and Syrians, nations born to bondage."

And Chrysostom, speaking of Julianus the renegate, saith thus: " Galilæos nos pro Christianis in edictis suis appellavit."—" In his proclamations, in the stead of Christians, he calleth us scornfully Galileans," noting thereby the vileness of the place from whence the Gospel of Christ first proceeded.

But Nazianzen saith, " Honora parvam Bethlehem quæ te induxit in paradisum."—" (Despise not, but rather) Honour that little Bethlehem, that hath led thee into paradise."

The sound of this simple, barbarous, despised people was heard throughout the whole world. " God caused his light to shine out of the dark." (Psa. xix.) His holy Spirit " breatheth where he thinketh good. He hath no regard of persons or choice of places." But as Peter said unto Cornelius (Acts, x.), " In every nation, whosoever feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted before him."—" God chooseth the weak things of the world, to confound the strong." (Matt. xiii.) God's holy name be blessed, that of so little, and so simple a despised mustard-seed, hath now raised up so great a tree; " and triumpheth the Gospel of Christ his Son in every place throughout the world." (1 Cor. i.)

What meant Christ (say you) *to break his promise?* Nay, what meant you, Mr. Harding, so shamefully to break Christ's commandment, and yet to charge him with his promise? God is " true in all his promises, and shall prevail when he is so lewdly judged." There is no fault in God, or his Christ; the fault is in you, that have made of the house of God " a

cave of thieves." Christ never made any such special promise unto the Pope, that, whatsoever it should please him to say or do, he should never err, nor do amiss. Ye presume over-much of God's promises: nay, though antichrist should be Pope, yet should Christ's promises be true still.

It is true, "that God hath always a church invisible, and a number of elect, known only to himself alone." Neither is this our only saying. St. Paul also saith the same: "Firmum stat fundamentum Dei, habens hoc sigillum, Novit Dominus qui sint sui."—"This foundation standeth sound and firm, having this seal, The Lord knoweth who be his own." (2 Tim. ii.) Elias thought all the godly in Israel had been slain, and not one left alive. But God said unto him, "I have saved unto myself seven thousand men, that never bowed their knee before Baal." (1 Kings, xix.) God knew them, but Elias knew them not. To the judgment of man they were invisible.

Therefore St. Augustine saith, "Secundum occultam Dei prædestinationem, plurimæ sunt foris oves, plurimi lupi intùs: novit enim, ac signatos habet, qui nec eum nec se norûnt."—"According to God's secret predestination there be many sheep without the church, and many wolves within the church; for he knoweth them, and hath them marked, that know neither themselves, nor God neither."

Addition.—As for the whole body and company of all them that be called Christians, reckoned universally together, which you call the *church catholic*, Cardinal Cusanus calleth it, "Ecclesia conjecturalis" —"a church conjectural;" for that we know it, not by certainty, but by conjecture. For in this church, thus largely taken, they that seem predestinate before men are oftentimes wicked and reprobate before God; and they that before men seem

the members of Christ, are oftentimes before God the members of antichrist.

Cusanus' words be these: "Oportet in sensibili mundo sensibilibus signis de ipsa Christi ecclesia conjecturam sumere, cum aliter attingi nequeat rationis veritas, &c."—"In this sensible world that is here beneath, we must learn by sensible tokens to know the very church of Christ; for otherwise we are not able to reach the truth. Therefore this conjectural church in this sensible world, according to such a short knowledge as this world may yield, is indeed the true church. Notwithstanding, according to the conjecture that we gather by tokens, it receiveth as well the godly that be joined to Christ, as also the ungodly that be divided from Christ. This church standeth of them that declare by sensible and outward tokens, that they be partakers of Christ, as they be that confess Christ to be the Son of God. And therefore this church hath certain holy tokens or sacraments (as the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of our Lord's supper) ordained to that end, that thereby we may know them that be of Christ so far forth, as by such tokens conjectural knowledge may be gathered. Therefore I say, that this church of Christ (in this general taking) by this conjectural judgment is counted holy, notwithstanding wicked men and hypocrites cover themselves under the same outward tokens, and receive baptism and the Lord's supper, as well as the godly." Thus the general outward church of God is visible, and may be seen, but the very true church of God's elect is invisible, and cannot be seen or discerned by man, but is only known to God alone.

Thus the number of God's elect, yea, before the coming of Christ, in the time of darkness, was evermore certain; yet afterward the knowledge of the

Gospel, by the mouths of the Apostles, was abundantly carried abroad into the ends of all the world.

Both these parts, Mr. Harding, may stand well together, and are nothing contrary to our doctrine. Be the number of the faithful more or less, yet the church of God is one for ever.

THE CHURCH OF ROME MAY ERR, AND YET THE TRUE CHURCH STAND FAST.

(Page 398.)

THE APOLOGY, CHAP. 12, DIVISION 1 AND 2.

Or if there be no peril, that harm may come to the church, what need is there to retain to no purpose the names of bishops? For so it is now commonly used among them. The names only they bear, and do nothing. For if there be no sheep that may stray, why be they called shepherds? If there be no city that may be betrayed, why be they called watchmen? If there be nothing that may run to ruin, why be they called pillars? Anon, after the first creation of the world, the church of God began to spread abroad, and the same was instructed with the heavenly word, which God himself pronounced with his own mouth.

It was also furnished with divine ceremonies. It was taught by the Spirit of God, by the patriarchs and prophets, and continued so even till the time that Christ shewed himself to us in the flesh. Thus notwithstanding, how often, O good God, in the mean while, and how horribly, was the same church darkened and decayed!

Where was that church then when all flesh upon earth had defiled his own way? where was it, when, amongst the number of the whole world, there were only eight persons (and neither they all chaste and good) whom God's will was should be saved alive

from the universal destruction and mortality? when Elias the Prophet so lamentably and bitterly made his moan, that only himself was left of all the whole world, which did truly and duly worship God?

And when Isaiah said, "The silver of God's people (that is, of the church) was become dross, and that the same city, which aforetime had been faithful, was now become an harlot; and that in the same there was no part sound throughout the whole body from the head to the foot?" Or else when Christ himself said, "that the house of God was made by the pharisees and priests a den of thieves?"

Of a truth the church, even as a corn-field, except it be eared, manured, tilled, and trimmed, will, instead of wheat, bring forth thistles, darnel, and nettles. For this cause did God send ever among it both prophets and apostles, and, last of all, his own Son, who might bring home the people into the right way, and repair anew the tottering church after she had erred.

MR. HARDING.

These and the like places have been already alleged of old time against the Catholics, by the Donatists, as St. Augustine sheweth, and of late years by your schoolmaster, John Calvin, of Geneva. We need not to study for new answers to the argument made out of these, and such other places, much fitter for this purpose than these are, since that the same is so well answered by St. Augustine. Oftentimes (saith he) God's word rebuketh the wicked sorts of the church so, as though all were such, and none at all remained good. For thereby we are warned, "them," in their certain number, to be called, "all;" as much as to say, "all" the children of hell.

But, Sirs, what if the church at the beginning of the world, and at the general drowning, was of small

number? and what if the synagogue were sometime quite extinguished? Must it therefore follow that the church also, after that God hath given to Christ his Son the ends of the world to be his possession, may now be brought to a few, and to fail altogether? Where was the church (say ye), when of all the world there were but eight persons, and they only saved alive from the universal destruction? Forsooth, they were in Noah's ark. And now have we our Noah's ark also, in which, whosoever abideth not, the same is drowned. Neither were the Prophets and Apostles sent, nor Christ came himself, to repair anew the church which had in faith wholly erred, but both they were sent, and he came, that it should not wholly err.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

It is true that ye say, *In the holy Scriptures this word (All) is often used instead of many. And thus* (ye say) *it fared with the synagogue of the Jews; for that then the faithful were sometimes brought unto a small number, sometimes were utterly decayed, and consumed to nought. And in this sense* (ye say) *Elias complained that the Prophets of God were all slain, and he only left alive.*

But now (ye say) *the church may not be brought to a few. For God hath given to Christ his Son the ends of the world to be his possession.* Yet Christ himself, Mr. Harding, that best knew the reach and limits of his possession, saith thus: "When the Son of Man shall come, think you he shall find faith in the world?" (Luke, xxi.) Whereupon St. Ambrose saith, "Tunc fides rara; ut ipse quasi addubitans Dominus ista dixerit."—"Then shall faith be scarce; so that our Lord spake these words as doubting thereof, whether there should be any faithful left or no."

And St. John, in his Revelations, saith, "Mulier fugit in solitudinem, ubi habet locum paratum à

Deo."—" The woman (whereby is meant, not the synagogue of the Jews, but the church of Christ) fleeth into the wilderness, where she hath a place provided of God." By which words is meant, that in time of ignorance and persecution the church is without countenance and unknown.

St. Paul saith (2 Thess. ii.), " Before the day of the Lord, there shall be a departing from the faith of Christ." By these it appeareth, the decay of the church shall be universal, and that the remnants shall not be many. Therefore Vincentius Lirinensis putteth the case on this wise : " Quid si novella aliqua contagio jam non portiunculam tantùm, sed totam pariter ecclesiam commaculare conetur ? Tunc item providebit, ut antiquitati inhæreat."—" What if some new corruption go about to invade, not only some portion of the church, but also the whole universal church altogether ? Then must a Christian man settle himself to cleave to antiquity :" that is to say, to follow the primitive church of the apostles and ancient fathers. This case he would never have moved, unless he thought the whole universal church might happen by some error to be deceived.

Surely St. Chrysostom, speaking of the state of the church, that he saw in his time, saith thus: " Videtur ecclesia hodie mulieri, quæ mansuetudine veteri exciderit, similis, quæque symbola tantùm felicitatis illius quædam referat ; arcas et scrinia rerum pretiocissimarum adhuc retinens, thesauro destituta. Huic mulieri ecclesia hodie videtur similis."—" The church this day is like unto a woman, that hath quite lost all her old modesty, and that beareth only certain badges and tokens of her former felicity ; and that being utterly bereft of the treasures, keepeth only the cases and boxes of the precious things she had before. To such a woman the church this day may be likened."

Likewise St. Jerome, speaking of that he saw by experience in his time, saith thus: "Ecclesia, postquam ad Christianos principes pervenit, potentia quidem et divitiis major, sed virtutibus minor facta est."—"The church, after that she is come to Christian princes, indeed is greater in wealth and riches; but in virtue and holiness she is less than she was before."

Therefore saith Chrysostom, "Hæc dico, ne quis miretur ecclesiam propter multitudinem, sed ut ipsam probatam reddere studeamus."—"Thus much I tell you, not that we should advance the church because of the multitude and increase of people; but that we should endeavour to adorn her with virtue."

Now where ye say, *the church now can never be brought to few*, St. Bernard saith thus unto God by way of moan, "Conjurasse videtur contra te universitas populi Christiani à minimo usque ad maximum. A planta pedis usque ad verticem non est sanitas ulla. Egressa est iniquitas à senioribus judicibus, vicariis tuis, qui videntur regere populum tuum."—"O Lord, the universal company of Christian people seemeth to have conspired against thee, from the lowest unto the highest. From the sole of the foot, unto the crown of the head, there is no whole place; iniquity and wickedness is gone forth from thy elder judges, that be thy vicars, that are thought to rule thy people."

Again he saith, "Intestinalis et insanabilis est plaga ecclesiæ."—"The wound of the church is inward, and past recovery." Likewise Baptista Mantuan complaineth unto Pope Leo,

"Sancte pater succurre Leo, respublica Christi
Labitur; ægrotatque fides jam proxima morti.

"Help, holy father Leo; Christ's commonwealth (that is, the church) is fallen down, the faith is sick, and like to die."

So likewise saith he that wrote the Fort of Faith: "Et si in hoc dæmonum bello cadant religiosi principes et milites, et prælati ecclesiastici, et subditi, tamen semper manent aliqui in quibus salvatur veritas fidei, et justificatio bonæ conscientiæ; et si non nisi duo homines fideles remanerint in mundo, in eis salvaretur ecclesia, quæ est unitas fidelium."—"In this battle of devils, notwithstanding the godly princes, the soldiers, the ecclesiastical prelates, and subjects, be overthrown, yet evermore some remain, in whom the truth of faith and the righteousness of a good conscience is preserved. And although there remained but two faithful men in the world, yet in the same two the church of God should be saved, which church is the unity of the faithful."

The church of God is often compared to the moon, which sometimes is full, and round, and bright, and glorious; sometimes is wholly shadowed, and drowned in darkness; and yet, notwithstanding, is not consumed, but in substance remaineth still.

St. Augustine saith, "Aliquando in solo Abel ecclesia erat, et expugnatus est à fratre malo et perdito Cain; aliquando in solo Enoch ecclesia erat, et translatus est ab iniquis."—"Sometimes the church was in only Abel, and he was destroyed by his brother, wicked Cain; sometimes the church was only in Enoch, and he was translated from the wicked."

Your own Panormitane saith, "Possibile est, quòd vera fides Christi remaneret in uno solo; atque ita verum est dicere, quòd fides non deficit in ecclesia. Hoc patuit post passionem Christi, nam fides remansit tantùm in Beata Virgine. Quia omnes alii scandalizati sunt. Tamen Christus ante passionem oraverat pro Petro, ut non deficeret fides sua. Ergo ecclesia non dicitur deficere, nec etiam errare, si remanet vera fides in uno solo."—"It is possible, the true faith of Christ may remain in one alone. And so

it is true to say, that faith faileth not in the church. This thing appeared after Christ's passion. For then the faith remained only in the Blessed Virgin. For all the rest (both the Apostles and others) were offended. Yet hath Christ prayed for Peter before his passion, that his faith should not fail. Therefore we may not say, the church faileth or erreth, if the faith remain but in one alone."

Again St. Augustine saith, "Non tamen propter hos remanebit Christus sine hæreditate. Novit Dominus qui sint sui, &c."—"Yet shall not Christ, because of the wicked, remain without his inheritance. The Lord knoweth who be his own."

HOW GOD UPHOLDETH HIS CHURCH ON EARTH.

(Page 626.)

THE APOLOGY, CHAP. 18, DIVISION 2.

For God is able (not only without councils, but also will the councils, nill the councils) to maintain and advance his own kingdom. "Full many be the thoughts of man's heart (saith Solomon), but the counsel of the Lord abideth stedfast. There is no wisdom, there is no knowledge, there is no counsel against the Lord."—"Things endure not (saith Hilarius) that be set up with man's workmanship; by another manner of means must the church of God be builded and preserved; for that church is grounded upon the foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, and is holden fast together by one corner-stone, which is Christ Jesus."

MR. HARDING.

When ye say, that by another manner of means the church of God must be builded and preserved, shew us what other means they are, and we must say ye are very cunning men who correct, I will not say

" Magnificat," but Christ's own ordinance for government of his church, who hath ordained apostles, prophets, evangelists, shepherds, and teachers (as is before mentioned), "in ædificationem corporis Christi," " to the building up of the body of Christ, which is his church." Ye shall pardon us if we believe St. Paul before you. We see what is the mark ye shoot at, that the lawful successors of the apostles, prophets, and evangelists, and the lawful shepherds and doctors, being put from the building of Christ's body, the church, yourselves may take the work in hand, and govern all. Set your hearts at rest. It shall not be so.

THE BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

Indeed Christ hath ordained apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors, and teachers, for the government of his church, notwithstanding the same be not always allowed to sit in councils, nor be always known by rochets or mitres. If God had not provided other pastors and feeders besides your prelates, the whole church might starve for hunger. St. Paul's words be true, but your idle constructions are untrue.

We find not fault with God's ordinance, but we rejoice in God's mercy, for that it hath pleased him to visit his people, and to discover the multitude of these vanities, wherewith you have so long and so uncourteously beguiled the world. Therefore we correct not *Magnificat*, Mr. Harding, as you say, but rather we humbly sing, " Te Deum laudamus, and rejoice in God our Saviour." The right and only way of building God's house, is, to lay the foundation thereof upon the " everlasting word and will of God."

St. Paul saith (1 Cor. iii.), " Other foundation no man can lay, but the same that is laid already, which is Christ Jesus." The Prophet Isaiah saith (chap.

viii.), "To the law (of God) and to the testimony. If they speak not according to this word, they shall have no morning light." Therefore St. Hilary saith, as it is alleged in the Apology, "Aliter extruenda, aliter custodienda ecclesia est. Fundamentum ejus supra Prophetas et Apostolos collocandum est. Ecclesia ita à Deo, id est, doctrinis Dei ædificata, non concidet."—"Otherwise must the church be built, and otherwise must it be kept. The foundation of it must be laid upon the Apostles and Prophets. The church being thus built by God, that is to say, by the doctrine of God, shall never fall."

ON FREE WILL.

(Page 13.)

The Manichees, among other their fantastical errors, were wont to say, that the body of man was made, not by God, but by the angels of the devil, which they called, "gentem tenebrarum;" and that in man there be two souls of contrary natures, the one of the substance of God, the other of the substance of the devil; and that either soul continueth still as it is, and cannot alter; that is to say, that the good soul can never be ill, and that the ill soul can never be good. And in this sense they said, that man hath no free will.

All these and other like errors we abhor and detest as frantic furies. We say that the soul of man is not the substance, but the creature of God, and that it may be changed from good to ill, from ill to good; that David may fall, that Paul may rise, that God giveth us a new heart and a new spirit within our breasts.

But as touching the freedom of will and power of ourselves, we say with St. Augustine, "O malum liberum arbitrium sine Deo."—"Oh, evil is free will

without God." Again: "Libero arbitrio malè utens homo, et se perdidit, et arbitrium."—"Man misusing his free will, spilt both himself and his will." Again: "Quid tantum de naturæ possibilitate præsumitur? Vulnerata, saucia, vexata, perdita est. Vera confessione non falsa defensione opus habet."—"What do men so much presume of the possibility of nature? It is wounded, it is mangled, it is troubled, it is lost; it behoveth us rather truly to confess it, than falsely to defend it."

Again: "Liberum arbitrium captivatum, non nisi ad peccatum valet."—"Free will once made thrall, availeth now nothing but to sin." Again: "Quòd bene vivimus, quòd recte intelligimus, Deo debemus. Nostrum nihil est, nisi peccatum, quod habemus."—"That we live well, that we understand aright, we have it of God. Of ourselves we have nothing but only sin that is within us."

The better to clear this whole case, I thought it good to use the more words. Thus may we learn to know ourselves, and humbly to confess our imperfection, and to give the whole glory unto God.

Therefore to conclude, St. Augustine saith, "Nos volumus; sed Deus in nobis operatur velle. Nos operamur, sed Deus in nobis operatur et operari pro bona sua voluntate. Hoc nobis expedit et credere et dicere. Hoc est pium, hoc est verum, ut sit humilis et submissa confessio, et detur totum Deo. Tutiores vivimus, si totum Deo damus, non autem nos illi ex parte, et nobis ex parte committimus."—"We will, but it is God that worketh in us to will. We work, but it is God that worketh in us to work, according to his good pleasure. This is behoveful for us, both to believe, and to speak. This is a godly, this is a true doctrine, that our confession may be humble and lowly, and that God may have the whole.

We live more in safety, if we give all unto God, rather than if we commit ourselves partly to ourselves, and partly to him."

The following Extracts are taken from another Tract of Bishop Jewell against Harding. It follows the Defence of the Apology in the original Volume, and has a distinct Number of Pages.

ON BAPTISM.

(Page 86.)

TOUCHING baptism, first we teach the fathers, and afterwards we baptize them and their children; and this is no breach of Christ's commandment. For after we be once become God's people, God hath promised, "that he will be our God, and the God of our children;" and by the Prophet Ezekiel he saith, "Your children shall be my children." They that sprinkled them that they baptized, used both the word, and also the element or kind of water that was commanded; neither doth it appear that Christ gave any commandment of dipping the party into the water. But these men take quite away from the people, both the element and kind of wine, and also the words of consecration.

HOW CHRIST IS HONOURED IN THE SACRAMENTS.

(Page 282.)

MR. Harding, as a man overmuch obedient unto his affections, in the beginning hereof calleth us sacramentaries, by which words he understandeth schismatics, heretics, and the enemies of God, and so breaketh up his way into this Treatise with un-

savoury and bitter talk; and as a cock that is well pampered with garlick before the fight, he seeketh to overmatch his fellow, rather with rankness of breath, than with might of body.

And forasmuch as he striveth to make the world think our doctrine is injurious to the Godhead and glory of Christ; first, we protest, that as we believe "that Christ is the Lamb of God, that hath taken away the sins of the world, and that there is none other name under heaven whereby we can be saved" (John, i. Acts, iv.); and that, as the Prophet Isaiah saith (chap. ix.), "He is the mighty God, the Father of the world, that was to come;" and that, as St. Paul saith (2 Tim. iii.), "He is God revealed in the flesh;" even so we yield unto him the very honour that is due unto God; and that not only to his Godhead alone, but also to his humanity inseparably joined with his Godhead in one person, sitting now at the right hand of God. Thus we teach the people, "that God hath advanced him unto all height, and hath given him a name above all names, that at the name of Jesus every knee shall be bowed, all things in heaven, in the earth, and under the earth, and that every tongue shall confess that Jesus Christ is the Lord in the glory of God the Father." (Phil. ii.)

Neither do we only adore Christ as very God, but also we worship and reverence the sacrament and holy mystery of Christ's body; and, as St. Augustine teacheth us, "Baptismum Christi, ubicunque est, veneramur."—"We worship the baptism of Christ, wheresoever it be." We worship the word of God according to this counsel of Anastasius: "Dominica verba attenti audiant, et fideliter adorent."—"Let them diligently hear and faithfully worship the word of God."

Briefly, we worship all other like things in such

religious wise unto Christ belonging. But these things we use and reverence as holy, and appointed or commanded by Christ; but we adore them not with godly honour, as Christ himself. St. Ambrose saith of the wise men, "Cognoverunt, hanc stellam esse, quæ hominem, Deumque signabat; sed adoraverunt parvulum."—"They knew, this was the star that signified Him unto them, that was both man and God; but they adored the little one" (and not the star).

And whereas Mr. Harding, as well herein, as also in the rest, untruly and unjustly defameth us, as making the sacraments of Christ nothing else but bare tokens, let him well understand, that we do both think and speak soberly and reverently of Christ's sacraments, as knowing them to be the testimonies of God's promises, and the instruments of the Holy Ghost.

And, as we make not the sacrament of baptism bare water, notwithstanding the nature and substance of water remain still, so we make not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood bare bread and wine. We use the same words and definitions that St. Augustine, and other ancient fathers, and Peter Lombard, and Gratian, Mr. Harding's own doctors, have used before us: "Sacramentum est signum rei sacræ; sacramentum est invisibilis gratiæ visibilis forma."—"A sacrament is a token of a holy thing; a sacrament is a form visible of grace invisible."

Neither do we hereof make a bare or naked token, as Mr. Harding imagineth; but we say, as St. Paul saith (Rom. iv.), "It is a perfect seal, and a sufficient warrant of God's promises, whereby God bindeth himself unto us, and we likewise stand bound unto God, so as God is our God, and we are his people." This I reckon is no bare or naked token. And touching this word *signum*, what it meaneth St. Au-

gustine sheweth in this sort: " Signum est, quod præter speciem, quam ingerit sensibus, aliud quiddam facit ex se in cognitionem venire."—" A sign is a thing, that, besides the form or sight that it offereth to our senses, causeth of itself some other thing to come to our knowledge." And hereof it is called a mystery, or a holy secrecy; for that our eye beholdeth one thing, and our faith another. For example: in baptism our bodily eye seeth water; but our faith, which is the eye of our mind, seeth the blood of Christ, which, as St. John saith, " hath washed us from all our sins."

Therefore St. Chrysostom saith, " Incredulus, cum baptismatis lavacrum audit, persuadet sibi simpliciter esse aquam. Ego vero non simpliciter video, quod video, sed animæ per Spiritum purgationem; et sepulturam, resurrectionem, sanctificationem, justitiam, redemptionem, adoptionem, hæreditatem, regnum cœlorum, Spiritus satietatem considero. Non enim aspectu judico ea, quæ videntur, sed mentis oculis."—" The infidel, when he heareth of the water of baptism, thinketh it to be only plain water; but I, that believe in Christ, do not only and simply see water, but I see the cleansing of the soul by the Spirit of God; I consider Christ's burial, his resurrection, our sanctification, our righteousness, our redemption, our adoption, our inheritance, the kingdom of heaven, and the fulness of the Spirit. For the things that I see, I judge not with my bodily eyes, but with the eyes of my mind."

Now will Mr. Harding say, that St. Chrysostom only for a countenance speaketh thus honourably of the sacrament of baptism, meaning notwithstanding it is nothing else but bare water? Certainly, St. Augustine saith, " In sacramentis videndum est, non quid sint, sed quid significent."—" In sacraments we

must consider, not what they be indeed, but what they signify."

If that every thing, according to Mr. Harding's judgment, must needs be accounted bare, wherein Christ's body is not really present, then is the sacrament of baptism a bare sacrament, and Mr. Harding's book must likewise of necessity seem a very bare book, unless perhaps he will say, Christ's body is really inclosed in it. Plato saith, it is the greatest part of wisdom to discern *aliud* and *idem*, one and the same thing from another thing; for of error herein evermore riseth all confusion.

But St. Augustine saith, "Aliud est sacramentum, aliud res sacramenti."—"The sacrament is one thing, and the substance of the sacrament (which is Christ's body) is another thing." And lest Mr. Harding should shift off this matter, and say, as his manner is, that the sacrament is nothing else, but the outward form and appearance, or show of bread and wine, Rabanus Maurus hath prevented him in this wise, "Sacramentum in alimentum corporis redigitur."—"The sacrament is turned into the nourishment of the body." Therefore these two things being divers and sundry, the one the token, the other the thing tokened; the one Christ's body, and the other the sacrament of the same body; the one naturally feeding the body, the other supernaturally feeding the soul; it were great confusion either to make them both one, or else by error to take the one for the other. And for that cause St. Augustine saith, as it is before alleged, "Ea demum est miserabilis animæ servitus, signa pro rebus accipere."—"That indeed is a miserable servitude of the soul, to take signs instead of the things that be signified."

ABUSE OF THE SACRAMENTS.

(Page 284.)

Sr. Jerome saith, " Dum sacramenta violantur, ipse, cujus sacramenta sunt, violatur."—" When the sacraments be misused, God himself, whose sacraments they be, is misused." And the greatest abuse and villany, that can happen to any sacrament, is contrary to Christ's institution, and the nature of a sacrament, to be honoured instead of God. And St. Augustine saith, " Qui indignè accipit baptisma judicium accipit, non salutem."—" Who receiveth baptism unworthily, receiveth his judgment, and not his health." Wherefore, if Mr. Harding think this warrant sufficient to prove adoration, then must he also adore the water of baptism.

In all sacraments two things must be considered, whereof, as Irenæus saith, they do consist: the one is earthly, the other is heavenly; the one we see with our bodily eyes, the other we see with the eyes of our faith; the one is in the earth, the other is in heaven. These parts, because they are joined in one mystery, therefore oftentimes they score names the one interchangeably with the other; for as Christ's very body is called bread, although indeed it be not bread, so the sacramental bread is called Christ's body, although indeed it be not Christ's body. Therefore as the sacrament is called Christ's body, even so, according to the saying of Ignatius, it is the flesh of Christ, even the same that hath suffered for our sins, and that the Father hath raised again to life, that is to say, a sacrament of that flesh.

In like sort St. Chrysostom writeth of the sacrament of baptism: " Ostendit hoc loco, idem esse sanguinem et aquam; baptisma enim ejus, etiam passio ejus est."—" St. Paul sheweth in this place that the blood (of Christ) and the water (of baptism)

are both one. For Christ's baptism is Christ's passion." He saith, The water and the blood of Christ are both one thing, and that he saith was St. Paul's meaning.

Yet, notwithstanding, neither is the water Christ's blood indeed, neither is Christ's blood indeed material water. But thus they borrow each of them the other's name, because they are joined together in one mystery. So is the blood of Christ called water, because it cleanseth; so is the water called Christ's blood, because it is a sacrament of that blood. And as St. Chrysostom saith, The water of baptism is Christ's blood, even so Ignatius saith, The bread is the flesh, and none otherwise. These things are plain, and without cavil.

ON THE SAME.

(Page 285.)

It is certain and most manifest by Irenæus, that, as Christ's body is the one part of the sacrament, so is material bread the other. Likewise in baptism, as the one part of that holy mystery is Christ's blood, so is the other part the material water. Neither are these parts joined together in place, but in mystery; and therefore they be oftentimes severed, and the one is received without the other.

And for that cause St. Augustine saith, "Qui discordat à Christo, nec panem ejus manducat nec sanguinem bibit; etiam in tantæ rei sacramentum ad judicium suæ præsumptionis quotidie indifferenter accipiat."—"Whoso disagreeth from Christ, neither eateth his bread, nor drinketh his blood, although he daily receive the sacrament of so great a thing without difference to the judgment of his presumption."

ON THE SAME.

(Page 350.)

CHRYSOSTOM saith, "In sensibilibus intelligibilia nobis tradidit."—"In sensible and outward things, Christ hath given us things spiritual." And for example, he addeth, "Sic et in baptismo."—"So it fareth in the sacrament of baptism." Thus St. Augustine saith, "The godly of the Jews understood Christ in their manna." In like sort Origen speaketh of the letter of the Scriptures: "Corpora Prophetarum colunt posita in libris et literis, quasi in quibusdam sepulchris."—"They honour the bodies of the Prophets laid in their books and letters, as if it were in certain graves." So St. Augustine: "Sensus in litera manet, et per literam videtur."—"The sense lieth in the letter, and by the letter it is seen." So Nicolaus Cabasilas, "Spiritus celatur in litera."—"The Spirit of God is hidden in the letter."

I think Mr. Harding in these speeches will not necessarily require any corporal or real presence. St. Gregory saith, "Christus in seipso immortaliter et incorruptibiliter vivens, iterum in hoc mysterio moritur."—"Christ living in himself immortally, and without corruption, dieth again in this mystery." Whereupon the gloss saith, "Moritur, id est, mors ejus repræsentatur."—"Christ dieth, that is to say, his death is represented." Now as Christ dieth in the sacrament, so is his body represented in the sacrament. But Christ dieth not there really and indeed. Therefore Christ's body is not there really and indeed.

I thought it needful to use the more examples in this behalf, for that place of St. Augustine seemeth to carry the greatest force of all others. But as St. Augustine saith here, Christ's body is hidden under

the form or kind of bread, even so he saith, " Gratia Dei in Veteri Testamento velata latebat."—" The grace of God lay hidden in the Old Testament." Even so St. Gregory saith, " Ut palea frumentum, sic litera tegit Spiritum."—" As the chaff hideth the corn, so the letter hideth the Spirit." Even so again St. Augustine saith, " In Veteri Testamento occultabatur Novum."—" The New Testament was hidden in the Old." But he expoundeth himself: " Occultabatur, id est, occultè significabatur."—" It was hidden, that is to say, it was secretly signified." And thus by St. Augustine's own words and exposition we may likewise say, " Caro Christi operta, id est, occultè significata."—" Christ's flesh is privily hidden, that is to say (as St. Augustine expoundeth it), it is privily signified."

Thus the sacrament of Christ's flesh, which, according to the doctrine of St. Augustine, beareth the name of that thing that it signifieth, is called Christ's flesh, invisible, spiritual, and only to be conceived by the understanding. For the whole work hereof pertaineth not to the mouth or teeth, as St. Augustine saith, but only to faith and spirit. And therefore the same St. Augustine, expounding these words of Christ, Whoso eateth of this bread shall not die, saith thus: " Quod pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti, non quod pertinet ad visibile sacramentum. Qui manducat intus, non foris, qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente."—" That pertaineth to the effect and virtue of the sacrament, not that pertaineth to the visible sacrament. He that eateth inwardly, not outwardly, that eateth with his heart, not that presseth with his teeth." Likewise he saith of Moses, Aaron, and Phineas, and others the faithful of that time, " Visibilem cibum (manna) spiritualiter intellexerunt, spiritualiter esurierunt, spiritualiter gustaverunt."—" They understood manna, that visible

meat, spiritually; they hungered it spiritually, they tasted it spiritually." By these words, intus, inwardly; in corde, in the heart; spiritualiter, spiritually, St. Augustine expoundeth the meaning of this word, invisibiliter, invisibly.

Therefore St. Chrysostom saith, "Mysterium appellatur quia aliud videmus, aliud credimus. Nam hujusmodi est mysteriorum nostrorum natura."—"It is called a mystery, because we see one thing, and believe another. For such is the nature of (baptism, and our Lord's supper, which are) our sacraments or mysteries."

So saith St. Ambrose, as is alleged before, "The water of the holy font hath washed us, the blood of Christ hath redeemed us."—"Alterum igitur invisibile, alterum visibile testimonium, &c."—"The one witness is invisible, the other is visible." So the old father Origen saith, "St. John's baptism was visible, but Christ's baptism is invisible."

As it is in the mystery of baptism, so it is also in the mystery of Christ's body. As Christ's blood is invisible, wherewith we are washed, so is Christ's flesh invisible, wherewith we are fed. And as this invisible washing in Christ's blood representeth unto our minds the blood of Christ, that was visibly shed for us, so the flesh of Christ, that is eaten invisibly, representeth unto us that very flesh of Christ, that was visibly and sensibly nailed and torn upon the cross. And thus St. Augustine's meaning may well stand upright, without any new secrecy or real or fleshly presence.

End of the Selections from Jewell.

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